



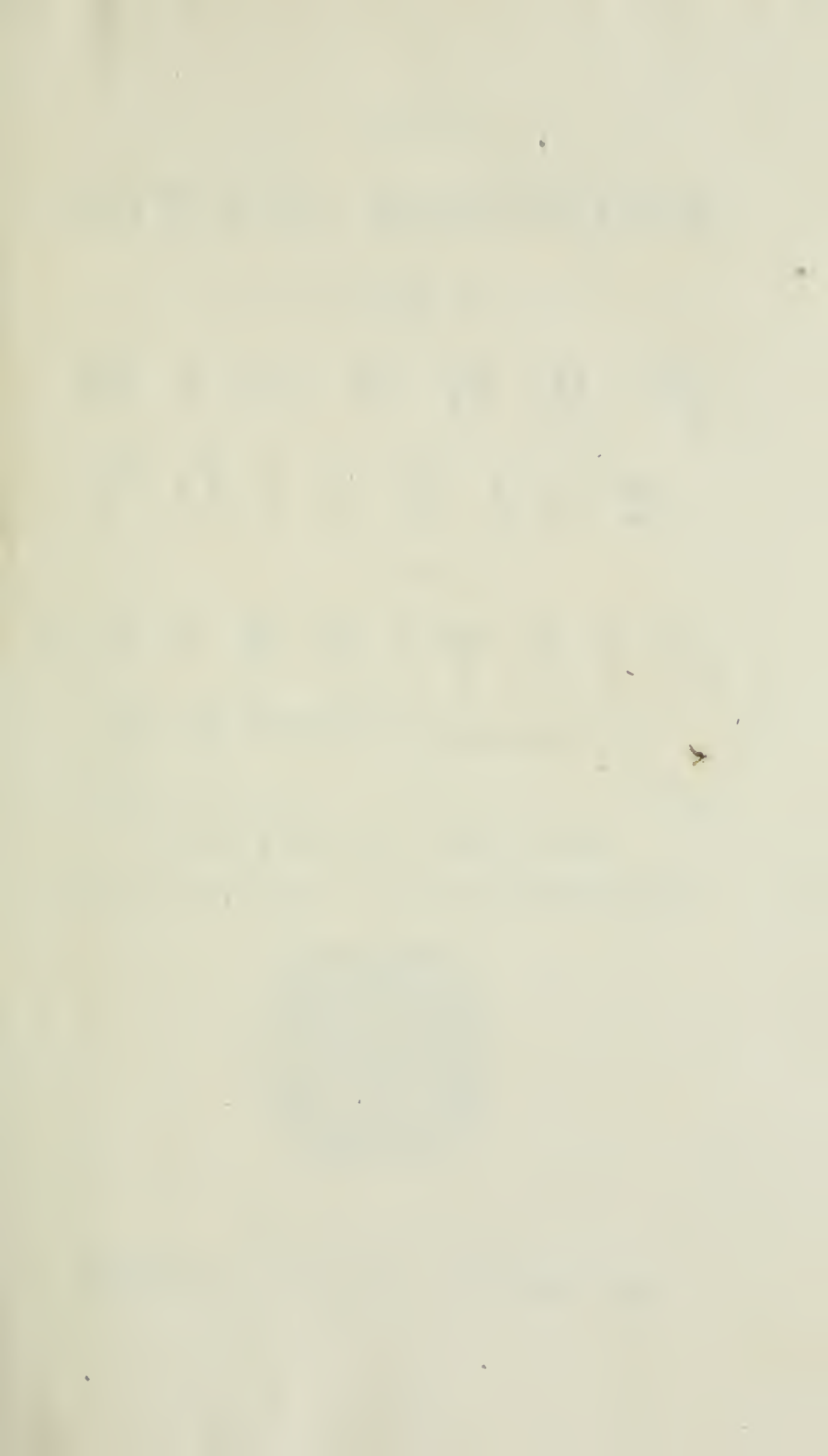


1<sup>st</sup> Col<sup>1</sup> Pepper.













THE  
ANNUAL REGISTER,  
OR A VIEW OF THE  
HISTORY,  
POLITICS,  
AND  
LITERATURE,

For the YEARS 1784 and 1785.

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THE SECOND EDITION.

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L O N D O N :  
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# P R E F A C E.

THE backwardness, with respect to publication, which the heavy business of the late extensive war, and its succeeding consequences, occasioned, excited us to make a vigorous, and, as we hoped, decisive effort, for the recovery of our former situation in point of time. This was no less than to throw the whole business of two succeeding years into one volume; paying little regard to our own trouble, when put in competition with our engagements to the Public, the spirit of the undertaking, and the utility of the performance.

This experiment (for it was no more, and is not to be repeated) has by no means answered our expectation with respect to the saving or gaining of time. We have found the double work exceedingly heavy; and the business in its amount went far beyond our calculation. The critical circumstances, the extraordinary claims, and the alarming change in connections and policy, which appeared, within that period, to be taking place in Europe, presented an aspect not a little ominous to its repose; and necessarily rendered our foreign history an object of much care, consideration, enquiry, and research. And however important foreign affairs were, our domestic concerns were not less so; and were still more interesting to Englishmen.

Within the period of which we treat, one parliament had been suddenly dissolved, a new one speedily called,  
and

## P R E F A C E.

and we had the history of three sessions, filled with the most interesting matter, to recount. In that time, besides the change of one administration, and the appointment of another (measures which in both cases were attended with new and extraordinary circumstances) an unexpected and signal revolution took place in the state of parties, interests, and public opinions, throughout the kingdom. In this course of things, some new, and many great constitutional questions were agitated.

The complex and intricate state of East India affairs, and the long course of enquiry which they produced, were not the least difficult or arduous parts of our task. In treating this subject, we were pledged, and indeed necessarily bound, to take a retrospective view of the proceedings in parliament relative to the Company, from the time that the Secret and the Select Indian Committees were appointed by the House of Commons in the year 1781, to the period which comes properly within the line of our narrative.

Whatever other effect our new experiment may produce, it will at least afford a proof of our disinterestedness, and a testimony of the high sense which we entertain of our obligations to the Public: Our Publisher having liberally sacrificed his own emolument in giving the double volume without any additional expence, and we having, no less chearfully, bestowed our labour and time for the same purpose.

# THE ANNUAL REGISTER, For the YEARS 1784 and 5.

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## THE HISTORY OF EUROPE.

### C H A P. I.

*Retrospective view of the general affairs of Europe from the year 1780. Emperor. Great schemes of reform and regulation. Some general observations on them. Decree for extending the liberty of the press. Decree in favour of the Jews. Ordinances striking at the authority of the court of Rome. Ostensible causes, and political motives, for the Emperor's journey to the Low Countries in the year 1781. Ill consequences of the war in which Holland was engaged, and of the new political system adopted by that Republic. Resumption of the Dutch Barrier among the principal objects of the Emperor's journey. Observations on that measure. Barrier resigned, and the fortresses dismantled. Alarm occasioned thereby in Holland. Great benefits derived by the Austrian Netherlands, from becoming the medium of British Commerce, in consequence of the war between the maritime powers. Sudden rise of Ostend to commercial importance through the same cause. Great favours conferred by the Emperor upon the city and people of Ostend. Declares the port free; orders a basin to be constructed; grants ground for building to foreign settlers; and places of public worship to the Protestants. Emperor examines the obstructions to the navigation of the Schelde, and visits Holland. Returns to Vienna. Various wise and humane regulations adopted in the course of the years 1781 and 1782. Enlargement of religious liberty to the Protestants—of civil liberty to the peasants of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austrian Poland, who are discharged from their ancient slavery to the lords. Free exercise of their religion, with other advantages, granted by the Elector of Saxony to the Roman Catholics in his dominions. Inquisition abolished by the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Universities reformed by the Emperor.*

VOL. XXVII.

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Allots



*Allots schools for the education of soldiers children. Measures for rendering the city of Trieste a great commercial Emporium. Emperor lends four millions of florins to the merchants of that city. Suppression of religious houses in the Austrian dominions. Ecclesiastics in the Austrian Netherlands discharged from all foreign jurisdiction. Imperial rescript, disclaiming all subordination, in secular affairs, to the Holy See. Suppression of religious houses in the Duchy of Milan. Alarm at Rome. Correspondence between the Pope and the Emperor. Journey of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius the Sixth, from Rome to Vienna. Received with great honours by the Emperor and Court; but fails in the objects of his journey. Returns to Rome. Reform of the religious orders continued; and extended to the Hierarchy, and secular Clergy, as well as to the Regulars. Commission for administering the sequestered estates; the produce destined to public purposes. Observations and strictures of foreigners on some of these transactions.*

WHILE the four great maritime powers of Europe were exhausting their strength and sacrificing their subjects in that war, to which the revolt of the British colonies in America gave rise, and which in its progress spread such desolation through both the Old and the New World, the emperor of Germany was more happily employed, in cultivating the arts of peace, in the improvement of his widely-extended dominions, and in establishing upon sure and permanent foundations the power, and consequently the security, of his empire.

In the laudable pursuit of these objects, he was not contented with adhering to the beaten track marked out by others, or of waiting the distant effect of slow and progressive schemes of improvement. The fertile and active mind of this prince, embracing at once a multitude of objects, would carry every thing directly to that ultimate point of perfection which it held constantly in view; as if, ruminating on the shortness of human life, he had determined to establish his designs so speedily, as not only, if

he should himself be cut off, to place them out of the reach of future contingencies, but to obtain a probability, if he lived, of participating in the benefits he intended for his country. He was accordingly incessantly occupied in framing, adopting, examining, or carrying into execution, numberless projects of regulation and improvement, of less or greater importance, but including some of such magnitude, as went to the essential reform of the first departments of the state and government, whether ecclesiastical, civil, or military. This task, sufficiently arduous in itself, was rendered still more difficult by the nature of his dominions, composed as they are of separate kingdoms, and a number of distinct provinces, obtained by different means, and at different periods, subject to their own peculiar forms of government, and still retaining many of their original rights and institutions.

It would have been contrary to all experience, and consequently to human nature itself, (of which experience is our only evidence) if such, and

and so many schemes of reform, militating with popular opinions, national practices, and tending directly to overthrow establishments now venerable by their antiquity, and which had been considered as sacred in their institution, could have been carried into effect, without at least exciting much dissatisfaction and complaint, and without winging the shafts of censure, and giving energy to them, if not to more dangerous weapons. All these effects, except the last, the pursuit of these measures indeed produced: nor were the terrors of punishment, the dangers of which were multiplied by the great rewards held out for the discovery of offenders, sufficient to prevent the bitterest libels upon the emperor from being circulated even in his capital. But the mischief went no farther; and this prince proceeded in the establishment of his new regulations, with unexampled facility and success.

Nor indeed was observation confined to the harsher part of criticism. Foreigners, being under no restraint, have been equally free in both respects; but it may be supposed, that religious and political prejudices have had some share in dictating both their praises and their strictures: for who, in the great European republic, can be totally unconcerned in these subjects?

It has been urged, on one side, that the spirit of reform is too violent in this prince: and that, though in some instances it might have been directed to proper objects, yet, that in general it seemed rather to degenerate into a passion for innovation, than to be the cool result of a comprehensive knowledge and due consideration of things, guided by prudent and practicable views

of improvement. They said, that he set out too rapidly to be able to maintain his career. That his hasty, indigested schemes, involved in their formation the principles of dissolution; that they militated with each other; were in many respects contrary to natural justice, and highly oppressive; that some of them warred so directly against the opinions and feelings of mankind, that they were already of necessity abandoned. Nor did even the measures which he pursued in the regulation and conduct of his vast armies, and on which he was supposed particularly to rest his fame, escape the censure of military critics, either at home or abroad.

It is, however, to be remembered, that the Herculean task of reformation requires very peculiar properties and qualities. That the degrees of fervour, zeal, and fertility of design, essentially necessary to constitute a reformer, frequently lead him to overshoot his objects; but that without these, and other corresponding dispositions and propensities, he seldom or ever could reach them. That nearly all successful reformers have accordingly erred in the same manner, and fallen into a similar excess. And, with respect to military affairs, it is to be observed, that it is of the very nature of discipline, to produce a tenacious adherence to forms, and of course an animosity to innovation. To which it may be added, that the dissatisfactions inevitable in all armies, and more particularly in such vast hosts, from the great variety of tempers and characters they include, must throw many impediments in the way of reformation.

Upon the whole it may be suspected,

pected, that the too hasty adoption of his projects, the multiplicity of them, and the endeavour to carry them at once into execution, were among the principal errors of this prince. But it must at the same time be acknowledged, even supposing the justness of these and other objections admitted, that the emperor has, within the small number of years that have elapsed since he arrived at undivided power by the death of his mother, made wonderful advances towards the improvement of various parts of his dominions; that he has done great and praise-worthy things for the benefit, security, and happiness of his subjects in general, as well as of particular classes and orders; and that he has made great and essential reforms in several departments of the state and government, however the utility of some of his regulations may yet be thought questionable.

A liberal disposition with respect to religious toleration was early to be expected, from the character and general conduct of this prince; and little doubt was accordingly entertained but that it would be freely displayed, whenever the power was lodged solely in his own hands. Other parts of his disposition and policy, particularly with respect to ecclesiastical matters, continued yet unknown and unsuspected, even for some time after the demise of the empress queen. But the years 1781 and 1782 removed the veil that covered his designs in this respect; and it soon became apparent, that the reducing the exorbitant power of the clergy within his own dominions; the severing and emancipating them from all dependence on the court of Rome; with the sup-

pression of the religious orders, and the appropriation of their property, were among the great and determined objects of the emperor's policy.

A liberal extension to the liberty of the press, which had hitherto been much circumscribed in the Austrian dominions, seemed in some degree an opening to succeeding events, and might be considered as throwing some light upon views which were not otherwise revealed. The order or decree for this purpose was all written by the emperor's own hand, and was published early in the year 1781. By one of the articles he allowed a free circulation, without examination or licence, to all those literary reviews of various publications, with which Germany, from the number of its states, of its public schools and universities, and the great differences with respect to religious and political principles or opinions, more particularly abounds than any other country. Even the subject of ecclesiastical history is left open by this article. By another, he permits that all strictures upon the conduct of the throne itself might be published with full security; providing only, that they do not descend to the character of pasquinades or absolute libels. Upon this subject he expresses himself with a noble magnanimity—"If there be any thing just in them, (he says) we shall profit by them; if not, we shall disregard them."—He likewise permits the free publication of all political news-papers and pamphlets without exception; and the discussion even of religious subjects is admitted, with only this reservation, that such writings should not attack, in any of their funda-



fundamental principles, the three established religions of the empire, being the Roman Catholic, the Lutheran, and the Calvinist.

Though this last clause, which went to the protection of the two reformed religions as well as the catholic, might seem virtually to include a toleration to the protestants within the emperor's own particular dominions, yet the decree for that purpose did not appear until about the close of the year.

The Jewish nation or people, who through a long course of centuries had so often been doomed to lament the caprices or rapacity of monarchs, and to become victims to the revolutions of states, were now among the first to experience the benefit of living under a government, where the prince has sufficient comprehension to discover that his own interests are, in a less or greater degree, inseparably connected with the security and prosperity of every class and order of his subjects. Among other immunities and privileges now granted by the emperor to that people, they were particularly admitted to the right of exercising all kinds of arts and trades, of applying themselves to agriculture, and to the invaluable privilege of freely pursuing their studies in the universities, without any impediment whatever on the score of religion: so that, upon the whole, they seem now to possess in general the same advantages with other citizens.

This decree in favour of the Jews, was soon followed by two unexpected ordinances, which striking directly at the power and authority of the court of Rome, af-

forded a most alarming presage of what it had farther to apprehend. By the first of these, all the religious orders within the royal and imperial dominions, (but confined, we apprehend, to Germany and Hungary) were strictly prohibited from holding any correspondence, on spiritual or temporal subjects, with their respective chiefs, while these were resident in any foreign parts; and farther prescribing, that under such circumstances, they should be governed entirely by their provincial superiors: who were, however, to be at all times subject to the controul and authority of the episcopal power in the respective dioceses, and even to the temporal governors of provinces. By the other ordinance it was enacted, that no bull, brief, or other instrument, issued by the apostolic see, should be received, or have any effect whatever within the imperial dominions, until it was rendered valid by the sanction of the sovereign.

These decrees were issued at Vienna, in the latter end of March, 1781; and it may be easily seen, that the court of Rome could scarcely have received a greater shock. For the residence of the generals or chiefs of the principal religious orders at Rome, was the link, which immediately united their respective communities, however widely dispersed, to the papal chair, and which afforded the means of maintaining a subordination and discipline unexampled in its nature and extent; while that edict, by cutting off the intercourse, must, in its effect, if not entirely dissolve the connection, at least render it useless with respect to its destined purposes.

Other great political objects, together with a long journey, in consequence of them, which the emperor was then upon the point of undertaking, and in the course of which he visited the Low Countries, Holland, and France, served to draw off his farther immediate attention to ecclesiastical affairs, and afforded time for the court of Rome to recover from its first astonishment; and to deliberate upon and pursue such measures as might possibly mitigate the effects of the late unexpected blow, or at least ward off such evils as were farther to be apprehended.

He had sufficient ostensible motives, if any such were wanting, for undertaking this journey. He had to take personal possession of the Austrian Netherlands; to be installed in his dukedom of Brabant; to regulate the public affairs at Brussels, preparatory to the arrival of his sister the arch-duchess, and her husband, the duke Albert, of Saxe-Teschen, on whom the government of these provinces was bestowed on the death of prince Charles, of Lorraine, and who were now far advanced in their way thither; to all which may be added, the natural desire of wishing to see his new subjects, and being seen by them; besides the opportunity which this tour would present, of visiting his sister the queen of France, and of seeing parts of that country on his return, which he had not hitherto an opportunity of observing.

But there were other matters, of much greater political moment, which operated upon this prince in undertaking the journey. The ruinous and unfortunate war, into which the prevalence of the French

and republican faction in Holland had precipitated that country with its old and natural ally, among its other irreparable ill consequences, was the means of unveiling the nakedness of the republic, and, to the astonishment of all Europe, presented such a view of disorder and imbecility in the government, and of radical weakness in the state, as had not before been suspected, even by its nearest and keenest-eyed neighbours. The impressions made by this discovery were continually increasing, as almost every day of the war was marked with some new circumstance of misfortune or disgrace. While they were thus exposed to danger from without, the state and the public were convulsed and torn to pieces by intestine dissensions, the seeds of which were so numerous, and so deeply laid, as scarcely admitted the hope of any effective remedy. The differences between the prince stadtholder and the states were multiplying so fast, and increasing so much in degree and virulence, as to indicate a speedy and most alarming crisis; while the violence and animosity of the French and Orange factions, which included between them the whole body of the people, and all the departments of government, whether civil or military, by sea or by land, seemed destined to harrow and tear up the very foundations of the republic. Upon the whole, it seemed clear to all observers, that the restoration of the republic, in any degree, to its former power and splendor, was a circumstance which would not admit of a moment's speculation; and that some considerable revolution was necessary, to preserve the union of its parts.

It could not be expected, upon  
any

any foundation of political knowledge and experience, that the unexpected disclosure of such a scene, with the magnitude of the objects which it exhibited, and the prospects of advantage it held out, should not attract the views, and excite the ambition, of a powerful, active, and neighbouring sovereign, whose enterprising disposition, tho' hitherto a good deal restrained, had however been apparent in other instances.

The resumption of the Dutch barrier was among the first advantages he proposed to draw from the present forlorn state of their affairs. Few are ignorant that the principal fortresses of the Austrian Netherlands, including several of their most considerable cities, had, ever since the conclusion of the succession war, been deposited in the hands of the Dutch, for the mutual benefit and security of the court of Vienna and themselves; for, at the same time that they formed a powerful barrier to cover the territories of the states, they were to be garrisoned and defended by them; and thus served to obviate the dangers apprehended by both from the power and ambition of France.

During the long succeeding depression of the house of Austria, the advantages of this arrangement were repeatedly and fully experienced; and occasions offered which made it evident, that nothing less could have prevented the Netherlands from being long since wrested out of their hands. But in the extraordinary degree of power and greatness to which that house has, within the memory of man, risen, and in the usual vicissitude of things, what had before been understood and felt as a substantial benefit,

came at length to be considered as a stigma, and a grievance. The present emperor felt his own power to be fully competent to the protection and defence of his dominions. With the great armies he possessed, he could not conceive that he wanted the cover of fortresses to prevent the progress of an enemy. He considered, that it was exceedingly expensive to keep them in repair; that being accordingly neglected in seasons of peace and security, they generally fell, with little trouble, into the hands of an invader at the commencement of hostilities; when, besides the loss of their garrisons, and the great present advantages which they afforded to the enemy, their recovery frequently became among the most difficult and arduous tasks of the war.

He, besides, thought it derogatory to his own honour, as well as to the dignity and power of the empire, that a number of his principal cities and fortresses should be garrisoned, and at his own expence too, by foreigners. He considered it as no less than paying a shameful and ignominious tribute for protection and defence; and that it would be in the last degree personally shameful and degrading to himself, if now, when the occasion so opportunely offered, he should suffer such a standing monument of past weakness, dependence, or even obligation, any longer to continue.

Nor were several colourable arguments wanting, to justify to the Dutch, and to the world at large, the intended measure of taking the barrier into his own hands, and of dismantling the fortresses. It was stated, that the revenues drawn from these cities and their districts were misapplied; that the fortifications



cations were falling to decay, and the garrisons defective; and that the shameful manner in which they were lost by the Dutch, in the war of 1741, was a sufficient evidence of their incapacity to maintain and defend the barrier. But that, independent of all complaints with respect to the discharge of their trust, the circumstances of things, and the state of affairs on all sides, were now so entirely altered, that none of the causes or motives, which originally operated to the establishment of the barrier, were any longer in existence. That France, instead of being the common enemy, as then, was now the common friend of both parties; that her ambition was no longer dangerous, and if it were, was directed to other objects; that the emperor and she were mutually bound, in the strictest and dearest ties of alliance, friendship, and blood; and, even admitting the possibility of any change in this state of connections, his territories would at all times be an effectual barrier to Holland, and would afford much greater security to them by being in his hands than in their own.

Much was, however, to be said on the other side. The immense expence, in blood and in treasure, which Holland, through a long course of successive wars, had endured, for the attainment, the establishment, and the preservation of this very barrier, was known to all the world. Nor was it to be forgotten, that the emperor owed to the extraordinary exertions of Great Britain and Holland his now holding any territory or possession whatever in the Low Countries. That they had the principal share, through a long war, and a series of the most glorious successes, in wresting by

piece-meal from the house of Bourbon, these provinces, thick sown as they then were with the strongest fortresses in the world, and defended by those numerous and veteran armies which had so long been the terror of Europe. That as they were the great leaders in the war, so they compelled France and Spain, by the peace, to submit to the transfer of the Netherlands to the German line of the house of Austria; and had since been the means of securing and preserving them to that family. That the settlement of the barrier was the only return to Holland for all these services, and for the immense expences she had been at, not only in that part of the war, but in her arduous endeavours to place the ancestor of the present emperor upon the throne of Spain. That the proposed measure, besides being a direct breach of treaty, and violation of faith, would be a shameful dereliction of every sense of past service and obligation; and that the season chosen for its accomplishment, when the present embarrassed and distressed state of the republic would render it still more disgraceful.

Much more might have been said; but arguments are of little avail, and treaties weak obligations, any longer than the equal strength, or mutual convenience of the parties, shall give weight to the one, or validity to the other. Great Britain, the guardian of the barrier, was now (unfortunately to both) an enemy to Holland.

As an opening to this design, the emperor had, in the beginning of the year 1781, and some months before he set out on his tour, peremptorily demanded from the States General precise accounts of the  
revenues

revenues which they had drawn from the barrier, and of the sums which they had expended in the repair or improvement of their fortresses. This sudden and capacious demand, of coming to a settlement upon such old, intricate, and long-neglected accounts, and made at so very peculiar a season, seemed to augur very different dispositions from those of friendship or goodwill to the states; and probably inspired them with other apprehensions besides those which related to the barrier. Circumstanced, indeed, as they were, it may well be supposed, that this demand contributed not a little to facilitate their subsequent compliance with the cession of an object, so long held dear by them, and which involved in it the immediate security of their country. However that was, the business was soon decided; and it seems probable that many words were not used in its process, for the negotiation was scarcely heard of, when, towards the close of the year, the Dutch garrisons and artillery were almost silently withdrawn from the barrier, and the emperor's order for dismantling the fortresses, and selling the materials, seems to have been the first public announcement of the event.

Never was a measure of so much importance, and on which so much depended, carried into effect more smoothly; but notwithstanding this facility, it was easily seen, that the states were fully aware of its dangerous tendency, although the unfortunate situation in which they were involved compelled them to an easy submission. In fact, a general alarm was spread through the United Provinces; and the great number of hands that were directly

employed, and the corresponding measures adopted, for putting their own fortresses on the frontier, particularly those along the Schelde, in an immediate state of defence, sufficiently shewed, that government was no less affected than the public upon this occasion. Thus was Holland stripped of its hard-earned and dearly-purchased barrier, and by the revolution of politics laid open to the views of a not less ambitious, and more dangerous, as being a nearer neighbour, than France.

The business of the barrier was not, however, the only considerable object which the emperor had at this time in view, and which drew his attention so much to the affairs of the Netherlands. The rupture between the maritime powers had been the means of transferring from Holland to the Austrian Netherlands the course of that vast commerce, which, through the medium of the canals and great German rivers, England carried on with that and other Eastern and Northern continental countries. The benefits which the Netherlands derived from this transit of so great a commerce, were still farther increased by the peculiar circumstances of the naval war in which Great Britain was involved. Attacked, at once, in every part of the world, and nearly overwhelmed by the multitude of her enemies, she was under a necessity of abandoning, in a great measure, the protection of her home commerce, and even, at times, the sovereignty of her own seas, in order that her foreign fleets might be sufficiently powerful to cover her very numerous distant possessions. This new and untoward state of things, reduced the English merchants to difficulties and distresses, with respect

spect to the means of carrying on their trade, which they had never experienced in any other war. Foreign vessels were used for the conveyance of their goods; and the protection of foreign flags, for the first time, sought by Englishmen. In a word, no shift that ingenuity could hit upon was left untried, in order to evade the peril of the seas.

From the operation of all these causes, Ostend became a general mart to all the neutral, as well as the belligerent states; and such an influx of trade was carried into that city and port, that it arrived, even early in the war, at a degree of opulence and commercial importance, which it never before enjoyed, or was expected to attain. The imperial flag, so little thought of before among maritime nations, was now conspicuous in every part of the world, and the seas covered with ships under its protection; thus giving an example, how great power on land might command respect at sea, without any naval force for its support. Independent of the foreigners who had benefited by this protection, the shipping really imperial became numerous in a degree, that could before have been little expected: one mercantile house was said to have 60 ships at sea. The spirit of commercial adventure spread with the utmost rapidity through every part of the Austrian Netherlands. The desire and hope of acquiring great and sudden wealth, seemed to operate more or less upon every body. Even the city of Brussels, notwithstanding the habitual ease and love of pleasure incident to its situation, and the long residence of a court, could not escape the infection; and many of its inhabitants, who had never

before engaged in or thought of commerce or trade of any kind, now laid out all their ready money in the building of ships. It is not then to be wondered at, that the citizens of Antwerp should look back with a sigh to their former commercial opulence and splendour; or that they should even form hopes of being able, in some degree, to recover them. Indeed the spirit now excited was so prevalent, that the states of the Netherlands presented a memorial to the emperor, requesting that he would take measures for the opening and re-establishment of that port.

In the mean time, the growing opulence of Ostend exceeded all belief. The limits of the city became too narrow for its inhabitants, and the buildings were not sufficient to cover the immense quantities of merchandize, of which it was become the temporary depository. Commercial adventurers and speculators were continually arriving from different countries, to partake of benefits so unexpectedly held out. The rage for building ran high, while there was any ground left to build on. In this tide of good fortune, the singular circumstances that produced it were not much considered; and it seemed to be forgotten, that as the cause was transitory, the effect was not very likely to be permanent.

It was little to be supposed, that so novel and pleasing a state of things could have escaped the notice of the emperor; who, independent of these circumstances, was known to entertain such an eager desire for maritime and foreign commerce (ill calculated though his dominions were for that purpose) as seemed to carry more the appear-

ance



ance of a passion, than even of a strong predilection.

Upon his arrival at Ostend, in the beginning of June 1781, this prince shewed every mark of the greatest possible attention to the people and place, and every degree of favour and regard to the merchants. He summoned a committee of those who were esteemed among the principal, and the best informed of the latter. Of these were some English gentlemen of high consideration for their mercantile knowledge and abilities; and after holding a conference with them, he desired their separate opinions in writing, as to the best means which could be devised and adopted for the improvement, enlargement, and benefit of commerce, not only with respect to that port in particular, but to the Low Countries in general.

Every moment of the emperor's short residence at Ostend was distinguished by particular favours and benefits; nor were these discontinued during his stay in the Netherlands. He declared their port to be free: and in order to supply the defect of nature, by enlarging their accommodation for shipping, he gave directions for the construction of a considerable basin, at his own expense. To render these favours more complete, and to gratify the wants or wishes of the inhabitants in every respect, as the situation of Ostend, in a deep morass, cramped them no less on the land side for room to answer the purposes of building, than they were on the other, through the narrowness of their harbour, for those of trade, the emperor determined to obviate that difficulty likewise. He accordingly granted them liberty to cover the old ramparts and works

of the town with buildings; which afforded an enlargement sufficient, at least, to supply their present wants.—At the same time, his encouragement to foreign settlers, in the commercial line, was highly munificent and liberal. He allowed the free exercise of their religion, and places of public worship to the protestants of all denominations at Ostend. He invited people of all countries and persuasions thither to settle, to erect warehouses, and to carry on merchandize. He granted them the land on which they built in perpetuity, subject only to a nominal small rent, as an acknowledgment that it was held from him. The erection of several new streets, and a square, was accordingly carried on with great rapidity; the hurry of building interfered with that of commerce, and crowds of people thronged in from every quarter.

Short though the stay was which this prince made in the Low Countries, it was sufficient to excite the admiration, and, in the highest degree, to acquire the affection of his subjects. The free audience, without state, difficulty in the approach, guards, or witnesses, which he afforded to all manner of persons who desired it, gained equally the hearts of those who applied, and of all who heard of their reception; while the patience with which he heard, examined, and sifted into, their often tedious complaints and involved relations, was no less astonishing than his affability was captivating to the people.

It did not escape observation, either in Holland or Flanders, that when this prince was at Antwerp, he went down the Schelde in a boat, as far as to the first of those Dutch  
forts,

forts, which have been erected to guard the passage, and to secure to the states the exclusive navigation of that river; that he had the depth of the channel taken in several places; and that he strictly examined all those obstructions of art and nature which tended to impede its navigation, and to shut up the port of that city. From thence he passed into Holland, and among other places particularly visited Rotterdam.

An opinion had for some time prevailed, with several persons in England, that means might have been successfully used for renewing the ancient ties of friendship with the house of Austria, and for drawing this prince into such a systematic league of alliance (founded as well upon general political principles, as upon immediate and mutual interests, and calculated to extend to future contingencies) as might be sufficient effectually to counteract that most dangerous combination of the house of Bourbon, supported by Holland and America; which, though confined in its direct object to the ruin or total annihilation of the British empire, would, if successful in that, prove no less dangerous to the rest of Europe. The near approach of the emperor, at this time, to England, along with the particular favour which he shewed to the English, induced the warm partizans of this notion to imagine, that it was among the principal objects of his journey: but when the duke of Gloucester was seen to depart suddenly for Ostend, in order to visit this prince, that, and the long conference which took place between them at Bruges, occasioned numbers, who had paid but little regard to the original opinion, to imagine, that something

of the sort was now really in agitation. The event, however, did not justify any of these expectations; and, as no fruits of the conference have appeared, and that the duke of Gloucester returned immediately afterwards to England, it may well be supposed, that the meeting between these princes was merely a matter of personal attention and courtesy. It was, indeed, not the least among the many heavy misfortunes which, through that period, hung so heavily over England, that her government, whether it proceeded from an overweening confidence in native strength, or from whatever other fatal error of policy, seemed for several years to have totally turned its back upon the rest of Europe; and, losing the due national weight and influence in the general political system, most unaccountably neglected all useful continental friendships, connections, and alliances.

The emperor did not return to Vienna until about the middle of August, 1781. He soon after resumed his ecclesiastical reforms; but as that year and the following were likewise the great season for civil regulation, we shall, before we enter upon that subject, bring together, in one point of view, such of those measures as tended most to the benefit of different classes, orders, or communities of the people, or were remarkable for their liberality and munificence.

Of these, the first in order of time, as well as in importance, was the toleration granted to the protestants. A general outline of the nature and extent of this plan, with a promise of its being speedily perfected and promulgated, was published, by authority, in the Vienna papers,

papers, before the close of the year 1781. This was soon followed by letters patent in form, by which the free exercise of their religion was granted and confirmed to them, in every part of the Austrian dominions. A notification was also published in the Vienna Gazette, recalling all the emperor's subjects who had quitted their respective countries on the account of religion, discharging them from the effect of all former prosecutions, and restoring them to the full possession of their rights and immunities.

This measure of religious, was followed by a signal enlargement of personal liberty. The peasants in Bohemia, Moravia, and Silesia, had long languished in a state of vassalage and slavery to their lords; the cruelty of whose oppressions had frequently driven these unhappy people into the madness of insurrection, without the hope or possibility of success; a short career of fury and revenge (in which the country was desolated, much blood shed, and great barbarities committed) on their side, being always terminated by nearly their total destruction. Several attempts had been made in the late reign (and they were probably the first endeavours of the sort that had ever been used) to restrain the oppression of the lords, and to better the condition of these people. Yet much remained to be done, and the glory of their entire emancipation was reserved for Joseph the Second. He, confident in the secure greatness of his power, and confirmed in all his designs, as well by his intimate connection and friendship with Russia, as by the general state of affairs in Europe, published two edicts, towards the close of the year 1781, by which slavery is for

ever abolished in those three countries. A measure, though exceedingly grievous to the nobles at present, and perhaps attended with some immediate detraction of their revenues, as well as their power, which will, no doubt, in its consequences, be found not more beneficial to the peasants, than to their own posterity, and even to many of themselves.

The same spirit of humanity and true policy directed its operation, a few months after, to the relief of the peasantry in Austrian Poland.

These were glorious and lasting monuments of humanity and wisdom; the merits of which, and their benefits to mankind, are too conspicuous and self-evident to be detracted from by too minute a disquisition, relative to motives, policy, or collateral effects.

This prince had the high satisfaction, within a very few months after it had taken place, of perceiving the happy result of one of his measures, that of religious toleration and indulgence to the protestants in his dominions. The elector of Saxony, struck with so illustrious an example, and that protestantism might not be outdone in liberality, about the middle of the summer of 1782 issued an ordinance, by which he not only granted to the Roman catholics throughout the electorate the free exercise of their religion, but admitted them to the purchasing of houses in the towns and cities, to a right of acquiring the freedom of commercial and manufacturing companies, and to several other valuable privileges, from all which they had hitherto been secluded on account of their religion. Such an opening to the removal of bigotry and prejudice, and to the establish-  
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ing of mutual forbearance and brotherly love between Christians of all denominations, was a blessing, which, within a very few years, it would have been deemed too sanguine to hope could, at least within our times, have been brought to maturity. It is remarkable, that the representatives of the two great houses, one of which was the powerful oppugner and persecutor, and the other the supporter and defender, of the reformation in Germany, should themselves have set this laudable example. The same liberal disposition with respect to religious affairs appeared likewise in Italy, where the grand duke of Tuscany, about the same time, entirely abolished the inquisition in his dominions.

As the emperor had before shewn his regard to the interests of literature, by enlarging the liberties of the press, so, in the year 1782, he entered upon some reform of the universities: we are not informed of the particulars. It however appears, that he reduced their number to seven; and that he placed that of Loyburg upon the same footing with the protestant university of Gottingen in Hanover; the members of it being not only permitted to think and debate freely upon all subjects, but to publish their opinions to all the world.

It would have appeared strange, among so great a number of regulations, if he had entirely overlooked the interests of the military part of his subjects. Of 50 regiments of infantry, which were dispersed in Germany and Hungary, he allotted the annual sum of 2,000 florins to each, which was to be expended in the education of forty-eight boys, the sons of soldiers in the regiment. The object

of this measure, besides the encouragement which it afforded to the soldiery, was to breed and train up a brave and hardy succession of subalterns for the Austrian service, and these so considerable in number, as not to be easily exhausted. The education of the boys was to be very simple; including nothing more than what was necessary for the military life (and possibly rank) to which they are destined. We cannot help expressing our surprize at the smallness of the sum allotted to this useful purpose; which, at this distance, seems so very inadequate to its object. Perhaps the cheapness of living, the high value of money in those remote inland countries, with the peculiar advantages possessed by the soldiers in quarters, may solve this difficulty.

We have already taken notice of the emperor's eager desire to restore the commerce of his possessions in the Low Countries. There, nature and ancient experience concurred in admitting at least the possibility of success to the project. But the same passion was no less directed to the only other maritime nook and extremity of his dominions, which lies sequestered in the bottom of the Adriatic.

The ancient city of Trieste, after having been, for several hundred years, a nest of pirates, and afterwards sunk almost into oblivion, was first brought into political notice, and considered as an object of importance, by the late emperor Charles the Sixth. That prince having, in the course of his adventures, voyages, expeditions, and wars, seen the great effects of maritime power and commerce, and having no other sea-port in all his dominions, until the event of the  
succession

succession war had thrown the Netherlands and both the Sicilies into his hands, adopted the idea of supplying the defect, by that of Trieste alone.

He embarked warmly in this scheme, sparing neither pains nor expence in its prosecution. He enlarged the harbour, he declared the port free, he held out invitation and encouragement to the merchants and ships of all nations to trade thither, he proposed its being the station of a squadron of ships of war (which were to be there built) sufficient to command respect both in the Adriatic and Mediterranean; and his sanguine hopes saw it already rising to be the grand emporium of Austrian commerce in both seas, and rivalling, if not obscuring, the splendor of Venice itself.

In fact, the Venetians were not a little alarmed at these measures. But there are other things besides sea-ports and immunities necessary for the establishment of commerce; nor is trade easily debauched from its antient seats, or diverted from its usual channels. The inhabitants of Trieste were poor, and being ignorant of the principles of commerce, would not risk the little money they had in adventures, which seemed the more hazardous from not being understood. There were other essential impediments to this design. The neighbouring countries of Friuli, Istria, and Carniola, are poor, thinly inhabited, exceedingly mountainous, and generally barren. The people are rude; and their genius, habits, and manners, consequently adverse to trade and manufacture. Their products and commodities for exportation were few, and of small value; while the roads, by which they might have been brought from

the interior countries, were at that time nearly impassable. Upon the whole, all those splendid prospects which had been at first opened to the view, in a little time fell to the ground: and the Venetians, who had settled for the purpose at Trieste, obtained all those fruits which the emperor had intended for his own subjects, but which they were incapable of gathering.

The late empress queen, however, resumed the design, and supported it with greater vigour as well as success. A magnificent road from Vienna to Trieste, which would not have disgraced the labours of the ancient Romans, was opened under her auspices, and conducted at an immense expence over the steepest mountains of Istria and Friuli. The present emperor, with his usual fervour, seconded the views of his mother, and even went beyond them, by the establishment of his new East India trade at Trieste. The city has not only been rebuilt, but a new one, much more magnificent, added. Large ships have been constructed there, entirely of domestic materials, and, within a few years, their population has increased, from about three thousand inhabitants, to above four times that number; but there are still many heavy clogs to prevent its rising to that pitch of commercial eminence, which has been, and probably still is, fondly imagined. Its remote and sequestered port is too far out of the way to be much frequented, even from many parts of the Mediterranean; but voyages from the ocean are so long, intricate, and dangerous, as not to be often directly undertaken; of which a stronger instance needs not to be given, than that the British merchants at Trieste find it

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more convenient to have their merchandize brought across Germany by land from Hamburgh, than that course by sea. But the great, and, in the present state of things, seemingly insurmountable obstacle, to the growth of this place in the manner expected, is the paucity of native articles, whether of product or manufacture, for exportation; their imports still nearly doubling, both in quantity and value, their exports. Nor is it to be supposed that the East India trade, if it should even prosper and continue, will be any longer carried on from so very inconvenient a situation, than until the emperor can find it convenient, either to transfer it to Ostend, or has been able to procure some other port on the ocean for that purpose.

However that may be, ideas and schemes of commerce were now so prevalent, that early in the summer of 1782, the emperor lent four millions of florins to the merchants of Trieste, for the increase (as it magnificently expressed) of their commerce, not only in Asia, but in Africa, and also in America; accompanied with a promise of all future succour and protection which their circumstances might appear to require. A new company of merchants was soon after formed, who, it is said, commenced their enterprises with a capital of two millions of florins. The spirit of adventure was rapidly increasing. New ports were eagerly sought for on the neighbouring coasts of Morlachia and Istria, and dock-yards were built, and the keels of large vessels laid at one of them. A scheme was likewise adopted, of purchasing fat oxen in Hungary, and salting them at Fiume, which was said to have answered admirably.

No regular detail has been published of the measures pursued by the emperor, towards the close of 1781, and the commencement of the following year, with respect to the suppression of monasteries, and the reform of the ecclesiastics in general; for, notwithstanding the extension of liberty granted to the press in other respects, it seems either to have been cautiously restrained on this occasion, or that the directors of that powerful engine thought it prudent to lay the restraint on themselves. Perhaps the virulent libels which were circulated on the subject, and the authors of which could not be reached, either by the dread of power, or the temptation of gold, might have occasioned this restraint on the one side, or continence on the other. However that was, it is certain that the emperor has since afforded opportunities of ridicule to his enemies, which they have by no means overlooked, by contrasting with the boasted liberality of his edict in favour of the press, those severe restrictions and heavy penalties, with which, in certain cases, it has since been shackled.

We find, however, by letters from Vienna, dated early in the year 1782, that the business of reform in Germany was then far advanced. One of these letters, dated on the 2d of February, states, that the imperial decree, relative to the suppression of the religious orders, had been carried into execution in Bohemia and Moravia, without any *consequences*; and that the money arising from the confiscation of their effects would be applied to public purposes. Information of a week later stated, that twenty-four Carthusian monasteries had been already suppressed  
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in the Austrian hereditary countries, exclusive of the kingdom of Hungary. Another estimate, dated before the end of the month, without mentioning whether Hungary is included, states the number of religious houses then suppressed at fifty-five. The suppression was not, however, general, being restricted to those orders whose members, being charged with indulging themselves in an idle and contemplative life, were considered as being of no real use to society; while, on the other hand, protection and encouragement were afforded to those institutions, which had for their object the education of youth. The monks and nuns of the suppressed orders were absolved from their vows, and some provision was made for their maintenance.

Previous to this period, and before the close of the preceding year, an edict had been published at Brussels, by which all the religious houses in the Austrian Netherlands, of whatever denomination, were discharged and exempted from every degree of foreign ecclesiastical jurisdiction. This was followed by an imperial rescript, which was circulated throughout all his dominions, stating the reasons and principles which induced him to shake off the papal yoke; and totally disclaiming all subordination whatever, in secular affairs, to the holy see.

Nor were the mountains of the Alps, nor the vicinity of the once-formidable thunders of the vatican, sufficient to secure the ecclesiastical orders in the duchy of Milan from experiencing the fate of their German and Hungarian brethren. Two edicts were published at Milan in the beginning of the year 1782, for the suppression of all those orders in

that duchy, which were under the circumstances we have before recited, decreeing their estates to be sold by public auction, and their value, excepting only the stipends allotted for the maintenance of the late possessors, to be applied to the exigencies of the state.

These measures excited the greatest alarm at the Court of Rome. Council was held upon council, and congregation upon congregation at the vatican, while nothing was decided or proposed, which seemed in any degree capable of resisting, or even mitigating the evil. In this state of present distress, and apprehension for the future, the sovereign pontiff, Pius the Sixth, notwithstanding his great age, his infirmities, the badness of the roads, the length of the journey, and the extreme severity of the season, determined upon going to Vienna, and conferring personally upon the subjects of grievance or complaint with the emperor. It was in vain that his friends represented, and remonstrated with him, upon the difficulties and dangers attending such a journey, in his state of health, time of life, and at such a season of the year; he resolutely answered, that no obstacles or perils should deter him from the discharge of his duty; that, whatever he suffered in the attempt, or, if he was doomed to perish in the execution, it would be no more than what he was bound to endure; that the event lay with God, but the fulfilling of his duty, so far as he was capable of doing it, with himself; and he continued inflexibly to adhere to his determination.

This was about the close of the year 1781, and the pope having communicated his design through the nuncio at Vienna to the emperor,

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peror,

peror, entered at the same time into the gentlest possible expostulation with him upon the measures which he was pursuing. He reminded him that Benedict the Fourteenth had been his god-father; he recalled to memory the piety of his mother, and the constant regard of his family to the church; he requested and intreated, that he would not strip the apostolic see of those rights which it had possessed from time immemorial; he stated, that the object of his journey was to converse in the most amicable manner with him, upon the subject of some late innovations which had taken place, relative to religious matters; and to endeavour to prevail with him not to invade the rights of the church, or to diminish the pontifical prerogatives, neither of which could be done, without deeply injuring the interests of religion itself.

The emperor, who had already taken his measures, would have been very well pleased to avoid the trouble and formality of this unexampled visit. In his answer to the sovereign pontiff he observed, that if his holiness should persist in his design of coming thither, he should certainly be received with all the respect and regard due to his high dignity; but that, if the object of his journey related to those measures and regulations, upon which he had himself already decided, it would be totally superfluous. That as to himself, he always conformed, in his determinations and measures, to the rules of reason, equity, humanity, and religion. That, before they were carried into execution, he always consulted persons of wisdom, integrity, and knowledge, upon the affairs in which he engaged. He declared himself to be truly catholic

and apostolic; and concluded, by beseeching his holiness to grant him his benediction. Such was the moderate language used upon this occasion, through necessity on the one side, and proceeding from a cool and studied policy on the other.

Notwithstanding the little encouragement or hope afforded by this answer, the pope still persevered in his design. He probably relied a good deal upon the effects which his age, the sacredness of his office and character, along with the novelty of the undertaking (still rendered more singular by the difficulties of the journey, and the untoward season of the year) might produce.

Under these, or other impressions or ideas, Pius the Sixth, the Roman pontiff, set out on his journey from Rome, within two days of the end of February, and arrived at Vienna on the 22d of March 1782. The emperor, accompanied by his brother, the archduke Maximilian, went to meet the holy father at Neukirken, and conducted him in his own coach to Vienna. Every possible mark of honour and respect was paid to him by that city and court at his arrival. *Te Deum* was performed before the whole court as a thanksgiving for that event, the host being publicly exposed during the time. A similar course of honour and respect continued to be paid to him during the whole time of his stay in Vienna; and the very guarded and strict precautions used by the police, were not sufficient to prevent several legs and arms from being broken, through the eagerness of the people to receive his benediction, on his way to and from church on Easter-day.

But these were mere outward forms, which could have no connection

nction with the interior operations of the cabinet; and though frequent conferences took place between the emperor and pope, at the conclusion of which marks of the greatest mutual satisfaction were always thought apparent; yet the event has fully shewn, that the latter did not gain any one material object of his wishes.

It was said, that in one of these conferences, the pope delivered his sentiments to the powerful sovereign whom he was addressing in terms to the following effect:—"I have neither the power nor the will to defend by force those rights which the sovereign pontiffs, my predecessors, formerly enjoyed. I am far also from pretending to oppose the execution of those ordinances, which the wisdom of sovereigns might find it necessary to prescribe, for the security of government, or the benefit of their subjects. All I shall desire and expect in return, is, that these potentates should equally respect those hitherto undisputed immunities, prerogatives, and rights, which, without interfering with the rights of others, have through so many ages appertained to the holy see. What I therefore wish, and, in order to prevent the total degradation of the pontifical dignity will be found absolutely necessary, is, that a congress of ambassadors from all the catholic powers in Europe should be held, and that they should determine upon, and irrevocably fix, such parts of the ancient rights belonging to the holy see, as their sovereigns were still willing to continue in the hands of the pope."—Such was the language now held by the fallen representative of that mighty power, which, through a long course of ages, had held the

Western world under a sway, unexampled, "in its nature, rise, duration, and extent."

We have no information of the answer made to that proposition. It is not improbable that the pontiff was indulged in this speculation, as some lenitive for the disappointment which he experienced in every thing else. The pope continued a month at Vienna; and arrived in Rome about the middle of June; having met with every thing, in the course of his journey both outwards and homewards, that could be deemed pleasing or flattering, excepting only success in the object for which it was undertaken.

It seemed not a little remarkable, and as if the conferences between the emperor and the pope had produced persuasion where it was least to be expected, that at a consistory held in Rome, soon after the return of the latter, it was said to have been determined to take measures for abridging by degrees the number of convents both for males and females throughout Europe; for restricting to a limited number the members of the remaining communities; and for preventing in future the admission of novices under 25 years of age.

The visit to Vienna occasioned no intermission whatever of the emperor's proceedings with respect to his ecclesiastical reforms; which were extended to the secular clergy and hierarchy, as well as to the religious orders, or regulars. A commission was established for the administration of the sequestered estates and effects, which were so considerable, that the most moderate calculators supposed that the emperor would gain four or five

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millions sterling by the reform; while other, and probably less accurate estimates, went to double that sum. Annual stipends were allotted for the maintenance of the reformed prelates, abbots, abbeesses, canons, canonesses, monks, and nuns; which were, in some degree, proportioned to their respective rank or condition; but it was heavily complained that the portions were so scantily measured, as to be shamefully inadequate to the purpose.

This circumstance afforded a handle for rendering the whole measure more particularly odious than it otherwise might have been: and whatever means were used at home to stifle complaint upon the occasion, they could not restrain the censure of foreigners upon the conduct of this prince. It was held out, that the object of plundering the church, and the destination of its pillage, (instead of being applied to any useful or benevolent purposes) was intended merely for the support of those schemes of ambition, which had long possessed his mind, and which, in concert with Russia, he was now endeavouring to bring to maturity. That though these schemes went only in the first instance to the overthrow of the Germanic constitution, and the subversion of the princes of the empire, they were not less inimical in their more remote views to the interests, repose, and security of the European states in general. That farther and more extensive partitions of territory and power, including the sea as well as the land, were already in their contemplation:

and that such prospects and hopes could only in times of peace afford gratification to the insatiate ambition of these two powers.

A celebrated French writer\*, in touching occasionally upon the question of justice, with respect to the expulsion of the ecclesiastics, and the confiscation of their goods, treats it in the following manner:—"I prefer a convent of nuns to a regiment of soldiers. If the first oppose the intentions of nature, they do not tear her to pieces: if they violate her institution, it is in order to perpetuate their species; whereas the latter take an oath to destroy them upon the first signal given by despotism. The internal revolutions which the emperor has effected in his dominions have been greatly applauded; but what a number of objections might be brought against these eulogiums; at least, the panegyrists of Joseph the Second ought to tell us, what justice they find in driving a citizen from the profession which he has embraced under the sanction of the laws. I will tell them plainly, that there is as much injustice in expelling a friar or a nun from their retreat, as in turning a private individual out of his house. Despise the friars as much as you will, but do not persecute them, but above all do not rob them; for we ought neither to persecute nor rob any man, from the avowed atheist down to the most credulous catholicin."

Thus did the emperor smoothly pursue with little noise, without

\* Count de Mirabeau. See his Doubts concerning the free Navigation of the Scheldt, &c. English translation, note to p. 160.



even exciting much admiration or surprize, without the smallest opposition, either foreign or domestic, and without in any degree forfeiting the name and character (which he seemed particularly fond of retaining) of a faithful son of the church, those very measures which had drawn on Henry the Eighth of England, and on his kingdom, all the fulminations of the court of Rome; and which, at a still earlier period, would have been the means of pouring down inevitable destruction on

the one, and of involving the other in a dismal scene of trouble and blood. Such are the wonderful changes which take place, not more in the affairs, than in the ideas, opinions, and principles of men, and such the facility, which a fortunate coincidence of times and seasons with circumstances and events, and a wise or happy application of action to both, may administer to the accomplishment of the greatest and most unexpected revolutions.

## C H A P. II.

*Retrospective view continued. State of the great powers on the borders of Europe and Asia Ottoman Empire. Numerous sources of discord with Russia. Successful endeavours of the captain bashaw, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of public affairs, to quell rebellion and restore order. He rescues the Morea from the Albanians; punishes the authors, and puts an end to the disorders on the coasts of Asia; prevents the intended extermination of the Greeks. The Porte, after much contest, submits to the receiving Russian consuls in the provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia. Troubles in the Crimea. Tartar Khan accepts a commission in the Russian service. Dreadful Conflagrations in Constantinople. Forty thousand houses destroyed. Grand Vizir deposed, and succeeded by Feian Mehemet, a man of parts and ability. Russian Khan deposed by the discontented Tartars, and a new one elected, who is privately supported by the Porte. Great differences between the two empires on that account. Long truce between the Porte and the court of Vienna on the point of expiring, which involves the former in new difficulties on that side. Divan sit eight days debating on the question of a war with Russia. Pacific resolutions adopted, through the influence of the captain bashaw, grand vizir, and musti. Popularity of the grand signior, and the firmness of his ministers, prevent any dangerous effect from the violent ferment of the people, who are clamorous for war; and whose passions are not less agitated by the pacific conduct of the court, than by the contemplation of their ruined city. Emperor openly avows his determination of supporting the claims of Russia, as well as his own. Strong memorials presented, and harsh demands made, by the courts of Petersburg and Vienna, toward the close of the year 1782. Hospodar of Wallachia strangled. Excellent conduct of the grand signior, with respect to the persecution carried on by the Armenian patriarch. Vast preparations for war on all sides in the year 1783. Treaty between the Porte and Spain. New Khan of the Tartars expelled by the Russians. Former Khan abdicates his throne, and assigns his dominion and*

*country to the empress of Russia ; who issues a manifesto, assigning the causes for her annexing the Crimea, Cuban, and isle of Taman to her empire. Manifesto from the Porte in answer. Notwithstanding the immense preparations and immediate appearances of war, negotiations for a peace are carried on at Constantinople under the mediation of France. In the height of the troubles the navigation of the Danube is opened to the emperor, two of whose ships are received at Belgrade, and prosecute their voyage to the Black Sea. Ottoman difficulties and enemies multiplying on all sides. Appearances on the side of Venice. Troubles in Egypt. Persians attack Bassora. Prince Heraclius invades Natolia. Treaty of commerce between Russia and the Porte, is followed by a new treaty of accommodation between the two empires, which is concluded at Constantinople in the beginning of the year 1784. Accommodation with the emperor. Spanish expedition against Algiers. Earthquakes in Calabria and Sicily.*

THE disorders of the Ottoman empire were too numerous and inveterate, to admit of any effectual remedy, within the few years of uncertain peace that had elapsed since the conclusion of the late unfortunate war with Russia. So much was to be done, that it would have required many years of tranquillity, and an unremitting pursuit of the wisest and most vigorous measures, to have accomplished the reforms that were wanting in so many departments of the state, and which, to produce their full effect, should have included the whole military and naval system of that empire ; the Turks having, partly through pride and bigotry, partly through native or habitual indolence, and still more than all, through a succession of weak and inactive governments, suffered the western nations to leave them a full century behind, with respect to tactics, to the construction and management of artillery, and to all improvements in the art of war. Their militia likewise, both of horse and foot, which had been excellent in their institution, and had been farther reformed and much improved by the wise regulations of their great emperor, Soliman the

Magnificent, have since been suffered so shamefully to degenerate, that one highly and justly distinguished order of them has frequently proved more dangerous to the state than to its enemies, and a great part of the other has of late years been more an incumbrance and impediment to service, than an arm of strength and effect in the field.

But the treaty of Kainardgiac, in 1774, did not afford that state of security which would have been necessary for the accomplishment of schemes of great and general reform and improvement. No such season of quiet and leisure has yet occurred ; nor do the present appearances of public affairs indicate the near approach of it. The extraordinary successes of Russia in the late war, and still more than these, the unexampled weakness and disorder which she discovered in her opponent, could not but enlarge her views to many new and before unthought-of objects. A wide field for enterprize and ambition was opened on the side both of Europe and Asia. She granted present peace to her prostrate enemy, for peace was then, from many concurrent causes,



causes, necessary to herself. She seemed to rise from a banquet of victory, to which she might return, whenever leisure served, and appetite invited. It was only her business to take care that the services should not be removed, nor the way barred against her return.

The peace was such as was to be expected from the circumstances on both sides; and seemed to be founded on the principles we have stated. It sowed such numberless seeds of contention, that the succession of the crops could scarcely fail under any management: and the fuel for lighting up future wars was so thickly spread, that it seemed as if nothing less than the inability of both parties, or the destruction of one, could ever bring them to a final conclusion.

The peace, however, such as it was, was then indispensably necessary to the immediate preservation of the Turkish empire: but from the nature of its conditions, and the never-ending train of consequences which they were capable of producing, could no longer be endured by the party aggrieved, than while some degree of similar necessity was prevalent. We have accordingly seen, that within so small a space of time as five years from the conclusion of the former bloody war, and notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which one party still laboured, a new war was just upon the point of breaking out between the two empires; and was only prevented by a new treaty of pacification, which took place on the 21st of March, 1779. Though France had the honour of bringing about that accommodation, and though her interference had undoubtedly great weight

in the business, it is certain that Russia was not at that time by any means fully disposed to war: and that neither her own internal situation, nor the state of public affairs in Europe, rendered it a season favourable to the accomplishment of her designs in any extensive degree. But at all events she would not give up any material part of what she had gained; nor, to avoid present inconvenience, admit of any such innovation, as might intercept her prospects, and prevent, when the proper season arrived, the further prosecution of her designs.

On the other hand, her adversary, feeling himself wrung in every part by the conditions and consequences of the late peace, and fully perceiving that the evils and dangers already produced would, instead of lessening, every day increase, thought it better, without regard to comparative estimates of strength and weakness, to put every thing to the hazard of war, than to submit without an effort, for the sake of a short-lived security, to the silent but inevitable approach of ruin, under the insidious cover of peace. The Porte accordingly captiously evaded, or peevishly refused a compliance, with many of the conditions, and things were proceeding fast to the last extremity. Under these circumstances, however, on both sides, the opportune mediation of France could not be an unwelcome relief to either: mutual concessions were accordingly made, and the affair was patched up for the present.

But the great source of discord was still left open. The pretended independency of the Crimea afforded such an opening to Russia into the very heart of the Turkish empire, and such opportunities of

interference with the various Mahometan and Christian states which had been more or less dependant on the Porte in Europe and in Asia, that it was scarcely possible for any lasting tranquillity to subsist between the two empires. Though the Turkish seas had at length been most unwillingly opened to Russia, yet the mode and extent of that commerce, the regulations to which it was or was not to be subject, the double passage through the Bosphorus and Dardanelles, whether from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, or from the Baltic and Ocean to Constantinople and the Black Sea, with the trade to the Greek islands in the Archipelago, and the designed impediments thrown in by the custom-houses, afforded altogether (and all aggravated by the original ill-will which accompanied the concession) inexhaustible sources of litigation and contest. A claim made and insisted on by Russia, of establishing consuls in the three provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia, was exceedingly grievous to the Porte; which, besides considering them as licenced spies, was well aware that they would act as agents and negotiators with the Greek princes and inhabitants of the two former, who would therefrom be in a constant state of preparation for rebellion.

Under these circumstances of continual embarrassment and apparent danger from without, the celebrated Hassan Bey, the captain bashaw, (whose name we have heretofore had an opportunity of mentioning, with some part of that respect due to his character) was indefatigable in his endeavours to curb the violences, and to restrain the disorders, to which the late war had afforded

birth and nurture, and which had spread anarchy and desolation through almost every part of the empire. He had succeeded in these attempts beyond whatever could have been expected, from the forlorn state of the Ottoman affairs at the conclusion of the war. He reduced, and chastised, with a severity which, considering their enormities, could not be deemed illaudable, the most powerful rebels of the empire: he rescued the celebrated and beautiful province of the Morea, (the antient Peloponnesus) from the cruel invasion of the Albanians; he cleared the coasts of Syria and the lesser Asia of those despots, whose petty wars and ravages had every where spread desolation and ruin; and restored order, quiet, and security to those commercial regions. But his most signal service, and which abundantly shews (more especially as he had not the fortune of being enlightened by a liberal education) his natural magnanimity, and the comprehensiveness of his mind, was his overruling in council the design of exterminating the Greeks, which had been intended as a punishment for their defection in the late war, and to prevent similar or greater dangers in future. Not satisfied with warding off that fatal blow, he obtained a general amnesty for that people; and has since taken care to have it so faithfully observed, as is supposed to have occasioned no small change in their dispositions. But the abilities and exertions of that great commander and minister could only reach to the correction of some of the most glaring, and immediately dangerous enormities.

Notwithstanding the treaty of pacification so lately concluded, differences

differences again ran high, so early as the commencement of the year 1781, between the Porte and the court of Petersburg, upon the subject of admitting Russian consuls in the three provinces already mentioned; the former indeed wished rather to evade, than absolutely to refuse a compliance; and is said to have descended so far as to write to count Panin, requesting that his court would not insist on a measure, which was so exceedingly irksome to the grand signior himself, as well as to the divan. This solicitation did not produce the desired effect; and M. de Stachief, the Russian minister at the Porte, still continued to insist that that business should be immediately settled; observing, that his court made no new claims, that they only demanded a compliance with a positive article of the late treaty, and with respect to that they would not relax a tittle.

The death of the grand vizir, in the month of February, 1781, afforded an opportunity to the captain bashaw of successfully urging his great influence with the emperor, in procuring Ysêd Mehemet, the governor of Erzerum, whom he knew to be a man of ability, to be appointed his successor. As it was about two months before the new grand vizir could arrive to take possession of his office, it was filled up by the captain bashaw in the interim.

After long disputes, many peremptory demands, and some haughty answers, which seemed to indicate another termination, the Turkish ministers, more from a sense of the inability of the state for war, than from pacific dispositions, found it necessary, towards the close of the

year 1781, not only to give up the point of debate with respect to the consuls, but to submit to the degrading concession of sacrificing the Reis Effendi, who is the minister for foreign affairs, and on whom it was now thought proper to charge all past difficulties, as well as those spirited replies which had given to much offence to Russia. He being accordingly deposed, a formal diploma was passed, acknowledging and receiving Mr. Laskaroff as consul general of Russia, with liberty of residing (which had before been a matter of much debate) at Bucharest, Jassy, or whatever other part of the three provinces he might think it necessary.

This concession, however mortifying, produced but a short-lived effect. New troubles were continually breaking forth on the side of the Crimea, and the two courts of Constantinople and Petersburg were as constantly embroiled in their consequences. Sabin Guerai, the khan who had been placed over the Tartars of that peninsula by the power and influence of Russia, whether through defect of spirit, or excess of gratitude, made a more ostentatious display of his attachment, and even vassalage, than was suited either to his character as khan, or to that of the people whom he pretended to govern; nor was it entirely consistent with the boasted disinterestedness of that court, which had disclaimed all views upon the Crimea, excepting the supposed establishment and support of its independency. He even descended so far, as to accept a captain's commission in the empress's body guards.

These things were ill to be borne by a high-spirited people, who had



in all ages considered liberty as the most invaluable of human blessings. The means used by Russia to gain a strong party in the country, to support their khan, could only reach to a limited portion of the people; but a great majority were highly dissatisfied at these proceedings, and wished to be again governed by their own princes, in their own way. They likewise preferred a connection with the Ottomans, with whom they had been so long united, who were of the same religion, and in conjunction with whom they had partaken of so much glory and spoil in war, than with a nation, which, besides being Christian, they had been in the habit, through many ages, of regarding either with contempt or enmity.

The discontented party were encouraged and supported by the Tartars of the Cuban, as well as the Nogais, and even by some of the more distant nations or tribes of that people, who could not but be alarmed at the manner in which Russia was spreading her influence and authority on all sides, and apprehensive of becoming victims to her power and designs in their turn. Nor will it be imagined that the Porte itself did not secretly encourage the ill disposition of this people to Russia and to her khan; especially as she did not prevent several of her Mahometan subjects, in the Asiatic countries bordering on the Black Sea, from taking an open and active part in the ensuing troubles of the Crimea.

The devastation which the city of Constantinople sustained by fire, in the course of the year 1782, has scarcely been equalled. Besides several preceding losses, and being

unusually harrassed by the plague, on the 23d of July in the evening a fire broke out in the quarter called Ballatta, which was mostly inhabited by Jews, and a most populous part of the town. The wind being high, and the weather for some time preceding very dry, it spread with the utmost rapidity, and threatened the whole city with destruction. During seventeen hours that it lasted, the grand signior, the vizir, and other great officers of state were constantly on horseback, using every exertion to stop the progress of the flames, and to animate the people to their duty. The number of houses destroyed was calculated at ten thousand, besides mosques, churches, and other public edifices.

But this fire, dreadful as it was, seemed only a preparatory notice to that unfortunate city of the calamity to which it was immediately destined. In something short of a month, about ten o'clock at night, on the 22d of August, a fire broke out in the quarter called Gibali, situated towards the middle of the harbour; and this being enraged by a high north wind, was soon extended to such a degree, as baffled all efforts for its suppression, and seemed to put an end to all hope. The violence and intenseness of the fire were so great, that one of the largest and strongest palaces, that of the aga of the janissaries, totally disappeared in less than ten minutes after the flames had reached it.

The flames proceeded from sea to sea, and burned the interior of the seven towers, at the opposite extremity of the city. In that direction the fire raged three miles in length, through the richest and best inhabited streets, carrying a front  
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of sometimes a mile broad, and sometimes less, as the irregular hilly situation of the city would admit. It then branched out in various directions, so that there seemed at one time no less than eleven distinct conflagrations. Most of these were only stopped by the sea, consuming the very wharfs, and every thing to the water edge. A great but unknown number of people perished; one part being surrounded and intercepted by the flames, and the other, more happily throwing themselves into the water, to escape a more dreadful fate.

This conflagration (which perhaps has not been exceeded by any recorded in history) continued to rage with unremitting fury for sixty-two hours; the wind blowing fiercely almost the whole time. If the damage was not entirely irreparable, it was, however, impossible to ascertain, in any degree, the amount of the losses. The sufferings and distress of above two hundred thousand people, involved at once in ruin and calamity, and left without refuge or shelter from the weather, would still less admit of description. It was supposed that about two-thirds of that vast and populous city had been destroyed by the late and the present fire; and that above 40,000 houses then lay in ruins. The destruction of public edifices was proportioned to that of private buildings. All the chambers of the janissaries, above 50 mosques, 300 corn-mills, and 200 public ovens, were destroyed. The loss of a number of great magazines stored with provisions (a vast supply of which is always necessarily kept in hand to prevent the danger of a famine in that overgrown metro-

polis) was among the evils most sensibly and immediately felt.

The direction of the wind happened to be favourable to the seraglio, and to what might be considered as the government quarter of the city, which accordingly escaped the desolation. The grand signior, and all the ministers of the Porte, attended, and distributed money without count to the people. The fast of the Ramazan was suspended, and every subsequent measure pursued, which could afford relief, or even satisfaction to the people.

But the public fermentation was too extreme to be easily allayed. The repeated misfortunes and present miseries of the people seemed insupportable. A revolution had been the usual consequence of much less severe and afflicting trials; and though the good qualities and popularity of the grand signior, along with the firmness of the captain bashaw, might possibly enable them to weather the danger, it was however necessary to hold out some object of blame to the people, on which they might vent their ill-humour. The sacrifice of an unfortunate minister, however blameless or deserving, is indeed the great resource of despotic governments in cases of great public discontent. Happy is it thought when the victim is accepted as a whole offering.

Ysed Mehemet was accordingly deposed from his office of grand vizir, in two days after the fire had been subdued; and Jeian Mehemet, a man, at least of equal, if not superior abilities, and more fortunate, was appointed his successor. The late minister passed through the ordeal of removal with more impunity, than had been usually experienced in

in such circumstances. He was only sent in exile to Demotica, without any mark of ill-will or reprobation whatever. Though we have no particular information on the subject, it seems highly probable, that the present appointment proceeded from the same influence which procured the former. The unusual, and, perhaps in that court, unequalled cordiality which constantly prevailed between the new grand vizir and the captain bashaw, and the equal part which they ever continued to take, in their endeavours to correct the abuses, and to restore the affairs of the empire, serve strongly to countenance this opinion.

The late calamity was little calculated to encourage the state to undertake, or to enable it to maintain, a war; at the same time that the causes for war were multiplying, and its appearances, on more sides than one, sufficiently menacing. The troubles in the Crimea were risen to their utmost pitch. The revolted Tartars had elected a new khan. A civil war ensued. That beautiful, and lately populous country, became a scene of desolation and blood. Sabin Gueraï was worsted, and his party at length reduced almost to nothing. This was the very state of things which Russia undoubtedly wished, and had all along fought for. She had now a pretence for sending her forces into the Crimea, to support what she represented as the real prince, against rebels and an usurper. The consequences were easily foreseen. The Tartars, torn to pieces among themselves, notwithstanding the aid they received from without, were little able to withstand the regular forces, and unabating exertions of the Rus-

sians. In these circumstances they turned their eyes, and directed all their hopes to the Porte, as their last refuge.

At the same time, the court of Petersburg highly resented the conduct of the Porte, to which it attributed all the troubles of the Crimea. It charged them with fomenting the discontents, and being the author of the revolt in that country; with suffering and encouraging their subjects in Natolia to take a direct and active part in the war; and with instigating other Tartar tribes and nations, both to an interference in those troubles, and to commit many irregularities elsewhere, particularly on the side of Caucasus. Strong remonstrances on these subjects were backed by the march of Russian armies towards the frontiers, by the forming of magazines, and by all the preparations for war. Similar measures were necessarily adopted on the other side, so that a rupture between the two powers seemed inevitable.

But another great neighbour, who could scarcely be deemed less dangerous, and was not much disposed to be less troublesome than Russia, was destined to involve the Ottoman empire still deeper in embarrassment and difficulty. The emperor of Germany, at the same time that he was dismantling the celebrated fortresses on his western borders, was assiduously engaged, without sparing labour or expence, in enlarging and increasing those on his eastern frontiers. Every thing military, all the dreadful apparatus of war, were transferred to the Drave, the Save, and the Danube. The garrisons were replenished, lines formed and filled with troops, and these great  
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rivers covered with artillery, ammunition, and provision for the magazines.

The long truce between the Porte and the court of Vienna was on the point of expiring; and, in the present state of their affairs, there was nothing the former wished for more than a renewal of the truce, excepting only the conclusion of a solid peace, upon such conditions as might be capable of preventing future differences, and of securing for a long time their tranquillity on that side. They accordingly proposed sending an extraordinary embassy for this purpose to Vienna; but the emperor, who had other views, found means to evade the proposal. That politic prince, determining to be governed in his conduct by future contingencies, was not at all disposed, for present moderate advantages, to give up the prospect of obtaining much greater, when a proper time and season might arrive. He was besides so closely linked with Russia, and their views being directed to one object, which was, however, of so vast a magnitude, as to afford full room for the enterprize and ambition of both, little doubt can be entertained, but that plans of future operation and arrangement, suited to probable contingencies and circumstances, had already been mutually concerted.

However that was, the emperor kept the business of renewing the truce, or concluding a treaty of peace, at a distance. It was held out in general terms by his ministers, that for that purpose a new demarcation of limits would be indispensably necessary; that a restoration of the whole or a part of the cessions made by the court of Vi-

enna, in the treaty of Belgrade, would be expected; and that the free navigation of the Danube, and of the Black Sea, were objects so much at heart, that they could not by any means be overlooked. In the mean time, preparations for war were carried on with as much vigour in Hungary, and the adjoining countries, as if it had been a matter determined on; and no doubt could remain on the side of the Porte, but that a rupture with Russia must inevitably be attended by a war with the emperor.

Under these discouraging circumstances, and the fate of the empire seeming to hang upon the result, the Divan spent eight successive days, in the month of September 1782, debating on the question of a war with Russia. The ruinous consequences of that power's succeeding in her designs upon the Crimea; of the naval strength which the excellent harbours, and the commerce of that peninsula, would place in her hands; of the prodigious addition to her power by land (already too great) which her swallowing up all the nations of Tartars between the Caspian, the Black Sea, the Bosphorus, and the Danube, and their being involved in the common mass of her subjects, would occasion; were all fully understood, and stated, as well as many other evils and dangers.

The temper and disposition of their own people were likewise matters of consideration. The Turks in general, and more particularly the inhabitants of the metropolis, incapable of knowing or comprehending the true state of public affairs, and the real situation of the empire, attributed all that apparent degradation, of which they were too  
sensible,

sensible, to the want of ability or spirit in their governors. The sight of the Russian flag flying in their narrow seas and channels, was as grievous as it was novel; the haughty commanding language held upon every occasion by the ministers of that power, was intolerably galling to the Turkish pride; and as they felt greatly for the sufferings and oppression of the Tartars, they were exceedingly interested in the affairs of the Crimea, and in behalf of the new khan. The great marine which Russia was forming at Cherfon (a new port near the mouth of the Boristhenes, on the Black Sea) was likewise among the cogent reasons for immediate war; that event, it was said, must, at no great distance of time, inevitably take place; and it was better to encounter the danger while the enemy continued weak on one element, than to wait till he became irresistible both by sea and land. The public, accordingly, loudly cried for war; and it has ever been dangerous to government, in that country, to oppose the general sense of the people.

To all these powerful motives and reasons for entering into a war (the validity of which could not be disputed) one short but irresistible argument was to be opposed. This was the unfortunate situation of public affairs, which rendered the state so far incapable of entering into a war (even with one of her formidable enemies) upon any rational ground of advantage, that she would, on the contrary, rush into it under the dismal impression of inevitable ruin. That neither their naval nor land forces were yet in a condition, in any degree, to warrant so dangerous a trial. That although the captain bashaw had with wonderful

perseverance and industry, in some degree, created a new marine, and had made great improvements, as well in the construction of the ships, as in the manner of working and fighting them, and in the nature and management of their artillery; yet that great work was still far from being brought to perfection, and would require farther time, along with all his application and abilities, for its accomplishment. That similar objections, but with much greater force, were applicable with respect to the state of their armies. That the great reforms in the discipline of the troops, which were now in act as well as in prospect, though conducted under the auspices of the grand signior himself, and supported by all the powers of government, were yet of a nature which forbade their being compassed of a sudden. That improvements of such magnitude, with such numberless difficulties to encounter, and in the execution of which they must rely entirely upon the assistance of foreigners, must require long time and long patience for the accomplishment. And that surely they did not want fore and recent experience to be informed, that no valour could enable their armies, in the present state of their arms and discipline, to withstand European forces in the field. That it was therefore more wise and eligible to submit to present loss, and even disgrace, however grievous that was, under the hope of the future good effect of these measures, and of a more fortunate conjunction of things, than in a fit of mad and impotent vexation to precipitate the empire into destruction. That the Tartars were a people easily subdued; but that it had ever been

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found exceedingly difficult to retain them long in subjection; and that whenever the proper and fortunate season arrived, they would return with the greatest joy, and with renewed zeal and affection, to the arms of their old and natural friends and protectors.

These arguments being firmly supported by the grand vizir, the captain bashaw, and the musti, they at length brought over the greater number, who had been advocates for war, to their opinion. It was accordingly determined to leave the affairs of the Crimea to take their own course; to disavow any past interference of government in that business; and to attribute to the zeal of individuals for their religion, and a strong attachment to the Tartars, whom, from long habits of connection, they considered nearly as the same people with themselves, the conduct of such of their Turkish subjects, whether in Natolia, or elsewhere, as had taken any part in the troubles: but while these instances of condescension, and a love of tranquillity, were given on their side, fully to represent the impropriety in the conduct of Russia, and to shew that the Tartars, having been declared independent by the late treaty, were to be considered as absolute masters of their own conduct, with respect to the electing or deposing of their sovereigns; that no neighbouring power could have the smallest pretence of right for interfering in either case; but that if the reverse were even admitted, the conduct of the deposed khan, in endeavouring to overthrow the laws and constitutions of his country, could not be supported upon any principle of justice. It was at the same time determined, that the

Porte should, by the strongest remonstrances, and by every other measure short of war, endeavour to prevent Russia from making any permanent settlement in the Crimea, and from converting, under the pretence of garrisons, any of the principal harbours and fortresses to her own use. It was likewise agreed upon to make a proposal to the court of Petersburg, of referring all matters of difference between the two empires, including the affairs of the Crimea, to the arbitration of some Christian power, who should be mutually chosen by the parties, and whose determination should be conclusive.

Though these pacific measures were directly contrary to the wishes of the public, and that the continual fight and contemplation of the ruins of their houses would have been sufficient alone to have excited the highest ferment among the populace; yet through the popularity of the grand signior, with the vigour and firmness of his principal ministers, not only no convulsion whatever took place, but a degree of quiet and order was preserved, unexampled in that city, under any circumstances of irritation and discontent, approaching even in a remote degree to those which prevailed at present.

In the mean time, the fury of the plague, which, through the summer and autumn of the year 1782 had most cruelly ravaged all the Tartar and Turkish countries on the frontiers of Russia and Poland, had served to restrain the no less cruel ravages of war; and in particular had greatly checked the operation of the Russian armies, who were much more intent on guarding against the approaches of that fell enemy, than

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on gratifying ambition at the expence of any other.

Before the effect of the late pacific counsels could be known, the Porte had the mortification to discover, that the impatience and haughtiness of its great neighbours were too extreme, to admit of their listening to arguments, or waiting the slow result of negotiations. The Emperor of Germany now pulled off the mask, and avowed his determination of supporting all the claims and pretensions of Russia, as well as his own; and the engagements between both were declaredly reciprocal. Towards the close of the year 1782 two very strong, and, as they were called, spirited memorials, were presented from the courts of Petersburg and Vienna; in which, besides other things, it was peremptorily insisted, that the Porte should not in future, under any pretence, intermeddle in the affairs of the Tartars; that the privileges of the two provinces of Moldavia and Walachia should not be infringed; and that the free navigation of the Black Sea and the Archipelago should not in any manner be obstructed. The consequences of a failure with respect to these demands could not be more fully explained than they already were, by the appearance of the armies on the frontiers, and of the vast preparations for war which had been made by both the parties.

The part which necessity compelled the Porte to take had been already decided in her own councils; but it was necessary to preserve some appearances of dignity. Every preparation was made as if war had been determined upon; and some of the Turkish officers upon the emperor's frontiers, in

their eagerness for that event, and perhaps mistaking these appearances for realities, committed some irregularities which afforded room for complaint. The Porte likewise, desperate as its circumstances were, gave an immediate instance of spirit, in the punishment of one of its officers or vassals. The hospodar of Walachia was long known to be strongly attached to the Russian interest; and was likewise suspected, probably with justice, of keeping up a private, but constant correspondence with that people. Two of his sons, some time before, had made a seeming escape, as if pursued by enemies, from their father's court, and fled to Vienna. With all these unfavourable circumstances, the proposition in the late memorials, relative to the privileges of that province, was supposed to originate from, and partly to relate to this man. However these things were, the hospodar was condemned to the bow-string, in a few days after the memorials had been presented. It is little to be doubted but that he hoped, in case a new arrangement of territorial dominion should take place, that the principality might, upon certain conditions, be rendered hereditary in his family. An idea probably as problematical, as any he could possibly have entertained.

This act of severity was succeeded by one, which, with regard to justice, humanity, and benevolence, did great honour to the personal character of the grand signior. The numerous proselytes from the Armenian profession of Christianity, which the industry of the clergy and missionaries of the Latin church constantly made, had ever been considered as an intolerable grievance by



by the bigotted members, and particularly the metropolitans of the former; who regarded the Christians of the Catholic communion with much greater abhorrence than they did the Mahometans, or any race of infidels, among whom they were scattered. The effects of this mortal antipathy have ever been displayed, in every part of Asia, even to the remotest East, where the Armenian clergy had sufficient influence with the government, either to raise a persecution, or to procure any other means of obstructing the progress of their fellow Christians.

The present patriarch of that church, besides being blinded by his fanaticism, being by nature excessively cruel, carried on a persecution against his unfortunate countrymen, the Catholic Armenians, which served, in some degree, to recal the memory of those that had distinguished the early ages of Christianity. It seems that this man, being enabled to make large presents to some of the ministers, had acquired such interest at court, that his wretched countrymen, being no objects of concern with them (and it being besides a general maxim of that government, never to interfere in the religious disputes of Christians) were abandoned entirely to his mercy. The galleys, and the most infectious dungeons, were filled with these miserable people; where his influence still following them, they were continually beaten and tormented by their inhuman masters or keepers, who were happy to be paid for gratifying their native and habitual cruelty: at the same time, that those of condition and opulence were glad to fly their country, and abandon a great part of their ef-

fects, in order to escape the persecution.

One of the Christian ministers resident at the Porte, touched with the calamities of these people, thought these transactions so inconsistent with the natural beneficence of the grand signior's mind, and his abhorrence of all manner of cruelty, that, well judging the persecution was carried on without his knowledge, he took an opportunity of laying a full state of all the particulars before him. Nothing could exceed the astonishment and regret shewn by the emperor upon this information. He immediately issued an order, that the unhappy victims should be restored to their liberty, and ample satisfaction made for their effects; and, not satisfied with curing the present evil, he issued an ordinance, forbidding that any person whatever should in future be persecuted, in any part of the Turkish empire, on account of religious principles; and declaring that he would have the Roman Catholics particularly respected, and that they should enjoy in the fullest manner the liberty of exercising their religion.

The pacific disposition of the Porte, and the terms proposed in consequence of it, were of no avail in bringing about an accommodation with her two great and ambitious neighbours. Their demands appeared so exorbitant, that it became a question, even with the wise and moderate, whether it were not better at once to put every thing to the hazard, than to be trained on through degrading concessions to a state of imbecility, which would not leave them the means or power of even rendering their fall glorious. The demands made by Russia were

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said to be no less than the full possession of the Crimea, the isle of Tamar, the Cuban, and Budziac Tary, with the fortrefs of Ockzacow, and other cessions of less importance. On the part of the emperor, besides smaller matters, was required the full restitution of all that had been ceded by the treaty of Belgrade, including that city itself, with a considerable part of the provinces of Walachia, Servia, and Bosnia: these cessions to be followed by such a demarcation of limits, as would afford a satisfactory frontier for their future security; the free navigation of the Danube, and of the Turkish seas, being in all cases to be considered as a preliminary, from which there was no receding.

All sides prepared for the most decisive hostility, and the preparations were immense on all. The year 1783 accordingly exhibited such an apparatus of war on the northern and eastern borders of Europe, as had never before been beheld, even in those martial regions. The Danube groaned, through the better part of his course, under the weight of the prodigious artillery, and the immense quantities of ammunition and provision, which the emperor forwarded from his hereditary states to the frontiers. The troops which he had already in Hungary, and the adjoining provinces, were estimated at more than 130,000, and others were advancing from different quarters. The artillery which he now sent to frontiers that were at all times well provided with that article, was estimated at more than 1500 pieces. Indefatigable in all his pursuits, he visited Hungary and the adjoining

provinces early in the summer, and examined personally the state of the garrisons, magazines, lines, and armies.

The Russian forces were at the same time advancing through different parts of Poland, and through all the countries from the Don to the Nieper, towards the scene of action. Their preparations were, as usual, immense; that government never hesitating at any expence, with respect to labour, men, or the means of supply in war.

On the other hand, the Porte had drawn great bodies of their Asiatic troops into Europe; so that their armies on the frontiers, or the approach to them, already exceeded 150,000 men. Their Janissaries and European troops were in good condition; and their armies in general were better provided, and upon a much better footing, than they had been in the late war. They had procured a great number of European officers, particularly French, to come into their service; among these were several engineers, and they were indefatigable in the improvement of their artillery, and in endeavouring to introduce the European modes of discipline, cloathing, and arms, in their armies. The Janissaries and soldiers shewed, upon this occasion, a docility which had never been expected from them: indeed the bigotry and prejudices even of the common people were visibly wearing away; so powerful are the effects which misfortunes, joined with the example of their rulers, can produce in the manners and tempers of men.

The captain bashaw, who was the life of all their military improvements, as well by land as on his

own element, had formed such a marine on the Black Sea, as to be far superior to the Russian naval force in that quarter. He had likewise a considerable fleet for the Archipelago and Mediterranean service; but that was the Ottoman weak side; and they seemed to dread Russia more there than on any other.

A treaty of some sort or other, but whether of commerce, alliance, or both, we are not well informed, was about this time concluded between Spain and the Porte. It was, however, strongly reported, that the great object of this treaty on one side, was an engagement entered into by the other, that no Russian fleet, beyond a certain specified number, should in future be permitted to enter the Mediterranean on terms of hostility. However this may be, the Porte, surrounded almost as she was by her formidable enemies, had still one consolation in reserve. She knew, that as France was now disengaged from the war with England, she would not be abandoned to absolute destruction by all the western powers. Nor was it to be supposed, that the king of Prussia, or even Sweden, could have been silent or inactive spectators of so great an accession of power, as the spoils of the Ottoman empire would afford, to their already too formidable neighbours. At all events, the Porte prepared vigorously for war.

No details being given by those who have the only means of accurate information of the transactions on the side of Crimea, and the different Tartaries, it is exceedingly difficult to form any thing like a connected narrative, from scraps of information occasionally picked up, and where, being frequently left

entirely in the dark, the events can only be explained by their more striking and public consequences.

It appears upon the whole, from this sort of lights, that the Russians had, in some part of the preceding year, entirely defeated the new khan of the Crimea, and obliged him to abandon the peninsula; that his party were either dispersed or subdued; and that the conquerors had made themselves masters of all the considerable fortresses and ports of that country. That, besides subduing the Cuban, and other neighbouring Tartars, they had extended their power over no small part of the mountains of Caucasus, towards the borders of Georgia and Armenia, the petty states in those parts becoming their vassals, under the name of receiving their protection. That Solomon, the Christian prince of Mingrelia, being restored to his principality by their assistance, submitted to the same state of vassalage; which, in fact, was no more than changing his masters; his country having been, from time immemorial, under a similar subjection to the Turks. The prince Heraclius of Georgia, ever watchful of occasions of advantage, having, during the late war, seized the double opportunity of the troubles in Persia, and the weakness of the Porte, to renounce his fealty to both powers, had of course entered into a strict alliance with Russia. It is to be observed, that the Russian accounts have constantly misrepresented this business, they stating, that the prince Heraclius, as well as Solomon, had, at his own desire, become a vassal to the empress. The fact is however otherwise. Heraclius was too strongly fortified in the fastness of his country, and at too far a distance,

rance, to be compelled to such a measure; and he was too proud and too wise to become a slave without occasion. He had, through the course of no short life, bravely encountered, and fortunately surmounted, many and great dangers, to save or to free his country from the lowest degradation of abject vassalage. He has happily succeeded in obtaining for it, and for himself (though by a precarious tenure) a freedom as perfect as unexpected. He could be little disposed to resign it now, who, through the weakness of his two superior lords, even while he acknowledged their dominion, had for many years been in the habit of letting his fealty and allegiance hang very loosely about him.

This war in the Crimea had not proceeded without difficulties, although the particulars of them are not publicly known. The Russian manifesto, which was published as a justification to the world of her conduct in taking possession of the Crimea, states the expences of the war at twelve millions of roubles, (which does not fall far short of three millions sterling) and seems to consider that expence as a foundation for one of the empress's claims upon that country. The same piece, in stating the loss of lives upon the occasion, observing that their value is inestimable, refrains accordingly from giving an account of the number.

In the mean time the Russian khan abdicated his throne, and transferred the supposed right to the dominion of his country to the empress. This was no less than an absolute sale of a people and their country, the khan receiving considerable estates in Russia for the pur-

chase. It seems remarkable, that neither this abdication nor purchase are specified as affording any title or claim to Russia upon the country; nor indeed are they at all taken notice of in the manifesto.

In that piece, which is signed by the empress, and dated at Peterburgh on the 8th of April 1783, (although it did not make its appearance until late in the summer) the Crimea, the Cuban, and the island of Taman, are declared to be for ever annexed to her dominions. It states, that the great successes which enabled Russia to subdue the Crimea in the late war, and to have retained it, if she had so chosen, at the peace, would have afforded her a full right to its dominion. But that, and many other conquests, were sacrificed to her desire of establishing the public tranquillity, and the friendship between the two empires, upon the most permanent foundations. That these motives had induced her to stipulate for the freedom and independence of the Tartars, as the means of cutting off every possible cause of future dissension.

The failure of this design, and all the subsequent troubles of the Crimea, are partly attributed to the secret insinuations and conduct of a certain unnamed (but well understood) power, in fomenting the dissensions, partly to the restless temper of the Tartar nation, and partly to their being so long accustomed to servitude, that the greater part of the people were incapable of understanding or enjoying the benefits of that freedom and independence, which had been obtained for them. To indemnify Russia for the expence of money and blood she had already been at, to prevent similar consequences



quences in future, for the preservation of the public tranquillity, and to remove all causes of farther contention between the two empires, were held out to be the objects of the present measure. The Tartars were assured that they should be placed upon an equality with the ancient subjects of Russia, and that they should enjoy the most absolute liberty of conscience, with the full exercise of their public worship and religious ceremonies.

This manifesto was answered by the Porte in so masterly a manner, both with respect to style and matter, that it might be considered as a model for such documents. After pointing out, and severely animadverting upon, the encroaching disposition, and the over-ruling spirit, of the court of Petersburg, and examining and invalidating the pretended claims upon the Crimea, it proceeds to expose, in a very striking point of view, that wantonness of power, and inordinacy of ambition, which could extend them to the Cuban, to the isle of Taman, and to the sovereignty of the Black Sea. It puts the question, What pretension of right can Russia have to territories annexed for ages to the dominions of the Porte? Would not such claims on any part of the Russian empire be instantly repulsed? And can it be presumed that the Sublime Porte, however desirous of peace, will acquiesce in wrong, which, however it may be disguised by ambition under the colour of policy, reason and equity must deem absolute usurpation: What northern power has the Porte offended? Whose territories have the Ottoman troops invaded? In the country of what prince is the Turkish standard displayed? Con-

tent with the boundaries of empire assigned by God and the Prophet, the wishes of the Porte are for peace; but if the court of Russia be determined in her claims, and will not recede, without acquisitions of territory which do not belong to her, appealing to the world for the justice of its proceedings, the Sublime Porte must prepare for war, relying on the decrees of Heaven, and confident in the interposition of the Prophet of Prophets, that he will protect his faithful followers in the hour of every difficulty.

In the midst of all these appearances of war, and preparations for it, negociations for a peace, under the mediation of France, were continually carried on at Constantinople; and the people of that capital were forbidden, under the severest penalties, from holding any discourse whatever upon the subject or design of the vast armaments, by sea and land, which were incessantly making or passing before their eyes. It was observable, that although the preparations for immediate war made by the emperor, at least equalled, if they did not exceed in magnitude those of Russia, yet the apprehensions of the Porte seemed principally to lie the other way, and their greatest efforts were directed to that side. It is not impossible but they retained hopes, that if things proceeded to absolute extremity with the one, means might be used to mollify the other, by such large concessions as necessity might then dictate, and it would be their interest to make. The bashaw of Belgrade, and their other commanders on the frontiers, were accordingly instructed, not only to refrain from all things which

could give umbrage to the court of Vienna, but to pursue the most conciliatory measures in all their transactions with the Austrian subjects; and particularly, to pay the most marked personal attention to the emperor himself when he approached the borders. This disposition was so prevalent, that in the height of the troubles, when nothing less than war and desolation seemed on all sides at hand, the Danube was, for the first time, opened to the imperial ships; two of which, with their proper colours, were received in the most friendly manner at Belgrade, where they were furnished with passports to enable them to pass the other Turkish fortresses in their voyage to the Black Sea.

In the mean time the troubles and enemies of the Ottomans were multiplying on all sides. The republic of Venice was closely engaged with Russia, and her countenance and dispositions, notwithstanding her pacific system and character, fully indicated that she hoped to come in for a share of the expected spoil; nor could it be supposed a small one, considering the number and extent of her claims, along with the singular benefits which that power would derive, from the use of her ports, and the assistance of her naval force, in the prosecution of the war. New troubles were broken out on the side of Egypt; where the turbulent beys were engaged in a civil war, and the whole country was thrown into a state of anarchy and confusion. Thus surrounded, involved, and distressed in Europe and Africa, their mortal and hereditary enemies the Persians attacked them in the east, and had commenced a war on the side of Bassora.

To profit the more effectually of

these embarrassments and difficulties, and, as it were, to complete the cycle of their troubles and dangers, the Prince Heraclius of Georgia was induced to invade Natolia; a diversion, which if it produced no greater effect, might at any rate be supposed to prove a considerable check to the Porte, with respect to the forces which they intended farther to draw from Asia to Europe. Whether it proceeded from the fault of the desultory troops which he commanded, or from the effectual preparation made for his reception, however it was, Heraclius did nothing, in this expedition, at all answerable to his former reputation. Before he could even do any considerable mischief, the bashaw of Natolia marched against him at the head of 18,000 men; and, though the Georgians were superior in number, obliged them to retire with precipitation to their own country. This, though not a great matter, if time, distance, and circumstances are considered, will serve to shew, that vigour and resource were not entirely defunct or exhausted in that empire; and the more especially, as the Georgians have ever been particularly distinguished for their valour.

In the mean time the plague, which broke out at Cherson, and other parts of the Russian frontier, and penetrated even to the borders of Poland, threw no small damp upon the military operations on that side, and afforded time for the progress of the negociations at Constantinople, before matters were precipitated to such an extremity as would not admit of a stay or recal. It seemed singular enough, that at the time the flames of war were expected, and seemed ready to break  
out

out in every quarter, that a new treaty of commerce between Russia and the Porte, should not only be in train, but actually concluded at Constantinople. It will appear still more singular, that the account of the abdication of the Tartar khan, with the seizure of the Crimea and Cuban by Russia, and the annexing them to her own dominion, was received just before the treaty was signed, and yet the intelligence of this unexpected and extraordinary transaction did not prevent its execution: a circumstance which fully shews the consciousness of the Porte, of its being totally unequal to the support of a war. The mingled rage and anguish of the people upon this intelligence was never exceeded, nor perhaps equalled, upon any former occasion; they cried loudly for vengeance, for the support of the Ottoman dignity and glory, and for the rescue of their injured and oppressed brethren; while their voice was rendered the more formidable, from its being supported by all the chiefs and men of the law. Nothing could afford a more striking instance of the firmness of government, than its being able to withstand the shock.

An acquiescence in so important a revolution, and a submission under so severe a loss, could leave no doubt that smaller matters would be much disputed. On the other side, Russia had now attained as much new dominion as she was for the present, or could for some time to come, be well able to manage. And besides the ill policy of too great an immediate extension of conquest, there were other causes which operated strongly against her forcing a war. With respect to the

loss of men, foreign wars are (from various causes, some of which could not easily be removed) more destructive to that country than to any other; at the same time, that from the vastness of the empire, and the thin state of its population, that loss is more peculiarly felt. With respect to her finances also, foreign war, from the great quantities of cash which it necessarily draws out of the country, is exceedingly pernicious to Russia, which can by no means well spare such a drain from her circulation; nor were the effects of the extraordinary expences incurred in the last war yet entirely done away, and the accumulating of a new debt could not but be a matter of serious consideration. The mediation of France had likewise its weight on all sides; and the part which the house of Bourbon, and perhaps other powers, might take in a war of conquest, wantonly entered into, and rendered peculiarly odious, by a pertinacious rejection of all equitable terms of accommodation, was a matter that demanded attention.

Under all these circumstances, the negotiations at Constantinople were carried on with great facility towards the close of the year; and early in the following a new treaty of accommodation was concluded and signed between the two empires. By this January 9th, 1784, treaty Russia retains the full sovereignty of her new acquisitions; and the only object of consideration gained by the Porte, was the ascertaining of fixed limits to her claims in Asia; the river Cuban being made the boundary on that side, and Russia renouncing all pretensions upon the Tartar nations beyond it. All mat-

ters relative to trade, shipping, tolls, and duties, had been settled by the preceding treaty of commerce. The captain bashaw's signature is the first, on the Ottoman side, to this treaty of accommodation.

Thus had the empress Catherine the extraordinary fortune and glory, not only to fill up and realize all the plans and projects of Peter the Great, with respect to the Palus Mæotis, the Black Sea, and the Crimea, but even to enlarge the scale, and carry his views to an extent, which seems to have surpassed, sanguine as they were, that monarch's own hopes of attainment. A felicity the more peculiar, as the completion of the designs, and the immortalizing the name of that great founder and legislator of the Russian empire, seems to have been the leading object of her government, and wish of her life; and that as she has made his conduct, in all that was laudable, the constant model of her own, so she seems to be the full inheritor of his spirit, with respect to magnanimity, and to the desire of raising to the highest pitch the power and glory of her country.

As the recovery and restoration of every thing Greek, is the predominant passion of the court of Petersburg, so the Crimea, and its dependencies, are in future to be known by the name of Taurica; particular places are likewise restored to their antient appellations; and the celebrated port and city of Caffa, has now resumed its long-forgotten name of Theodosia. Since this accession of dominion, new towns, with Greek or Russian names, are rising fast in the deserts, and are peopled mostly by colonies

of Greeks and Armenians. Neither has the empress spared any care or expence to procure emigrants of all nations to settle and colonize her wide and remote Caucasian regions, which were once so prolific, in producing swarms to over-run and desolate Europe. But the completion of this design must be a work of time indeed; and subjected to numberless hazards, as well as difficulties, in its progress.

It still remains to be seen, whether the late treaty of pacification will be more lasting in its effects than the two former. Numberless causes of contention still remain: and if there were none other, what greater need there be, than those which are necessarily produced by unrestrained neighbouring power, when opposed to weakness, and that weakness encumbered with the custody of the richest and most desirable possessions?

In fact, the equilibrium between the three great powers on the borders of Europe and Asia has been so violently shaken, that nothing less than some very considerable change in their comparative circumstances and situation, can in any degree restore the true balance, nor can any thing less afford a prospect of permanent peace and security to the present weaker party. It was peculiarly unfortunate, if not fatally ominous, to the Ottoman empire, that the period of its degeneracy and decline should have been that in which its two ancient rivals and neighbours have risen to unexampled power and greatness. Their earlier rise would have prevented that decline.

A new face of affairs is, however, appearing in that empire. Arts



and learning are encouraged, printing presses are established by the emperor's order, and prejudices are wearing fast away. If, then, the present sultan and his ministers should be closely followed up by men of equal merit and ability, who should complete and carry into perfection those great schemes of reform and improvement in their forces by sea and land, which are now in prosecution, and that the future prince should inherit the warlike disposition and military virtues of his ancestors, it would by no means be impossible, that before many years were over, such a change might take place in the affairs of the Ottoman empire, as would not a little astonish the world. They have the means of accomplishing great things still in their hands; and they have now a clearer view of the dangers of their situation, of the defects in their government and discipline, and of the causes of their declension and weakness, than they ever before had. They may possibly afford a new and memorable instance, that adversity is the first of all schools for the instruction of mankind.

This treaty with Russia was succeeded by an accommodation of some sort, for the present, with the emperor; but leaving numberless matters open for future discussion, as time might serve, and occasion offer. The Imperial minister demanded a participation of all the commercial advantages granted to Russia, by the late and by former treaties, and the Porte found it necessary to comply. The Danube, and all the Turkish seas, were accordingly opened to the navigation of the Imperial subjects, with free ingress and regress to and from the Mediterranean, and

commerce in the Archipelago; besides great indulgences and advantages to the merchants, with respect to searching their ships, to tolls, duties, and custom-houses. A considerable part of Walachia was likewise ceded; and it was evident, that the Porte was not in a humour, or more properly in condition, to refuse any thing.

Spain had no sooner got disengaged from the war with England, than she began to prepare for new military adventure. Neither the general ill success which had long attended her expeditions to the coast of Africa, nor the particular loss and disgrace sustained by the grand armament which she had dispatched against Algiers in the year 1775, were sufficient to deter her from another attack upon that piratical city. Her ships being in some degree still manned in consequence of the late war, and a great number of bomb-ketches, gun-boats, and other armed vessels, which had been destined against Gibraltar, still in readiness, were undoubtedly incentives to this enterprise.

The marine force intended for this service was considerable, and from its nature extremely numerous; no disposition, however, appeared, to hazard another army upon that inauspicious coast; the present design being entirely confined to a severe bombardment and cannonade by sea. The conduct of this enterprise was committed to Don Antonio Barcelo; who, after a formal display of some pious or religious ceremonials, intended to obtain a blessing upon the Christian arms in their conflict with Infidels, proceeded with his armament from Carthagena, on the 2d of July,

1782.

1783. Through an unfortunate disposition of the winds and weather, the fleet, notwithstanding the shortness of the passage, was detained for 27 days at sea; a circumstance which, besides the loss of a month peculiarly chosen as favourable to the design, could not but be exceedingly untoward in many respects, encumbered as he was with a multitude of small vessels, and these crowded with men, and overlayed with artillery. The fleet did not arrive in the bay of Algiers until the 29th of July; and the sea was then too rough to admit of immediate action.

He found the Algerines well prepared for his reception; and discovered every indication of a bold and most determined enemy. On the first of August the admiral formed his line of battle, and made the necessary dispositions for an attack; 18 bomb-ketches, with 13 gun-boats on their wings, composed the van; these were supported by a line of xebecs, birlanders, and other vessels of war, mostly peculiar to the Mediterranean; and these again intermixed with, or attended by, a number of boarding-boats strongly manned, and some small fire-vessels, to prevent the approach of the Algerine galleys to the battering vessels; the whole being covered by the ships of the line, and frigates of war. The cannonade and bombardment were commenced at half past two o'clock, and were continued, without intermission, until sunset: 380 shells were thrown in that time, and about an equal number of shot sent; the fire being fiercely returned by the Algerine batteries through the

whole time, with near 1100 cannon shot, and about 30 bombs.

The attack was renewed on the following, and on every succeeding day, except one, until the 9th of the month. On that morning, a council of war being held by the admiral, the exhaustion of ammunition, and the growing lateness and danger of the season, were found sufficient reasons for an immediate return to Spain. In the course of these attacks, which were not unfrequently repeated on the same day, 3,732 bombs, and 3,833 cannon-shot, were discharged by the fleet against the town; and these were returned by the Algerines, with 399 shells, and 11,284 cannon-shot. This vast expenditure of ammunition produced no correspondent effect on either side; the town was indeed repeatedly set on fire, but the measures of preservation were so well adapted, and so vigorously pursued, that the flames were soon subdued. The Algerines made several bold sallies with their galleys and small vessels upon the Spanish battering line; but the superiority of fire on that side was so great, and it played from such various directions, that they were constantly repulsed. The example of Gibraltar seemed to have operated upon them in the use of red-hot balls; but they were not destined to produce a similar effect. On the other side, the Spanish marine afforded evident proofs of the improvement it had received from the late war; shewing infinitely more courage, alertness, and firmness, than in the attack of 1775.

The year 1783 was fatally marked by the desolation of some of the most celebrated, the most beautiful,

tiful, and the most fertile provinces of Europe. The two Calabrias, once the favoured seat of the muses, and so long renowned under the distinguished appellation of Magna Grecia, were now doomed, along with part of Sicily, to be the melancholy scene of the most tremendous, the longest-continued, the most fatal with respect to mankind, and the most destructive to the face of the country, succession of earthquakes, that had yet been known, even in those volcanic regions. They were indeed so dreadful, that they served rather to impress ideas of the final dissolution of all things, than to induce any hope from analogy, founded on the experience of former convulsions of the earth.

The first shock, which happened about noon, on the 5th of February, 1783, was by far the most destructive, if not the most tremendous in other respects. Several causes concurred to render this shock particularly fatal. It came on suddenly, without any of the usual indications; it was about the Italian time of dinner, when the people were mostly in their houses; but beyond all, the motion of the earth in that shock was vertical, rising suddenly upwards from its foundations, and as suddenly sinking again. By this fatal motion, the greatest buildings, villages, towns, and entire cities, were instantaneously involved in one common destruction; nothing remaining to be seen, but vast heaps of undistinguishable ruins, without any traces of streets or houses. An inhabitant of Casal Nuova, happening to be on a hill over it at the time of the shock, and looking eagerly back to the town, could see no other remains of it, than the ap-

pearance of a cloud of white smoke, occasioned by the flying mortar, which had been dissipated by the crash of the houses.

The Calabria Ultra, particularly that part on the western side of the Appennines, was the peculiar victim of this first shock. Its dreadful effects were not confined to the destruction of mankind, and to little less than the annihilation of populous and flourishing villages, towns, and cities, but the whole face of that beautiful country was mangled and disfigured. Mountains were rent; vallies closed up, the hills that formed them being thrown from their places, and meeting their opposites in the center; the course of rivers was necessarily changed, or the water, being entirely dammed up, was formed into great and increasing lakes.

Of those towns and cities where the greatest destruction of mankind took place, we are not to pass over Casal Nuova, where the princess Gerace Grimaldi, with more than four thousand of her subjects, perished in the same instant. At Bagnara, above three thousand of the inhabitants were lost. Radicina, and Palma, counted their loss at about three thousand each; Terra Nuova, at about fourteen hundred, and Seminari still more. The inhabitants of Scylla thought they had reason to rejoice in escaping from their houses, on the celebrated rock of that name, at the instant of the first shock; and following the example of their prince, descended to a little harbour at the foot of the hill, where getting into boats, or stretched upon the shore, they thought themselves free from danger. But in the course of the night

night" a stupendous wave, which is said to have been driven furiously three miles over land, upon its return swept away the unfortunate prince, with 2473 of his subjects. It may not perhaps be entirely unnecessary to observe, that the barons in the kingdom of Naples possess an absolute sovereignty over their vassals.

The country mostly ruined by the first shock, and where the greatest mortality took place, was the celebrated Sila, of the ancient Brutii. The north-east angle of Sicily, including the city of Messina, were likewise in a considerable degree victims to that shock; but the greatest violence of its exertion, and its most dreadful effects, were in the plain on the western side of the Appennine. Several succeeding shocks, through the months of February and March, were little less tremendous, and extended their effects still farther than the first. They included the Calabria Citra, and those parts of the Ultra which had escaped the first mischief. But notwithstanding their violence, the destruction was by no means equal, and the loss of lives happily bore no manner of proportion to the first dreadful mortality. The people, warned by that calamity, had every where abandoned their houses, and lived in barracks; and the motion of the earth being somewhat different in the succeeding shock, though buildings were shaken down and ruined, yet they were not entirely involved, nor whole towns obliterated in one crush, as in the first.

The earth, in all that part of Italy, continued for several weeks, more or less, in a constant state of tremor; and several shocks, with

different degrees of violence, were every day felt; so that the unhappy people, already worn down with calamity and grief, through the loss of their property, and of their dearest relations, were still kept in a continual state of apprehension and terror.

The whole of the mortality, according to the returns made to the secretary of state's office in Naples, amounted to 33,567. These returns, drawn up in the confusion and misery that prevailed, could not be accurate; and it was supposed by the best judges, that the real loss, including strangers, amounted, at least, to 40,000. These estimates only take in the immediate victims to the earthquakes; those who perished through want, diseases, anguish, and every species of subsequent distress, not being included. Some idea of the general distresses may be gathered, from those which were suffered by Don Marcello Grillo. This gentleman possessed great landed property, besides 12,000 pieces of gold, which were buried under the ruins of his house in the city of Oppido. Yet, with all these advantages of fortune, he was for several days and nights houseless and exposed, without food or shelter, to the excessive rains which then constantly fell; and was in this court instructed in the relative duties of humanity, by being beholden to a hermit for lending him a clean shirt.

The king and government of Naples used all possible means for relieving the immediate distresses of the people, as well as for enabling them in some degree to recover from the ruin in which they were so calamitously involved: the conduct of the archbishop of Reggio  
upon



upon this occasion cannot be too much praised, or too generally known. That excellent prelate immediately disposed of all the superfluous ornaments of the churches, and of his own horses and furniture, the produce of which he applied to the relief of his distressed flock; and continued, through the whole course of the earthquake, cheerfully to bear an equal share in the inconveniences and sufferings to which they were exposed, and to sympathize in those calamities which he could not remedy. This admirable conduct was the more striking, as the great men of the country did not in general exert a similar spirit.

It was a curious observation made

upon this unhappy occasion, that the male dead buried in the ruins, were almost constantly found in an attitude of exertion, as if struggling against the danger; while, on the other hand, the female attitude was, as generally, the hands clasped over the head, as giving themselves up entirely to despair; excepting only, when there were children near them, in which circumstance, they were always found, either clasping them in their arms, or in some other attitude no less expressive of maternal tenderness; and fully shewing, that the anxious care of their preservation had in that dreadful moment banished all fear and consideration with respect to themselves.

### C H A P. III.

*Recapitulation of the proceedings in parliament relative to the affairs of the East India company. Two Indian committees appointed by the House of Commons in 1781. Objects of the select committee. Objects of the secret committee. The King's approbation of their proceedings. Reports of the secret committee brought to the house, April 1782. Account of Mr. Dundas's speech on that occasion. Lays three sets of resolutions on the table: First set, relative to the general misconduct of the company's affairs—postponed: Second set, relative to the conduct of the presidency of Madras—voted: Third set, containing criminal charges against Sir Thomas Rumbold—voted. Bill of pains and penalties. Proceeding therein. Bill lost. Consideration of the first set of resolutions resumed. Resolution against Mr. Hastings voted. Conduct of the court of proprietors on that occasion. Proceedings of the select committee. Resolutions voted. Vote against Sir Elijah Impey. King's speeches at the closing and opening of the sessions.*

THE sessions of parliament, on which we are now entering, were distinguished by a series of political events of the most interesting and important nature. The magnitude and diversity of the objects they embraced, the means by which they were brought about, the persons who acted in them, the

great constitutional questions they involved, the manner in which they finally terminated, form together an aggregate of political matter, unparalleled in the annals of parliament.

The first, as well in magnitude as in order of time, was the bill for the better management of the af-

fairs of the East India company. From the dangers that threatened the very existence of our empire in that part of the globe, and the fatal stroke our national credit might receive from the dissolution of the company, whose affairs were, by men of all descriptions, allowed to be in a most precarious state, the necessity of applying speedy and effectual remedies was universally acknowledged. Strong and vigorous measures were on all sides loudly called for; and the oppressed natives of India had at length a prospect of deriving from our fears the relief which a sense of justice and humanity had hitherto failed to procure them. During a rapid succession of ministers, every party, almost every individual of any weight or consequence in the country, had in turn pledged themselves to exert both their own and the whole force and power of government for the attainment of this important end. All palliatives were on the one side earnestly deprecated, and on the other anxiously disclaimed.

As the bill we have just mentioned was grounded on the reports of the committees which had now sat upwards of three years on the affairs of India, it will be necessary to resume our history of that part of the proceedings of parliament, which from the pressure of other matters we were obliged to postpone. This accidental delay will however be attended with some advantage to our readers. They will by this means have a general view of the whole subject at once before them. The principles and conduct of the leading public characters in different situations may be more easily compared, and the parties will come to a more fair and

impartial trial, than during the heat and violence of political contests can possibly be obtained.

Early in the year 1781 two Indian committees were appointed by the House of Commons, on grounds which have been already stated in a former volume, to enquire into the mal-administration of the company's affairs both at home and abroad. All parties in the House appear to have concurred in these measures. The first, which was a *select committee*, was directed to "take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa;" and was afterwards further instructed "to consider how the British possessions in the East Indies might be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country, and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants might be best promoted." The business of this committee was conducted by some of the most distinguished members of that side of the House which then opposed the general political measures of his majesty's government. The second was a *secret committee*, moved by the minister himself; and was under the management of persons either actually members, or known to be in the confidence of administration. It was directed "to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, and of the condition of the British possessions in those parts."

Both committees continued to sit with unremitted application till the prorogation of parliament. On closing the sessions, the king expressed, in the strongest terms, his approbation of their proceedings, and his satisfaction in observing  
"that

“ that their attention was not more  
 “ anxiously directed to the benefits  
 “ to be derived from the territorial  
 “ acquisitions, than to the happiness and comfort of the inhabitants of those remote provinces.”

At the same time he declared his expectation, that “ at their next  
 “ meeting they would proceed with  
 “ the same wisdom and temper to  
 “ provide for the security of those  
 “ valuable possessions, and for restraining the abuses to which  
 “ they were peculiarly liable.” Accordingly, in the speech from the throne at the opening of the next sessions, in November following, the House was directed in nearly the same words to resume the prosecution of their important enquiries.

On the ninth of April, 1782, Mr. Henry Dundas, the lord advocate of Scotland, and chairman of the *secret committee*, moved, that the reports of that committee should be referred to a committee of the whole House. On this occasion Mr. Dundas, in a speech of near three hours length, entered very fully into the causes and progress of the calamities of the East. Amongst the former he insisted principally on the following;—the departure of the company’s presidencies from the line of policy prescribed to them, of avoiding all offensive military operations with a view to conquest—the corrupt interference of their servants in the domestic and national quarrels of the country powers—their frequent breaches of faith, and disregard to treaties—

their speculation and scandalous oppression of the natives—and, lastly, the criminal relaxation which had prevailed on the part of the directors at home, in the exercise of their controlling power over their servants, and their ready connivance at the grossest misconduct, provided it was attended with any temporary gain to the company\*.

He then proceeded to trace the operation of these causes in the several transactions of the company’s presidencies in the East. As these facts were afterwards reduced into the form of resolutions, and agreed to by the House, we shall have occasion hereafter to specify them more particularly. At present, therefore, it may suffice to enumerate a few of the most flagrant acts of injustice, violence, and treachery, by which, he asserted, that not only the company’s affairs were brought to the very verge of ruin, but indelible disgrace entailed on the British name and government in India. He instanced the injustice and cruelty of the Rohilla war; the sale of Kora and Illahabad; the stopping payment of the stipulated pensions to the king Shâh Allum, and to Nudjif Khân; the renewal of the war with the Mahrattas; the double dealing with Ragooba and the Raja of Berar; the proceedings relative to the Guntoor circars, and the peshush, or tribute, payable to the Nizam; the sufferings of the Raja of Tanjore; the arbitrary exaction of nazirs, or free gifts; the fraudulent grants of leases; the harsh and unjustifiable measures

\* This criminal connivance was attributed, by other members who spoke in the debate, to the over-ruling influence which, by obvious means, the principal servants of the company abroad had acquired in the courts at home; inasmuch that the relation between them was entirely reversed, and the latter had become the mere agents and instruments of the former.

taken relative to the Zemindars of the northern circars, and particularly the gross ill treatment of the Raja Visieram Rauze.

Lastly, from this body of criminality he inferred the absolute necessity of the interposition of the legislature, both for the purpose of punishing delinquents, and wresting power out of the hands of those who had abused it. The disagreeable task of proposing certain resolutions to the committee with that design would fall, he said, on him: and, painful and odious as the task might be, his duty to the public required he should go through it. But this alone, he added, would not be sufficient. He declared his conviction of the necessity of sending out to India certain persons, to be named by his Majesty, or by parliament, armed with the highest authority of the kingdom. To some such appointment he looked up for the preservation of India, the re-establishment of our national character, and the deliverance of a most unfortunate and extensive country from the miseries of oppression\*; and he called on his Majesty's ministers either to support him in carrying through the business, or to bring forward, without delay, any other measures they might judge more effectual for the accomplishment of those great and important objects.

Mr. Dundas was followed by Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, who, after congratulating the House on the unanimity with which the great business they were entering on was

likely to be prosecuted, declared their hearty concurrence with the learned member, in the mode of proceeding adopted by him, namely, that of making the removal and punishment of delinquents go hand and hand with measures of future regulation; and they pledged themselves, in whatever situation they might be found, to support such plans as should appear best calculated for pursuing those objects with vigour and effect.

On the 22d of April Mr. Dundas brought forward the propositions which he had previously laid upon the table, and printed for the perusal of the members. The first set, amounting to 45 in number, related to the general system of the company's government, and the misconduct of the supreme council and the presidency of Bombay. These, he observed, might require a further examination, and he should therefore postpone them for the present. The second set, consisting of 24, had for their object the conduct of the presidency of Madras. On these, if adopted by the House, it would be necessary to ground a criminal prosecution against the president, Sir Thomas Rumbold, a member of the House, and other persons concerned therein; and as he conceived the committee to be in possession of all the materials requisite for their consideration, he should proceed to move them without further delay.

The first four resolutions stated that, in a period of twelve years, from 1767 to 1779 inclusive, the

\* It should appear from the speech of Mr. Fox, who, in the course of the debate, expressed his dislike of the proposition, that Mr. Dundas had mentioned with some degree of approbation, the idea of taking from the company, and placing under the direction of the crown, the entire management of their territorial possessions in the East.



surplus net revenues of the company, under the presidency of Madras, had never, except in one year, been equal to the purchase of the investment for Europe, and that in the whole period they had exceeded the charges in no more than 51,961 l. These were agreed to without any debate.

The fifth resolution stated, that the balances due by the Zemindars or renters of the company's lands in the northern Circars had very much increased *of late*; and that the Zemindars were much distressed. Sir Thomas Rumbold objected to the words "*of late*;" but the fact appearing to the committee to be substantiated by the evidence in the reports, the resolution passed without a division.

One of the principal causes of this distress was stated in the two following resolutions, viz. "that it had been the practice for the chiefs of the subordinate stations to receive from the Zemindars certain large sums of money, arbitrarily exacted, under the name of Nazir or free gift, and that the same had never been accounted for to the company." In the debate, the enormous height to which this practice had arrived throughout India, its baneful consequences, the abuses that were countenanced, and the horrible iniquities that were committed, all under the sanction of these expiatory Nazirs, were fully stated by Mr. Dandas and Mr. Burke. — The resolutions were agreed to.

The indigent circumstances of the Nabob, and the enormous amount to which he stood indebted to several of the company's servants, notwith-

standing he had been indulged in the repeated plundering of the rich country of Tanjore and of the company's Jaghire lands, could not escape observation. It appeared indeed in evidence, that with respect to the latter he had been the highest bidder, and that actuated by principles of pride or motives of policy he became their tenant at a rent greatly beyond their value. This had been one cause of the encrease of his debt and the consequent perplexity of his affairs and violence of his exactions. In the exercise of these oppressions he was supported by the servants of the company, who, in their turn, made him the victim of their rapine, by usuriously supplying him with money at 24 per cent. and upwards.

The eighth resolution therefore stated, "that the company's Jaghire lands, including almost the whole of the territory contiguous to Fort St. George, Madras, had been uniformly let to the Nabob of Arcot;" and the ninth, "that the said Nabob was loaded with heavy debts both to the company and individuals; that his troops were ill paid, had deserted in great numbers, and frequently broken out into dangerous mutinies on that account." The impolicy and danger of suffering the Nabob, under the circumstances described in the latter resolution, to rent territories, which had the actual command of Madras, were strongly insisted on, as well as the suspicious nature of his debts, and their influence in the general system pursued by the presidency with regard to the Nabob, by which the Carnatic had been brought into a state of the most dreadful confusion\*.

\* For a more particular account of the mode of contracting these debts, and of the proceedings of the then administration relative thereto, see debate in the House of Commons, on Mr. Fox's motion, November 1784.

Both resolutions passed.

The tenth and eleventh resolutions related to the kingdom of Tanjore, and were also agreed to. In them it was stated, "that the revenues were greatly diminished, and the country itself much on the decline; and that this was in a great measure owing to an opinion prevailing in the country, that the Raja's government would not be of long continuance, and that another revolution was approaching." On this occasion Mr. Dundas described the country of Tanjore to be the garden of India, a spot where Providence seemed to have lavished its peculiar bounties. To this country the Nabob of Arcot had set up the most unjust and absurd pretensions, and had been most scandalously listened to by the servants of the company; by repeated invasions and revolutions it had been absolutely ruined, and the Raja, a sovereign of an ancient and most honourable descent, had been treated with unheard of hardships. In these sentiments Mr. Dundas was joined by the general voice of the whole committee, several of whom declared that this suffering prince ought to be taken under the protection of parliament, and secured in the quiet possession of his dominions against the base and infamous arts of the Nabob and his abettors. As an instance of the desperate lengths to which the Nabob had been encouraged to proceed, it was asserted, that it had appeared in evidence before the committee, that in order to make the members of that house a party to the Nabob in his designs on Tanjore, a scheme had been actually formed of bribing a majority in the representative body of the nation with 700,000 l.

The committee having gone through these eleven resolutions, agreed to defer the consideration of the remainder till the Monday following.

On the 25th, Mr. Dundas laid upon the table forty-two additional resolutions, respecting the misconduct of several members of the presidency of Fort St. George; and on the 29th they were voted, together with those before deferred, in a committee, and the whole being immediately reported, were agreed to by the House.

The twelfth and the seven following of the deferred resolutions condemned the omission of timely precaution, and the subsequent dilatoriness and indecision of the presidency at the time of the irruption of Hyder Ally into the Carnatic, notwithstanding their early and repeated intelligence of his intentions; of these, the fifteenth stated the total inability of the Nabob of Arcot to contribute any thing towards the common defence, either in men, money, or influence; and that he attributed this inability to the weight of his debts and the loss of Tanjore. On the other hand, the sixteenth stated that the Raja of Tanjore was not found in a better condition; and that he attributed the inability on his part to the sufferings which his country had endured under the oppressive government of the Nabob.

In the twentieth and twenty-first resolutions, the indispensable necessity of establishing some new and effectual regulations in regard to the revenues, debts, and military establishments of the Nabob, and of the Raja, was the more especially insisted, because it had appeared that the success of Hyder Ally might in  
some

some measure be attributed to the great defects in those particulars.

The twenty-second respected the settlement of the matters in dispute between the Nabob and the Raja, on a footing of justice and perpetuity, according to the arrangement carried into execution during the government of Lord Pigot.

The object of the 23d resolution was, such an establishment of the nature and amount of the rents of the company's lands, and of the rights of the tributaries and renters; especially by the abolition of all nazirs or gifts, as might tend to the present relief and future security of the company's dependents, and particularly the natives of every degree.

The 24th stated, that, in ascertaining the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, and the Raja of Tanjore, with a view to their discharge, all just distinctions ought to be made between the claims of the different creditors, and the utmost attention paid to the discovery and punishment of peculation by any of the company's servants, and to the prevention of it in future.

The committee then proceeded to the consideration of the last set of resolutions, containing matters of criminal charge against the president of Fort St. George; and on this set Mr. Dundas declared his intention of moving the House to proceed by a bill of pains and penalties.

In these resolutions Sir Thomas Rumbold was charged, first, with having remitted to Europe, between the 8th of February 1778 (the day of his arrival at Madras) and the beginning of August in the same year, the sum of 41,000 l. and during the

two subsequent years, a further sum of 119,000 l. the whole amounting to 160,000 l. \*; although his salary did not exceed 13,333 l. per ann.; and the records of the company did not contain any specification of goods on hand, debts due, or loans made in India by him before his taking on him the office of governor; which, in case he had been possessed of such effects, he was bound by his covenant to have entered therein.

Secondly, he was charged with having abolished the committee of circuit of the Jaghire lands and northern Circars; a committee appointed by the company's orders for the purpose of investigating on the spot many essential points respecting the tribute and rent to be paid by the Zemindars and renters of the company's demesne land, and also for the better regulation of the internal government of those districts, with a particular view to preventing extortion and the oppression of the native inhabitants.

Thirdly, it was charged, that having dissolved the committee of circuit, he did order the Zemindars to repair to Madras, situated at the distance of 550 miles from the center of the Circars, there to settle their annual tribute; and, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the subordinate councils, and the complaints of the Zemindars, who were both averse to the journey, and ill able to support the expence of it, did repeat his orders and enforce obedience to them: and that, whilst the Zemindars were at the presidency, he did himself separately negotiate with them the terms of their respective cowles or leases, the

\* See p. 53.



grounds of such leases being in no instance laid before the council collectively.

Fourthly, he was charged with having, by compulsive menaces, and gross ill treatment, humiliating, unjust, and cruel in themselves, and highly derogatory to the interests of the company, and to the honour of the British nation, compelled the Raja of Visianagrum to employ Sitteram Rauze as duan or manager of his zemindary, and to confirm his adoption of the son of the said Sitteram; and with having further obtained for the said Sitteram Rauze the zemindary of Ancapilly, and the restoration of the fort of Visianagrum, notwithstanding he appears on the records of the settlement to have been a man of bad reputation, and disaffected to the company's interests; and it also appearing, that, pending these proceedings, two lacks of rupees, (20 000l.) were transmitted to the said Sitteram, then at Madras; and that he had actually contracted by bond to pay Mr. Redhead, private secretary to Sir Thomas Rumbold, one lack of rupees, on consideration that he should use his influence in obtaining for him the advantages above recited.

Fifthly, it was charged, that notwithstanding the discovery of this corruption of his private secretary, by a judicial appeal to himself and the council, he had taken no notice thereof in his correspondence with the directors; and that on another occasion he had suppressed the information given by Mr. Sadlier, of the peculations of three of

the company's servants at Masulipatam to a large amount, and had concealed the same both from the council at Madras and the court of directors.

Sixthly, he was charged with having granted to the Nabob of Arcot a lease of the Jaghire lands for three years, in direct disobedience to the repeated positive orders of the company, founded on the most cogent reasons of convenience and public policy: and thereby was guilty of a great breach of trust, and of a high crime and misdemeanor\*.

Seventhly, he was charged with having been guilty, in two several instances, of a gross breach of solemn treaties entered into between the company and the Nizam of the Decan, and of having thereby stained the national honour, inflamed the resentments of the Nizam, and endangered the security of the company's possessions. By these treaties the cession of the five northern Circars had been confirmed to the company on two express conditions: the first, that one of them, called the Guntoor Circar, should remain in the possession of Bazalet Jung during his life, or until it was the Nizam's pleasure that the company should take possession of it: the second, that the company should pay to the Nizam an annual tribute of five lacks of rupees.

In direct violation of the first of these stipulations, a treaty was entered into by Sir Thomas Rumbold with Bazalet Jung, for the immediate possession of the Guntoor Cir-

\* To this article may be referred the 18th resolution, in which it appears, from a codicil annexed to Mr. Redhead's will, that Omeer-ul-omrah, the second son of the Nabob, had an order from his father to pay him the sum of one lack of rupees.



ear, without the consent or knowledge of the Nizam; a military force was ordered to carry it into execution; and, at the request of the Nabob of Arcot, it was agreed to grant him a lease of the country for the term of ten years.

Whilst the mind of the Nizam was smarting under this offensive treatment, the resident at his court was instructed to propose the withholding the stipulated tribute; altho' he had been assured by the same authority, but a short time before, of the future regular payment thereof. And, in aggravation of these violent and unjust proceedings, Sir Thomas Rumbold did unwarrantably attempt to throw obstructions in the way of the supreme council, in their endeavours to quiet the apprehensions and re-conciliate the affections of the Nizam\*.

The resolutions being agreed to by the house, leave was given April 29th. to bring in a bill of pains and penalties against Sir Thomas Rumbold, Peter Perring, and John Whitehill, for breaches of public trust, and high crimes and misdemeanors. At the same time was also brought in a bill for restraining those persons from going out of the kingdom, for discovering their effects, and preventing the alienating or transporting of the same; which passed without much other debate than what related to the quantum of the sum proposed to be left uncovered of Sir Thomas Rum-

bold's estate, which at last was fixed at 50,000*l.* for the purpose of indemnifying his sureties, and 30,000*l.* to enable him to make a provision for his children.

Before the second reading of the bill of pains and penalties, it was ordered, that Sir Thomas Rumbold should be heard in his defence, against the same, by counsel, at the bar. The great variety and complicated nature of the criminal allegations on which the bill was founded, made it necessary for the accused party to enter into a long and minute defence. Little progress was made therein during the short period that remained of the sessions of 1782; and the unsettled state of public affairs at the beginning of the year 1783, prevented the house from taking it up till near the middle of that session. As the season advanced, members became daily more remiss in their attendance; and at length, on the 1st of July, a motion was made and carried, for adjourning the further consideration of the bill to the 1st of October, by which means the whole proceeding fell to the ground, and was never afterwards resumed.

That a bill, the result of such long and laborious enquiries, a bill introduced, received, and proceeded upon by the house with so much solemnity, should be suffered thus to fall to the ground, is a circumstance on which we are at a loss to comment. What impression Sir

\* In the resolutions, Mr. Whitehill and Mr. Perring, members of the council, were also charged with having concurred with Sir Thomas Rumbold in several of the proceedings therein condemned; and Mr. Whitehill was further charged with being guilty of a high crime and misdemeanor, by not paying immediate and implicit obedience to the orders of the supreme council, and by his intemperate and contumacious conduct, whereby he held out an alarming example of disobedience to the orders of his lawful superiors, and of disrespect to the acts of the British legislature.

Thomas Rumbold's defence made upon the house, as no question was put thereon, we cannot possibly determine. It would certainly be harsh and inequitable to presume the party accused was guilty, because he accepted of indemnity without acquittal; and on the other hand, we cannot pronounce him innocent, because, under the circumstances related, his accuser failed to prosecute him to conviction. The proceeding itself had indeed operated as no light punishment; and this consideration might probably facilitate the passing of the vote by which it was terminated. But by this management, the public was deprived of the only interest it had in the prosecution,—the acquittal of an innocent citizen, or the example of a punished delinquent. Thus, however, ended the first attempt made by this parliament to punish Indian delinquency.—We must now revert to the first set of resolutions, presented by Mr. Dundas on the 15th of April 1782, and containing the grounds of the resolution moved by him against Mr. Hornsby and Warren Hastings, Esq.

In the six first of these resolutions certain principles of justice and policy were laid down, as the basis of the government of India.

The seventh condemns the stopping of the pensions payable by treaty to the Mogul and Nudjiff Khan, and the sale of Corah and Illahabad, as contrary to policy and good faith.

The eighth condemns the Rohilla war, and the extermination of that people; and charges the president and select committee of Bengal with an iniquitous interference and interested partiality to the Nabob Vizier\*.

The ninth and tenth condemn the presidency of Bombay and the court of directors for their conduct respecting the Nabob of Broach and the commencement of the Mahratta war.

The eleventh condemns the alliance with Ragoba; and the twelfth justifies the measures taken by Messrs. Clavering, Monson, and Francis, for restoring peace.

The following resolutions, up to the thirty-seventh, approve of the treaty of Poorunder, and condemn the conduct of the court of directors and the governor-general; the former for encouraging, the latter for pursuing measures tending to renew the war, and particularly the projected alliance with the Raja of Berar: to these, to the general distrust of our sincerity, and to the ruinous and disgraceful consequences of rash military operations, they attribute the confederacy formed against the company by the Nizam, and the backwardness of the Mahrattas to any accommodation.

The three following resolutions state several additional mischiefs arising from the Mahratta war; and acknowledge, that on the success of Hyder in the Carnatic, the governor-general gave proof of the most

\* In the debate on this resolution, the word *extermination* was objected to by Mr. Barwell (one of the council at the time of this transaction) as too strong, the inhabitants, as he observed, having been only expelled. On the other hand, Mr. Dundas insisted on the propriety of the word he had used, since it had appeared in evidence, that not only every species of violence and cruelty had been used, but that numbers of them had been actually put to the sword.

important exertions for the assistance of Madras, the obtaining of peace, and regaining the friendship of the Nizam.

The fortieth condemns the governor-general's plan of an alliance with the Dutch, as unwarranted, impolitic, extravagant, and unjust.

The next, charges the governor-general with designs tending to procrastinate an accommodation with the Mahrattas, injuriously to the interests of the company and of the nation.

The forty-second charges him with suppressing material information in his correspondence with the directors, and sending the same to his private agent in England.

The following resolution states and approves of certain instructions sent in the last dispatches from the directors, for promoting the attainment of peace.

The forty-fourth declares, "that  
 " for the purpose of conveying entire conviction to the minds of  
 " the native princes, that to commence hostilities, without just  
 " provocation, against them, and to pursue schemes of conquest and  
 " extent of dominion, are measures repugnant to the wish, the policy, and the honour of this nation,  
 " *it is the duty of the court of directors, in conformity to the sense expressed by this House, forthwith to recall such member or members of their principal presidencies as* \* appear to have been chiefly concerned in wilfully acting upon a  
 " system tending to inspire a reasonable distrust of the modera-

tion, justice, and good faith of the British nation."

These resolutions were severally agreed to by the House, on the 28th of May; and in addition to the general declaration of the sense of parliament, expressed in the last, Mr. Dundas said, he should move the House to come to a specific resolution for the recall of Mr. Hastings and Mr. Hornsby. That he was urged to take this step by an account which had lately arrived from India of an act of the most flagrant violence and oppression, and of the grossest breach of faith, committed by the former against Cheit Sing, the Rajah of Benares. He entered at large into the nature of that transaction, and concluded with moving the following resolution:

" That Warren Hastings, Esq; Governor General of Bengal, and William Hornsby, Esq; President of the council at Bombay, having in sundry instances acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the East India company, it is the duty of the Directors of the said company to pursue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the said governor-general and president from their respective offices, and to recall them to Great Britain."

In consequence of this resolution of the House of Commons, the directors took the necessary steps for carrying it into effect; but, as their

\* These words were afterwards left out of the resolution, and the following inserted instead of them: "*the parliament of Great Britain should give some signal mark of its displeasure against those in any degree intrusted with the charge of the company's affairs, who shall.*"



proceedings are subject to the control of a general court of proprietors, the friends of Mr. Hastings, whose influence in that body was now found to be irresistible, had recourse to that expedient, and on the 31st of October the orders of the court of directors were rescinded by a large majority.—Thus ended the second parliamentary attempt to punish Indian delinquency.

This opposition, however, of the proprietors to the deliberate sense of the House of Commons, and to the resolutions of the court of directors, entered upon without previous enquiry, and adopted in a confused and tumultuous debate, without any information before them, was, at the beginning of the next sessions, strongly reprobated by Mr. Dundas, both as dangerous in its principle, as well as highly insulting to the honour of parliament. He therefore moved, that all the proceedings relative thereto should be laid before the house; and on these and the resolutions before voted he founded a bill, which he afterwards brought in, “for the better regulating the government of India.”

The principal objects of this bill were, to invest the governor-general with a discretionary power to act against the will of the council, whenever he should think it necessary for the public good so to do; to allow the subordinate governors a negative on every proposition, till the determination of the supreme council should be known; to secure to the zemindars or landholders of Hindostan, a permanent interest in their respective tenures; to cause the debts of the Raja of Tanjore, and of the Nabob of Arcot, to be carefully examined into, and to put an end to the oppressions of the latter,

and the corrupt practices of his creditors, by securing to the Raja the full and undisturbed enjoyment of his kingdom; lastly, to recall Governor Hastings, and prevent the court of proprietors from acting in opposition to the sense of parliament, and to nominate a new governor-general. For this important office Mr. Dundas recommended the Earl Cornwallis: but the members who at that time had the direction of public affairs, not approving of some of the principles of the bill, and declaring their intentions of taking up the business early in the next sessions, it was tacitly withdrawn.

Having gone through all the proceedings which were moved by the chairman of the secret committee, and grounded on their reports, the steps taken by the select committee require, in the next place, our attention.

Their reports, eleven in number, took a complete review of the constitution of the East India company, and of the management of their affairs both at home and abroad, in their political as well as commercial transactions. On these reports was principally grounded the great plan afterwards introduced by Mr. Fox, in his bill for the better regulating the affairs of the East India company, and the charges of impeachment which have since been instituted by the Commons against Mr. Hastings.

On the 18th of April 1782, their chairman, General Smith, presented to the House ten resolutions; of which the five first related to the misconduct of the chairman of the court of directors, in having unnecessarily and dangerously delayed to transmit to the company's settlements



lements in the East, the judicature act, passed in the last session of parliament, by which the good purposes of the said act, in providing relief for certain individuals, as well as for the people at large, might be frustrated.

In the three following resolutions it was stated, "that Warren Hastings, and Sir Elijah Impey, chief justice of the supreme court of Bengal, had been concerned, the one in giving, and the other in receiving, an office tenable at the pleasure of the servants of the company, contrary to the true intent of the act of 13 Geo. III; and that this unjustifiable transaction between them was attended with circumstances of evil tendency and example."—These resolutions being agreed to by the House, an address was ordered to be presented to the King, to recall Sir Elijah Impey to answer for his conduct in the transaction aforesaid.

On the two last resolutions a bill was brought in, for the purpose of ascertaining more distinctly the

powers given by former acts to the governor-general and council of Bengal.

At the close of this session, the King expressed his approbation, "of the diligence and ardour with which the house had entered upon the consideration of the British interests in the East Indies, as worthy of their wisdom, justice, and humanity; and assured them, that to protect the persons and fortunes of millions in those distant regions, and to combine our prosperity with their happiness, were objects which would repay the utmost labour and exertion."

It was remarked, that the King's speech at the opening of the ensuing session, in December 1782, did not contain a single word relative to the affairs of India. At the end of that session it was signified, "that the consideration of the affairs of the East Indies would require to be resumed as early as possible, and to be pursued with a serious and unremitting attention."

## C H A P. IV.

*Meeting of parliament towards the close of the year 1783. King's speech. Addresses voted unanimously. Two India bills brought in by Mr. Fox. Substance of the bill for vesting the affairs of the company in commissioners. Substance of the bill for the better government of the territorial possessions. Debates on the bills. Objections and replies—1st. of charters—plea of necessity—magnitude of abuses—state of finances—company's government in India—independent powers—allies and dependents—territorial possessions—abuses curable—court of proprietors—court of directors—ministers of the crown. 2d. Objection. The dangerous powers and influence created by the bills. Answer to this objection. First India bill carried up to the house of Lords. Rumours of the King's dislike of the bill. Majority against the ministers in the House of Lords. Motions in the House of Commons, relative to the reports of the King's disapprobation of the bills; and to the dissolution of parliament. Bill rejected by the Lords. Ministers removed.*

ON the 11th November 1783, the two houses of parliament being assembled, were informed, in the speech from the throne, that definitive treaties of peace had been concluded with the courts of France and Spain, and with the United States of America; and that preliminary articles had been ratified with the States General of the United Provinces. The cause of their being called together after so short a recess was then explained. They were told that the situation of the East India Company would require the utmost exertion of their abilities, and that the fruit was expected of those important inquiries which had been so long and so diligently pursued. Their attention was next called to the dangerous frauds which prevailed, and the alarming outrages that had been committed, relative to the collection of the public revenues; and such further powers were required from the legislature as might enable the executive government to prevent the consequences of this daring

spirit. The gentlemen of the House of Commons were informed, that the reductions that had been made in the naval and military establishments were brought as low as prudence would admit; and that it was not doubted but the fortitude which had hitherto supported the nation under many difficulties, would make her bear with cheerfulness the burthens which the present exigencies would require, and which were necessary for the full support of the national credit. The speech concluded with recommending temper and moderation in all their deliberations, and with hoping, that as in many respects our situation was new, their counsels would provide what that situation called for, and that their wisdom would give permanency to whatever had been found beneficial by the experience of ages.

Addresses in the usual form were moved by the earl of Scarborough and lord viscount Hampden, in the House of Lords; and by the earl of Upper Ossory, and Sir Francis Basset, in the lower House; and were

were unanimously agreed to. But this unanimity in the votes of parliament did not prevent some hostile reproaches from being thrown out against the principles on which the administration had been formed, and some blame on their conduct, since their acquisition of office. In the House of Lords, the earl Temple charged them with having forced their way into the service of the crown, and thereby shaken the constitution of this country; he asked why the treaties with the Dutch and the Americans had not been concluded? why no notice had been taken in the speech of the alarming situation of the public funds? why no mention had been made of Ireland? why no plan had been yet brought forward for regulating the affairs of the India company?

In the House of Commons Mr. William Pitt, and Mr. Thomas Pitt, animadverted with great triumph on the inconsistency of the ministerial side of the house, in voting an address of thanks to the King, for having concluded definitive treaties of peace, the very transcript of those preliminary articles, which they had before voted to be inadequate and dishonourable. They likewise called loudly on the minister to bring forward without delay, some plan for securing and improving the advantages that might be derived from our possessions in the East; a plan, not of temporary palliation or timorous expedients, but vigorous and effectual, suited to the magnitude, the importance, and the alarming exigency of the case. In answer to this requisition, Mr. Fox acquainted the house, that he proposed on the Tuesday following to bring forward a motion relative to that object.

On that day Mr. Fox moved the house for leave to bring in a bill, “for vesting the affairs of the East India company in the hands of certain commissioners, for the benefit of the proprietors, and the public:” And also, a bill “for the better government of the territorial possessions and dependencies in India.”

By the former of these bills it was proposed to enact, “that the whole government and management of the territorial possessions, revenues, and commerce of the company, together with all and singular the powers and authorities before vested in the directors, or in the general court of proprietors of the said company, should be vested in seven directors, named in the act, for and during the space of four years.

“That for the sole purpose of ordering and managing the commerce of the said company, nine assistant directors, being proprietors, each of them of 2,000*l.* capital stock, should be appointed, to act under and subject to the orders of the directors aforesaid,

“That all vacancies in the office of the said directors should be filled by his majesty; and that the vacancies in the office of the said assistant directors should be filled by a majority of the proprietors of the company, at an election by open poll.

“That the assistant directors should be removeable by five directors, the cause and reasons for such removal being entered on their journals, and signed with their respective names; and that the directors, and assistant directors, should be removeable by his majesty, upon an address of either house of parliament.

“The

“ The bill then provides certain regulations relative to the official proceedings of the directors ; and enumerates certain disqualifications, which should render any person incapable of being a director or assistant director.

“ It then enacts, that the directors should, once in every six months, lay before a general court of proprietors an exact state of the mercantile concerns of the company ; and also that, before the commencement of every session, they should lay the same, together with other accounts therein stated, before the commissioners of his majesty’s treasury, to be by them laid before both houses of parliament.

“ Authority is then given to the directors to remove, suspend, appoint, or restore any of the officers in the company’s service, either civil or military.

“ It next provides for the speedy and effectual trial of all persons charged with any offences committed in India ; and also for the prevention of all persons so charged from returning to India, before a due examination of the matters charged shall be had ; and it requires from every director, before whom examination into the subject matter of such charge shall be had, to enter upon the journals, and subscribe with his name, the specific reasons on the particular case, for the opinion or vote he shall give thereon.

“ It further provides for a speedy decision upon all differences or doubts which may arise amongst the members of their government in India ; and directs, that in case such a decision shall not be had within three months after the account of any such difference or doubt shall be received, the directors shall

enter upon their journals their reasons for not coming to such a determination.

“ It then directs, that on complaint of any breach of treaty, injury, wrong, or oppression, committed against any native prince in India, or if any such wrong should appear on any part of their correspondence, the directors should, as speedily as may be, enquire into, and do full and complete justice upon the same.

“ It then enacts, that the directors and assistant directors should be incapable of holding any office whatsoever in the service of the company, or any place of profit from the crown during pleasure ; and also, that the directors appointed under this act should not be thereby disqualified from being elected, or sitting and voting as a member of the House of Commons. And lastly, that the assistant directors should be allowed a clear yearly salary of 500 l. from the company.”

By the second bill, “ the powers granted to the governor-general and council by the 13 Geo. III. are more fully explained, and strict obedience to the orders of the directors enjoined.

“ The delegation of the powers of the council-general, or of any presidency, is prohibited ; the revision of all proceedings in special commissions is directed ; and the regular communication of all correspondence in India to the several councils provided for.

“ It forbids the exchange, or the acquisition, or the invasion of any territory in India, or the forming any alliance for such purposes, or the hiring out any part of the company’s forces, by the council general, or any presidency.

“ It



“ It prohibits the appointment to any office of any person removed for misdemeanor, and forbids the letting out to hire any farm or other thing to the servants of any person in the civil service of the company.

“ It abolishes all monopolies in India.

“ It declares the acceptance of all presents to be illegal, with certain penalties; and makes such presents recoverable by any person, for his own sole benefit.

“ It secures an estate of inheritance to the native landholders, and provides against the alteration or increase of rents.

“ It then directs, with respect to princes engaged to keep up or pay troops for the service of the company, or paying tribute to them, or being under their protection, that they shall not be molested in the enjoyment of their rights; it provides for the punishment of offences committed in their territories; it forbids the servants of the company to collect or farm their revenues, or to acquire mortgages, or have any pecuniary transactions with them; and secures the right of succession according to the laws of the country: it likewise prohibits them from farming any lands of the company, or residing, for more than a certain term, in any of the company's settlements; and it provides for the protection of any other princes or zemindars dependant upon them.

“ It prescribes a mode for adjusting the disputes between the nabob of Arcot, and the raja of Tanjore, or between them and their British creditors.

“ It directs that the dispossessed polygars should be restored.

“ It next explains the powers granted by the 13 Geo. III. to the council-general over the other presidencies, in matters of war, peace, and treaties.

“ It disqualifies the agents of any protected prince, and all persons in the service of the company, from sitting in the House of Commons, during their continuance in such employment, and for a certain time after their quitting the same.

“ It lastly directs, that all offences against this act may be prosecuted in the courts in India, or in the court of King's Bench.”

Such was the substance of these two celebrated bills: simplicity, efficiency, and responsibility, are evidently the principles on which they are formed; nor does it appear that, during the course of their progress in both houses of parliament, their merits, as a system for the government of India, was ever controverted or denied, even by those who opposed them with the greatest zeal and acrimony.

The arguments urged in opposition to them were drawn from two sources: 1st, The arbitrary defeasance of the chartered rights of the courts of proprietors and directors, without a justifiable plea of necessity. and, 2dly, The dangerous power lodged in the hands of the new commissioners. On both these grounds issue was joined by the advocates for the new system.

In order to substantiate the ground of necessity, the supporters of the bills began with observing, that the phrase of *chartered rights* was full of affectation and ambiguity. That there were two kinds of *charters*; the first, when the natural rights of men were confirmed by the solemnity of some public deed, such

as the charters of King John and King Henry III. The second sort were formed on principles the very reverse of these; they were for the purpose of suspending the natural rights of mankind at large, in order to confer some exclusive privilege on particular persons; such were commercial charters; and such charters were therefore, in the strictest sense, trusts voidable whenever they substantially varied from the purpose of their existence.

That in conformity to this opinion, parliament had passed several acts, all of which evidently infringed upon the charter of the company. The act of 1773, for depriving 500 l. stock-holders of their votes; the act of 1778; the act of 1781; the bill brought in last session by the chairman of the secret committee; were all clearly founded on a violation of the company's charter. It had been admitted, on all sides, that the company, under its present constitution, was totally inadequate to the government of their immense territorial acquisitions; and it was asked how it was possible to attempt any regulation, without violating the company's charter? Had not even those persons, who now affected to feel so much horror at this infringement of charters, themselves exclaimed against *all palliatives and half measures*, and called loudly for a complete and well-digested system?

On the other side it was contended, that though some reform was undoubtedly necessary in the management of the company's affairs, yet that the extent of the remedy went infinitely beyond the extent of the necessity. That the disfranchisement of the members of the company, and the confiscation of their

property, could only be justified by acts of delinquency legally established. To this it was replied, that their property was not confiscated, the bill expressly vesting it in the company, in trust, for the sole benefit of the proprietors. But to whom, said the opponents, are they to apply for relief, in case of the grossest abuse of this trust? It can only be to parliament, where in any dispute the corrupt influence created by the bills would readily procure to any minister a majority in his favour. With respect to disfranchisement, it was urged in support of the bills, that the most material of their franchises, their commercial monopoly, was left untouched; and that the franchises taken away were such as had been grossly and notoriously abused.

This preliminary ground being fought over, the advocates for the new system proceeded to establish the plea of necessity; in order to which they acknowledged themselves bound to prove, 1st, That the abuses alledged were of enormous magnitude and extent, and highly dangerous in their consequences; and, 2dly, That they were habitual, and, without an entire change of system, utterly incurable.

The state of the finances of the company was the first instance adduced. In the course of last year, the company had applied to parliament for leave to borrow 500,000 l. and afterwards for a further aid of 300,000 l. in exchequer bills, and for the remission of the payment of customs to the amount of near a million more. As a check on the further increase of their debts, they had been bound not to accept of bonds drawn on them from India, beyond

beyond the amount of 300,000 l. without the leave of the lords of the treasury. An application for this purpose had been lately made, and it appeared that bills had been drawn in Bengal, over and above the 300,000 l. amounting nearly to two millions of money. The matter appeared to be of an extremely delicate nature. On the one hand, to suffer the bills to be protested, and sent back, might be of ruinous consequence both to the company, and even to the credit of the nation. On the other, to permit the acceptance of them, and thereby pledge the public faith for their payment, was a step that required, at least, a previous examination into the state of their affairs. On this examination it was found, that their debt, including the sums above mentioned, amounted to about eleven millions; and that the stock in hand, applicable to the payment of this sum, did not exceed 3,200,000 l. With this balance of near eight millions against them, it was asked, whether, without adopting some effectual reformation in the management of their affairs, the House of Commons

could lend the public money on the security of a company already on the verge of bankruptcy.

In opposition to this argument it was averred on the other side, that the account, as above stated, was absolutely false; and another account was presented to the house by the court of directors, in which there appeared a balance in favour of the company of near four millions. This difference of twelve millions in the two accounts arose chiefly from their having been made upon different principles. In the statement of the directors, every species of the company's property was brought into account, and a balance struck on the supposition of its being at that moment dissolved. In the other, such parts of their stock only were carried to their credit, as could be disposed of, leaving them still in a condition to continue their trade, which it was the object of the bills to enable them to do. On this principle the following sums, carried to the credit of the company, in the directors statement, were disallowed.

The value of shipping, warehouses, stores naval and military, at home and abroad	—	—	—	£.
				2,450,600
Disputed debts claimed since before the year 1763, from the French, Spanish, and British governments	—			422,000
Debts claimed from Indian princes, and rentees	—			3,402,000
To be deducted from 4,200,000 l. lent to government at 3 per cent. *	—	—	—	1,680,000
				<hr/>
Carried forward	—			7,954,600

\* This sum was to be repaid to the company, if government should ever put an end to their monopoly; but in the mean time, it was argued, their interest in it, if allowed at all, could not be valued at more than the price of that sum in the 3 per cents. In like manner, 1,346,600 l. is allowed below to the credit of the company, being the difference between 2,992,440 l. due to the proprietors of India annuities, at 3 per cent. and the current price of that stock, which was 55 per cent.

And

# 64] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

Brought over — 7,954,600

*And the following Sums were added to the Debts of the Company.*

Loss on the prime cost of four cargoes from Bengal	—	113,800
Balance on freight for shipping	— —	1,678,600
Arrears due to the military	— —	140,000
Due to the Soubah of the Decan	— —	300,000
Capital stock due to the proprietors	— —	3,200,000
		<hr/>
		13,387,000
Allowed on 2,992,440 l. India ann. 3 per cent.	—	1,346,600
		<hr/>
Difference of Accounts	—	12,040,400

The principles of this statement were strongly controverted by the speakers in opposition; and even supposing them just, the last article, in which the original stock of the company stands a debt against them, was said to be in direct contradiction to the principle first laid down.

The second head of abuses related to the company's government in India, as it affected, 1st, The independent powers of that country; 2dly, The states in alliance with or dependent on us; and, 3dly, Our own territorial possessions.

Under the first class were ranged the extravagant projects, and expensive wars, entered into by the company, for the purpose of extending their dominions; their violations of treaty, their breaches of faith, the sale of the company's authority and assistance in support of the ambition, rapacity, and cruelty of others, and the betraying, each in his turn, of every prince, without exception, with whom they had formed any connection in India. The facts which were brought in proof of these, and of the subse-

quent general charges, were taken from the reports of the two Indian committees. We have already had occasion to enumerate many of them; and as the impeachment of the Governor General of Bengal, which has since been moved in the House of Commons, will make it necessary for us hereafter to enter into a larger detail, we shall reserve them, in order to avoid repetition, for that occasion.

The second class of abuses in the company's government in India, comprehended their corrupt and ruinous interference in the internal government of the princes dependent on them; the invasion of their rights; the unjust exaction of exorbitant aids and tribute; the flagrant and enormous peculations of the company's civil servants, and the disorders and rapacity of the military.

Thirdly, with respect to the management of the countries under their own immediate dominion, it was stated, that the general system of their conduct was directed to one single end, namely, the transmission of wealth from that country to this. With this view, at one time monopolies



nopolies had been established, not only of every article of trade; but even of the necessaries of life; at another the privilege of pre-emption was secured to the company; and these were followed by partial and arbitrary preferences, not less ruinous in their consequences than the former. By this impolitic and oppressive conduct, the merchants and bankers of India, many of whom, in extent of trade and credit, were scarcely equalled by those of the first class in Europe, being disabled from all undertakings of magnitude, fell gradually into decay, whilst the native cultivators and manufacturers were obliged to accept of a bare sufficiency for their maintenance, measured out to them by the judgment of those who were to profit by their labour. But this was not the worst: for in the progress of these destructive measures, the oppressions and cruelties used by those to whom the execution of them was committed, went far beyond the extent of the original evil. The servants of the company, adopting, as might naturally be expected, the principles of their employers, extended the practice of them to their own private purposes; and, to complete the mischief, they found themselves under the necessity of supporting the injuries done to the natives for their selfish ends, by new injuries done in favour of those before whom they were to account.

The case of the zemindars, and of the renters under them, was, if possible, still more deplorable. At the time we obtained the dewannee from the mogul, the provinces of Bengal and Bahar had been laid waste by a famine, that had carried off upwards of one-third of its inhabitants. The first thing done for

their relief, was to exact from the remaining part of the inhabitants the same tribute that had before been paid by the whole. The country daily declining, and the distress occasioned by this rapacious conduct threatening the loss of the object, for the sake of which it had been adopted, the company's government in India had proceeded to perhaps one of the most arbitrary, the most unjust, and the most cruel acts of power recorded in history. They had set up to public auction the whole landed interest of Bengal, without the least regard to the rights of private property, or even a preference being given to the ancient possessors. The zemindars, most of them persons of ancient families and respectable fortunes, were under the necessity either of bidding against every temporary adventurer and desperate schemer, or of seeing their estates transferred or delivered up to the management of strangers. The lowest and most knavish jobbers entered into their patrimonial lands; and the banyan, or black steward, of the governor general, in particular, was found after this auction to be in possession of farms amounting to the annual value of upwards of 130,000*l*.

These sufferings of the natives under our dominion in India, were greatly aggravated by their being almost wholly excluded from any share in the expenditures of the company's government. All the principal collections of the revenue; all the honourable, all the lucrative situations in the army; all the supplies and contracts, of every kind, were solely in the hands of the English. So that the natives, with very few exceptions, were only employed as the servants or agents of Euro-

peans, in subordinate stations in the army, and in the inferior department of collection, where it was impossible to proceed a step without their assistance.

The sum of 420,000*l.* had, indeed, been agreed to be paid to the nabob of Bengal for the support of his government, (as an express condition of the grant of the territorial revenue, which amounted to upwards of three million) and out of this sum, distributed through the various departments of civil administration, a great many natives of the higher ranks, though scantily provided for, were at least preserved from indigence and ruin. But within a few years after the dewannee came into our possession this pension had been reduced to 160,000*l.* without the least regard to the subsistence of these innocent people, or to the faith of the treaty, by which they were brought under the English government.

On the whole of the article of abuses it was averred, that by these accumulated acts of injustice, oppression, and cruelty, dictated by an improvident and rapacious policy, our possessions in India, instead of a resource to the public, were in danger of becoming one of its greatest burdens; that by the oppression of our allies and dependants, they had either alienated them from us, or rendered them useless and burdensome to us; that by wars carried on from corrupt and ambitious motives, and by repeated violations of the most solemn engagements with foreign powers, they had destroyed all confidence in British faith and justice, and rendered our government odious and detestable throughout India.

Neither the facts from which

these conclusions were drawn, nor the conclusions themselves (both, indeed, standing already recorded in the proceedings of the house) were controverted by the members in opposition, any otherwise than by a general charge of their being somewhat exaggerated. But the second plea of necessity, which the framers of the new bill had undertaken to establish, namely, that these abuses, without a total change of system, were utterly incurable, was more strongly contested.

In the course of the debate it was frequently urged, that a company of merchants was totally unfit to be trusted with the political government of a distant foreign dominion, or with the management of large territorial revenues. But as this position was not generally assented to, in its whole extent, by either side of the house, the arguments principally insisted on were drawn from the peculiar constitution and circumstances of the company itself.

The parties concerned in the direction of the company's affairs, were three, the proprietors, the directors, and the ministers of the crown. The first of these bodies was composed of persons of two descriptions; of the fair, natural stockholder, who had vested his money in their fund, for the sake of the annual interest he drew from it; and of the political stockholder, whose object was a participation in the power and patronage of their vast empire. That no reformation could be expected from the latter description of proprietors, was evident, since they had a common interest with the powerful delinquents in India—To them these last looked for immunity and support, and  
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in turn repaid them, in the persons of their friends and dependants, by a share in the boundless plunder of the East. As far, therefore, as these proprietors were concerned, and they made a very considerable, and by far the most active part of the body, the proprietors had become an aggregate of private interests, subsisting at the expence of the collective body. The other class of stockholders had, indeed, an interest in the general welfare of the company; but as it might, and in fact had happened, that measures ruinous to their permanent interests were attended with great temporary lucrative advantages, they were satisfied to overlook, in the increase of their dividend, and the improvement of their capital, all the injustice, violence, and rapacity from which such promising appearances derived their support.

The court of directors, being a representative body, naturally partook of the imperfections and disorders of its constituents. The influence of delinquent servants in India equally domineered there, and from the same causes, as in the court of proprietors.—The interest that a director possessed, from his qualification, in the company's profits, did not exceed 160*l.* a year; but the support he was thereby enabled to lend to an obnoxious servant abroad, might be turned to much better account. It was stated, that the son of a person who had been for some time the chairman of that court, before he was in Bengal two months, sold the grant of a single contract for 40,000*l.*

It was alledged on the other side, in behalf of the court of directors, that their general letters, and the instructions sent to their servants

abroad, were not only for the most part consonant to policy and humanity, but “contained as fine a system of ethics as could have been penned by the wisest moralist.” It was urged, in reply, that this made the case more desperate; as it was not a more notorious fact that their orders were universally contemned and disobeyed, than that the objects of their uniform censure and disapprobation had received their constant support, and that disgrace and ruin had been the inevitable lot of those whose conduct had received their uniform applause.

As a check upon this corrupt collusion between the servants of the company and their masters, a power of inspection into the conduct of both had been given, by act of parliament, to the ministers of the crown. Much stress was laid, by the members in opposition, upon this regulation; and it was urged, that by amending a few errors, and supplying a few defects, which were acknowledged still to remain, a controul might be established over the company, sufficient for the purpose of securing its good government, without the violent demolition of its rights, which the present bills aimed at.—On the other hand, it was remarked that every regulation, by which an effectual controul over the company was lodged in the ministers of the crown, was necessarily a violent infringement of, what were called, the *chartered rights* of the company; and until those regulations were proposed, it was impossible to say, whether they might not in fact, though perhaps in a more covert manner, prove equally subversive of their privileges with the plan then under consideration. That the question then was, whether,

in the present alarming state of their affairs, it would be more wise to adopt a new system of government, simple and effective in its constitution, and open and responsible in its operations; or to trust to the blind collision of jarring and contradictory interests, in a contest between rich and powerful delinquents, avaricious proprietors, and intriguing ministers.—That experience had already decided; for that all the plans of reformation, which parliament, during the space of twelve years, had attempted to engraft upon the present system of the company's government, had notoriously failed in their effect; and had, in many instances, even aggravated the evils they were meant to redress.

The argument lastly resorted to by the opposers of the bill, was, that it created a new and unconstitutional power, a kind of fourth estate in the realm, and by the enormous influence it lodged in the hands of a faction for four years, might in the end annihilate the power of the crown, and subvert the constitution. The secretary of state, who brought in the bill, was accused, with great asperity, of having abandoned all his former principles, and of being actuated in the measure proposed, by motives of the most inordinate ambition.

In answer to this charge, it was stated, that no new power whatsoever was created by the bills; and that if the Indian government was a fourth estate, it had existed as such ever since its first formation. It was not denied that the new commissioners would derive a certain degree of influence from the power vested in them: the two things were inseparable; and the only

question was, whether that power and that influence were wisely and safely deposited? The expediency of adopting some fixed period for the duration of their authority, was manifest. Much was to be done in India: it was therefore necessary that a reasonable time should be allowed them for carrying into effect their plans of reformation, without being subject to the vicissitudes of ministerial revolutions; and it was a measure of abundant caution, at least, if not of wisdom, to confine it, as the bill had done, within the smallest limits possible. The commissioners were, in the first instance, nominated by the house of commons, according to the constant practice of parliament in every commission, down to that of the land tax; every imaginable precaution was taken to secure the due execution of the trust reposed in them. Every part of the bills inculcated the wisdom of a jealousy of power, and presumed the possibility of bad administration. They rendered all concealment absolutely impossible; they annexed responsibility not only to every *action*, but even to the *inaction* of the persons who were to execute them; and they provided the means of a strict examination and scrutiny.

Such were the principal arguments by which these celebrated bills were opposed, and defended.—The debates frequently lasted till near five in the morning. The speakers in support of the bills were, the two secretaries of state, Mr. Burke, Sir Grey Cooper, Mr. Sheridan, Mr. Anstruther, and Mr. Adam; against them Mr. W. Pitt, Mr. T. Pitt, Mr. Dundas, Mr. Powis, Mr. Jenkinson, and Mr. Macdonald. The division on the  
commitment



commitment of the first bill, was 229 to 120. The persons nominated in the committee to be commissioners or directors were, the Earl Fitzwilliam, Mr. Frederick Montagu, Lord Lewisham, Mr. George Augustus North, Sir Gilbert Elliot, Sir Henry Fletcher, and Mr. Gregory. On the 8th of December the bill passed the House of Commons, on a division of 208 to 102, and the next day was carried up to the House of Lords.

Hitherto no symptoms had appeared, at least to the public eye, that indicated the approaching fate both of the bill and its authors. Great pains indeed were taken, and with considerable success, by an almost incredible circulation of pamphlets and political engravings, to inflame the nation against the measures and the persons of administration; and it was also remarked, that in the House of Commons, several of that description of members, well known by the name of king's friends, gave their votes on the side of opposition. But it was generally imagined, that as, on the one hand, the ministry was too strong to be shook by the breath of popular clamour, so on the other, it seemed to the last degree improbable that they should have adopted a measure of such infinite importance, either without knowing, or contrary to the inclinations of the king.

11th Dec. On the first reading of the bill in the house of lords, Earl Temple, Lord Thurlow, and the Duke of Richmond, expressed their abhorrence of the measure in the strongest and most unqualified terms. A brilliant panegyric on Mr. Hastings was pronounced by Lord Thurlow, and the

flourishing state of the company's affairs insisted on. After a short debate relative to the production of papers, on which the lords in opposition did not choose to divide the house, the second reading was fixed for Monday, December 15th.

In the mean time various rumours began to circulate, relative to some extraordinary motions in the interior of the court. It was confidently affirmed, that on the 11th of December, the king signified to the Earl Temple, who had been ordered to attend him in the closet for that purpose, his disapprobation of the India bill, and authorized him to declare the same to such persons as he might think fit; that a written note was put into his hands, in which his majesty declared, "That he should deem  
" those who should vote for it not  
" only not his friends, but his  
" enemies; and that if he (Lord  
" Temple) could put this in strong-  
" er words, he had full authority  
" to do so." And, lastly, that in consequence of this authority, communications had been made to the same purport to several peers in the upper house; and particularly to those whose offices obliged them to attend the king's person.

15th Dec. Some extraordinary circumstances, which happened on the 15th of December, the day of the second reading of the bill, confirmed the probability of the truth of these reports. Several lords, who had entrusted their proxies to the minister and his friends, withdrew them only a few hours before the house met; and others, whose support he had every reason to expect, gave their votes on the side of opposition. On the division, which took place upon the  
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question of adjournment, the ministers were left in a minority of 79 to 87.

The same day the House of Commons, on the motion of Mr. Baker, took into consideration the reports above alluded to. He stated, shortly, that the public notoriety, both of the fact itself and of the effects it had produced, called on the house, which was the natural guardian of the constitution, for their immediate interference. He divided the criminality of the subject matter of the report into two parts; first, the giving secret advice to the crown; and, secondly, the use that had been made of his majesty's name, for the purpose of influencing the votes of members of parliament in a matter depending before them. The first, he contended, was a direct and dangerous attack upon the constitution. The law declared, that *the king could do no wrong*; and therefore had wisely made his ministers amenable for all the measures of his government. This was of the very essence of the constitution, which could no longer subsist, if persons unknown, and upon whom, consequently, no responsibility could attach, were allowed to give secret advice to the crown. With regard to the second, Mr. Baker proved, from the Journals, that to make any reference to the opinion of the king, on a bill depending in either house, had always been judged a high breach of the privileges of parliament; he therefore concluded with moving, "That it is *now* necessary to declare, that to report any opinion, or pretended opinion, of his majesty, upon any bill or other proceeding depending in either house of parliament,

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"with a view to influence the votes of the members, is a high crime and misdemeanor, derogatory to the honour of the crown, a breach of the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution."

The motion was seconded by Lord Maitland, and strongly opposed by Mr. W. Pitt, who urged the impropriety of proceeding on mere unauthenticated rumours; alleging, at the same time, that if such rumours were judged a proper foundation for the house to proceed upon, there were rumours circulated with equal industry, in which the same use was made of his majesty's name, in favour of the bill, that had been so much condemned when supposed to have been used in opposition to it. With respect to the effects, which had been adduced as a proof of the truth of the report, if they referred to a late division in the other house, he thought the premises did not warrant the conclusion, as it was no very unusual thing for the lords to reject a bill that had been passed by the commons, without the smallest suspicion of undue influence. With respect to the criminality of the facts which were the subject of these reports, he denied that it was criminal in any of the peers, who were the acknowledged hereditary counsellors of the crown, to give his advice to the king in any case whatever; and, as to the breach of the privileges of parliament, he contended, that the precedents which had been read from the journals, though selected from the *glorious times* of King Charles I. were in nowise applicable to the present case. Mr. Pitt concluded his speech with reproaching the ministers for their base attachment

ment to their offices, though, upon their own state of the case, they had lost their power, and no longer possessed the confidence of their prince.

In answer to these observations, it was said to be a strong presumption of the truth of the reports, that though several members, nearly allied to the noble earl whose name had been mentioned on this occasion, had spoken in the debate, none of them had ventured to assert they were false. That the facts alledged to have been produced, were really the effects of undue influence, and not of conviction, was manifest from certain well-known circumstances, relative to a late division in another place. After a long and warm debate, the house divided, and there appeared for the motion 153, against it 80. It was then resolved, "That on Monday next the house would resolve itself into a committee of the whole house, to take into consideration the present state of the nation."

As a change of ministers appeared to be a measure determined upon by the king, and the dissolution of parliament an immediate and necessary consequence, the majority of the house thought no time was to be lost in endeavouring to render the attempt as difficult as possible. With this view, immediately after the above resolutions were agreed to, Mr. Erskine made the following motion, "That it is necessary to the most essential interests of this kingdom, and peculiarly incumbent on this house, to pursue with unremitting attention the consideration of a suitable remedy for the abuses which have prevailed in the go-

vernment of the British dominions in the East Indies; and that this house will consider as an enemy to his country any person who shall presume to advise his majesty to prevent, or in any manner interrupt, the discharge of this important duty."

The motion was opposed, as manifestly factious, and as interfering with the executive part of government, and trenching on the undoubted prerogative of the crown, without any justifiable cause. A member observed, that the true meaning and intent of the motion was, "that it is necessary, for securing the present administration a continuance in office, that no dissolution of parliament should take place at present." The motion was, however, carried by the same majority with the former.

On Wednesday, the 17th Dec. the seventeenth of December, the India bill was rejected by the lords, on a division of 95 to 76. It was remarked, that the Prince of Wales, who was in the minority in the former division, having learned in the interim, that the measure was offensive to the king, was absent on this occasion. At twelve o'clock on the following night, a messenger delivered to the two secretaries of state his majesty's orders, "That they should deliver up the seals of their offices, and send them by the under-secretaries, Mr. Frazer and Mr. Nepean, as a personal interview on the occasion would be disagreeable to him." The seals were immediately given by the king to Lord Temple, who sent letters of dismissal, the day following, to the rest of the cabinet council: at the

same time Mr. William Pitt was appointed first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, and Earl Gower president of the council. On the 22d, Lord Temple resigned the seals of his office, and they were delivered to Lord Sydney, as secretary of state for the home department, and to the Marquis of Carmarthen for the foreign. Lord Thurlow was appointed high

chancellor of Great Britain, the Duke of Rutland lord privy seal, Lord Viscount Howe first lord of the admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond master general of the ordnance; Mr. William Grenville and Lord Mulgrave succeeded Mr. Burke in the pay-office, and Mr. Henry Dundas was appointed to the office of treasurer of the navy.

## CHAP. V.

*Measures adopted by the majority in the House of Commons to prevent the dissolution of parliament—defer the third reading of the land tax bill. Conversation relative to the resignation of Earl Temple. Resolution of the committee on the state of the nation to address the king. Favourable answer from the king. Resolutions of the committee respecting the acceptance of India bonds—and the Duchy of Lancaster. Short adjournment during the Christmas holidays. State of parties at the meeting of the House. Debate on resuming the committee on the state of the nation. Resolutions of the committee, respecting the issuing of public money not appropriated by acts of parliament—for deferring the second reading of the mutiny bill—for the appointment of ministers that enjoyed the confidence of the House—of censure on the appointment of the present ministers. Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt, for the better government of the India company. Debate on the comparative merits of Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Fox's India bills. Mr. Pitt's bill rejected. Notice, by Mr. Fox, of bringing in a new bill.*

THE formidable majority in the House of Commons, which adhered to the late ministers, after their dismissal from his majesty's service, made the immediate dissolution of parliament, in the public opinion, an event almost inevitable. The passing of the land tax bill was a previous step necessarily to be taken. This bill had been twice read, and on Saturday the 20th of December was ordered for the third reading. But as the committee on the state of the nation was to sit on the Monday following, the majority did not think it pru-

dent to suffer this instrument of delay to pass out of their hands, until they had taken some further measures for their security—19th Dec. Accordingly on Friday, after a short but warm debate, the House adjourned to Monday.

On that day, before 22d Dec. the speaker left the chair, Mr. William Grenville begged leave to inform the House, that the noble earl to whom such frequent allusions had lately been made, had authorized him to declare that he was ready to meet any charge that should be made against him;



him; and that he had thought fit to resign the seals of his office, in order to avoid the smallest suspicion of seeking for protection or shelter in the power and influence of a minister. In answer to this extraordinary notification Mr. Fox observed, that with respect to the propriety of the noble earl's relinquishing an office, which he had held but for three days, he was, doubtless, himself the fittest judge: that as to the facts alluded to, facts of public notoriety, and which materially affected the honour of parliament, and the safety of the constitution, he trusted the House would see the necessity of taking them into their most serious consideration: but that the secret nature of those transactions, almost precluded the possibility of bringing a personal charge against any one.

In the *committee on the state of the nation*, it was proposed by Mr. Erskine, that an address should be presented to the king, stating, "the alarming reports of an intended dissolution of parliament; to represent to his majesty the inconveniences and dangers that would attend such a measure, at a moment when the maintenance of the public credit, the support of the revenue, and more especially the distressed state of the finances of the East India company, and the disorders prevailing in their government both at home and abroad, demanded the most immediate attention; to beseech his majesty to suffer them to proceed on the important business recommended to them in his speech from the throne; and to hearken to the voice of his faithful Commons, and not to the secret advices of persons who may have private interests of their own, separate from

the true interest of his majesty and his people."

The high prerogative language used by the partizans of the new administration, in the debate on the 19th, and their eagerness in pressing the third reading of the tax bills, left no room to doubt of their intention to dissolve the parliament as soon as that necessary step was secured. But on this day there appeared some marks of indecision, at least, if not of a total desertion of that design; and this change in the councils of government was supposed to have been the real cause of the sudden resignation that had been just announced to the House.—In the former debate it was strongly urged, that it was time to check the violent disposition that had lately shewn itself to encroach on the prerogatives of the crown, and which threatened to overturn the balance of the constitution;—that the present was a moment which called for, and would justify the exertion of these prerogatives; and that he was not fit to be a minister, who should be deterred by any resolutions of that House from pursuing what he might judge to be the strict line of his duty.—The present question was combated on different ground. Mr. Dundas, who was soon after made treasurer of the navy, and Mr. Bankes, a private confidential friend of the chancellor of the exchequer, assured the committee that there was no intention in government to interrupt the present proceedings of parliament, either by dissolution or prorogation; and the latter gentleman particularly added, that he had authority from his friend to declare, that if such a measure should be proposed in his majesty's council, he would

would oppose it; and if it should be carried against his opinion, he would immediately resign his office.

—These assurances did not, however, appear satisfactory to the majority. It was asked what probable security could be derived from any promises made to that House by a minister, whose accession to power was founded on an attempt to degrade his dignity and importance? But, allowing him all the credit that might be required, what dependence could be placed on the influence of a person, in a future cabinet, who had yet but one colleague in office nominated? And even though they had received the same assurances from the whole cabinet, did not the experience of the last week prove, that their decisions might the next moment be overruled by the secret and irresponsible advisers of the crown? No reply was offered to these arguments; and it was at length resolved, without a division, that the address, as proposed, should be presented to the king by the whole House.

On the Wednesday 24th Dec. following the speaker read to the House, the answer which had that day been given to their address by his majesty on the throne.

—It was as follows:

“ Gentlemen,

“ It has been my constant object to employ the authority entrusted to me by the constitution to its true and only end—the good of my people; and I am always happy in concurring with the wishes and opinions of my faithful Commons.

“ I agree with you in thinking, that the support of the public credit and revenue must demand your most earnest and vigilant care.

“ The state of the East Indies is

also an object of as much delicacy and importance, as can exercise the wisdom and justice of parliament. I trust you will proceed in those considerations with all convenient speed, after such an adjournment as the present circumstances may seem to require. And I assure you I shall not interrupt your meeting by any exercise of my prerogative, either of prorogation or dissolution.”

Some exceptions were taken to the concluding words of this answer. It was remarked, that the whole extent of the royal favour amounted to no more than an assurance, that they should meet again; that the terrors of a dissolution were still left before their eyes, with a strong implication that the fatal sentence should or should not be pronounced, as their behaviour might merit. It was hoped that this artful design would fail in its effect; and that, without regarding the consequences, they would continue their exertions to save the constitution from the dangerous example, of seeing established a ministry formed in defiance of the House of Commons, on the ground of private favour, opposed to public confidence, by the practices of closet intrigue and secret influence, and not upon the voice of the country, or upon the sense of parliament.

*In the committee upon the state of the nation*, upon the motion of lord Beauchamp, the chairman was directed to move the House, and it was accordingly resolved, “ that it is  
“ the opinion of this House, that the  
“ lords of the treasury ought not to  
“ consent that the directors of the  
“ East India company do accept  
“ any more bills, unless they shall  
“ be able to prove to parliament  
“ that

“ that they have sufficient means  
 “ to provide for the payment of  
 “ them, after they shall have paid  
 “ their dividend, and discharged  
 “ the debt due to government.”

It was next resolved, on the motion of the earl of Surrey, that an address be presented to the king, to desire that his majesty would not grant the office of chancellor of the duchy of Lancaster to any person, otherwise than during pleasure, before the 20th day of January next.

These motions met with but a very feeble opposition. It was urged against the former, that it was setting up a resolution of that House against a positive act of parliament; by which act, a discretionary power was lodged in the commissioners of the treasury, of giving their consent to the acceptance of bills to any amount, by the East India company, upon application from the court of directors. It was said, in reply, that the House was in the constant and uniform practice of declaring its previous sense respecting the use of any discretionary power, by resolutions similar to the present; and that such a declaration was now absolutely necessary, as the ministers were of opinion, or pretended to be of opinion, contrary to the thorough conviction of that House, that the company's affairs were in a state sufficiently flourishing to authorize them to consent to such acceptance.

The latter motion was founded on the enquiry that had been instituted into the establishments of the duchy of Lancaster, for the purpose of determining, whether the same might not be reduced, or entirely abolished. After these motions had passed, the House ad-

joined to the 12th day of January. The new cabinet consisted of Earl Gower, president of the council, Mr. Pitt, Lord Thurlow, the Marquis of Carmarthen and Lord Sydney secretaries of state, Duke of Rutland privy seal, Lord Howe first commissioner of the admiralty, and the Duke of Richmond master general of the ordnance.

The expectation of the public was now fixed with great anxiety on the meeting of parliament after the recess. A contest between the executive government and the House of Commons was a spectacle, that, since the accession of the present family to the throne, had not been exhibited in this kingdom; and many circumstances concurred to render the present peculiarly interesting and important. The matter in dispute was of the very essentials of the constitution, and could not be decided without considerably affecting its bias. In defence of the authority of the House of Commons, were ranged the united abilities of two powerful parties, long exercised by mutual contests in all the arts of political warfare. The champion of prerogative, was a person not less distinguished by his splendid talents, and the unexampled rapidity of his rise to power, than by the courage and perseverance he had already demonstrated in the cause he now stood foremost to support. By the natural effects of ministerial influence upon the House of Commons, a sufficient number of members joined the new administration, to make their amount nearly equal in point of votes to those in opposition. The inferiority, both in this and some other respects, under which the minister laboured, was perhaps more than balanced by his

his being obliged to act on the defensive only; a situation of infinite advantage, when combined with the power to chuse his own moment of shifting the scene of battle, by an appeal to the people. It was reasonably to be expected, that they would range themselves on that side with which their own weight and importance in the state was necessarily connected; and the only hopes he could entertain of drawing them from their natural interest was, by exciting a jealousy of the designs, and of the dangerous strength and power of his adversaries. This had been done with extraordinary, and almost incredible industry, and with a success still more extraordinary. Every advantage, therefore, gained by opposition, every point they carried, became a fresh cause of suspicion to the people; and the minister, by a judicious choice of his ground, had always the chance of putting his adversaries in the wrong, in their attacks upon him.

In this state of things, 12th Jan. both Houses met on the 1784. 12th of January. As soon as the speaker had taken the chair, Mr. Fox, in order to get possession of the House, and to prevent any other business from being brought forward by the minister, before certain resolutions that had been prepared, were discussed in the *committee on the state of the nation*, moved for the order of the day. He was here interrupted by the new members who were brought up to be sworn; and as soon as that business was over, the chancellor of the exchequer rose at the same moment with Mr. Fox, declaring he had a message to deliver from the king. A great clamour im-

mediately arose in the house, who should be heard first; which was at length ended, by the speaker's deciding in favour of Mr. Fox.

The question, whether the House should resolve itself into a *committee on the state of the nation*, was then debated. The grounds on which this was opposed by the minister and his friends, were the violent and unprecedented measures adopted by the committee on a former occasion, and the little probability that appeared, from the present temper of the House, that their proceedings would in future be conducted with less violence and passion. As Parliament stood pledged, as well from the duty they owed their country, as by their own solemn declarations, to direct their attention without delay to the affairs of the East India company, Mr. Pitt implored the House to postpone, at least for a short time, the introduction of measures, that might retard or throw any difficulties in the way of this important consideration. He said, he was then ready to bring forward his plan for the better regulation of the company's affairs; and that he challenged a comparison between his, and the bill lately rejected by the Lords, and that he desired to stand or fall by the merits or demerits of the measures he should propose.

In answer to these arguments, it was denied, that either the resolutions already agreed to by the committee, or those which it was intended to propose, were violent or unparliamentary; unprecedented, in the latter journals of parliament, they undoubtedly were, and for good reasons, because, since the time of the Revolution, the dignity and



and essential rights of that House had never before suffered so open and direct an attack. It had been asserted by many great lawyers, and amongst those by Lord Somers himself, that the crown did not possess the prerogative of dissolving parliament *during a session, while public business and petitions were pending*. But, without contending about the question of right, it was strenuously maintained, that the exercise of such a power in the present instance would be highly dangerous and criminal; and that the committee was fully justified in taking such steps as they might think the most effectual for the prevention of such a calamity.

The circumstances of the case called for an open and unqualified declaration of their sentiments, and did not admit of that distant and respectful delicacy which parliament usually adopted, when it thought proper to interfere, by its advice, with the executive government. A bill, the result of the most laborious investigations that had ever been carried on in parliament, had passed the House of Commons, with the warmest approbation of great and independent majorities. His majesty had been advised to conceal from his ministers his disapprobation of the bill, till it was carried into the House of Lords; where, through means of an unconstitutional use of the royal name and influence, it was rejected; the ministers who brought it in were dismissed from the public service, for no other apparent reason, than because they had been supported in that measure, and were believed to possess the confidence of that House; and, lastly, menaces of dissolution were held over the House itself, for

the purpose of awing them into an acquiescence in the measures of the new administration. Under such circumstances, it was impossible the House should not feel, and feeling, not express their indignation and resentment.

The affairs of India were certainly of the most urgent and pressing nature; but it was absolutely necessary, in order to give the subject a free and unbiassed consideration, that the House should not be left dependent for its very existence upon the will of the person whose propositions relative thereto they were about to decide upon. The minister was therefore called upon, if he wished to put a stop to such further measures as the committee might think necessary to adopt for their own security, to give the House some satisfactory assurance that no dissolution would take place. Mr. Pitt positively refused to comply with this requisition, declaring, "that he would never compromise the royal prerogative, nor bargain it away, in the House of Commons."

The majority, who were now persuaded that the new administration were only to be withheld by their fears, from putting an end to the session, resolved to render such a step highly dangerous at least, if not impossible. With this view, as soon as the question for reading the order of the day was carried, on a division of 232 to 193, and the speaker had left the chair, the two following resolutions were moved in the Committee, and passed without a division, and being reported, were agreed to by the House.

"That it is the opinion of this Committee, that for any person or persons in his Majesty's treasury,

or

or in the exchequer, or in the bank of England, employed in the payment of the public money, to pay, or direct or cause to be paid, any sum or sums of money, for or towards the support of the services voted in this present session of parliament, after the parliament shall have prorogued or dissolved, if it be prorogued or dissolved before any act of parliament shall have passed appropriating the supplies to such services, will be a high crime and misdemeanor, a daring breach of the public trust, derogatory to the fundamental privileges of parliament, and subversive of the constitution of this country.

“That it is the opinion of this committee, that the chairman of the committee be directed to move the house, that the bill for punishing mutiny and desertion, and for the better payment of the army and their quarters, be read a second time on Monday the 23d day of February next.”

The immediate dissolution of Parliament being thus far rendered impracticable, two resolutions, of a more direct and hostile nature, were moved by the Earl of Surrey. The first was in the following terms; “That in the present situation of his majesty’s dominions, it was peculiarly necessary that there should be an administration which had the confidence of that House and the public.”

It was objected to this resolution, that the name of his majesty had been, perhaps accidentally, certainly very improperly omitted; and it was proposed by Mr. Dundas to amend the motion, by inserting, instead of the words “*This House and the public,*” the following, “*The crown, the parliament,*

*and the people.*” As this amendment was merely proposed for the purpose of pointing out the factious spirit of the resolution, it was rejected without a division.

The second resolution moved by Lord Surrey, was to the following purport; “That the late changes in his majesty’s councils had been immediately preceded by dangerous and universal reports, that the sacred name of the king had been unconstitutionally used to affect the deliberations of parliament; and that the appointments made were accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary, and such as did not conciliate or engage the confidence of that House.”

The fact principally insisted upon as the ground of this resolution, was the rumour we have already related, respecting the communication made from the king to several peers, touching the India bill, through the Earl of Temple. In answer to those who required some further proof of this transaction, it was remarked, that the fact could only be known to three parties; to the peers to whom the communication was made, to the great personage from whom it came, and to the noble Earl who conveyed it. That it was not to be supposed the first should come voluntarily forward to divulge what might be considered as a confidential conversation, with the certainty of incurring the severest displeasure of the court. That if it were false, it might reasonably have been expected, that the ministers then in office would have received authority from his majesty to contradict a report so injurious to the honour of the crown. But, at all events, that the noble Earl was bound, when he heard that the  
House

House was proceeding upon those reports, to come fairly within the bar, as other lords had done, at different periods of our history, and clear himself from so disgraceful an imputation.

Another fact was related to the committee by General Ross, which, though denied by a near relation of the party in the house, and never substantiated so fully as to ground any further proceedings thereon, yet appeared to have great weight in the determinations of the members. The matter was, that a few days before, one of the lords of his majesty's bed-chamber, whom he afterwards named to be the Earl of Galloway, had desired to see him at his house; where he told him, that if he voted against the new administration that day, he would be considered as *an enemy to the king*.

A warm debate took place upon this motion, in which the most pointed personalities were cast and retorted from both sides of the House. The coalition was branded as a corrupt confederacy of two desperate factions, to seize upon the government of the country; and the India bill was represented to have been an experiment made by the late secretary of state, with a view, if not to place the crown on his own head, at least to raise himself to a degree of power superior to that of the sovereign. On the other hand, the party composing the new administration was described as a coalition, not indeed of parties, but of the shreds and remnants, of the dregs and outcasts of parties; as a body collected for the purpose of fighting the battles of secret and unconstitutional influence, of tramp-

ling on the power and dignity of the House of Commons, and of establishing a government of cabal, intrigue, and favouritism, and of destroying the very principles of laudable ambition and honourable service in the state. At length, about seven o'clock in the morning, the committee divided, for the motion 196, against it 54.

On the Wednesday following, Mr. Pitt moved for leave to bring in "a bill for the better government and management of the affairs of the East India company." By this act commissioners were to be appointed by his majesty, from the members of his privy council, who were "authorized and empowered, from time to time, to check, superintend, and controul, all acts, operations, and concerns, which in anywise relate to the civil or military government or revenues of the territories and possessions of the said united company in the East Indies."

It then enacts, "that the said board shall have access to all papers and muniments of the said united company, and shall be furnished with copies thereof, and of all the proceedings of all general and special courts of proprietors, and of the court of directors, and also copies of all dispatches which the directors shall receive from any of their servants in the East Indies, immediately after the arrival thereof, and also copies of all letters, orders, and instructions whatsoever, relating to the civil or military government or revenues of the British territorial possessions in the East Indies, proposed to be sent to any of the servants

servants of his majesty, or of the said Company in the East Indies; and that the court of directors shall and are required to pay due obedience to, and shall be governed and bound by such orders and directions as they shall, from time to time, receive from the said board, touching the civil or military government and revenue of the territories and possessions of the company."

And it is further enacted, "that the said board shall return the copies of the said dispatches to the court of directors, with their approbation thereof, or their reasons at large for disapproving the same, together with instructions in respect thereto; and that the court of directors shall thereupon dispatch and send the letters, orders, and instructions, so approved or amended, to their servants in India, without further delay; and no letters, orders, or instructions, until after such previous communication thereof to the said board, shall at any time be sent or dispatched by the said directors to the East Indies, on any account or pretence whatsoever."

And it is further enacted, "that in case the said board shall send any orders which, in the opinion of the said court of directors, shall relate to points not connected with the civil or military government and revenues of the said territories and possessions in India, it shall be lawful for them to apply by petition to his majesty in council, touching such orders; and the decision of the council thereon shall be final and conclusive."

It then enacts, "that the nomination of the commanders in chief

shall be vested in his majesty, and that the said commanders in chief shall always be second in council." It also vests in his majesty "the power to remove any governor general, presidents, and members of the councils of any British settlements in India;" and enacts, "that all vacancies in the offices aforesaid shall be supplied by the court of directors, subject to the approbation of his majesty; and in case the person nominated by the said court shall not be approved by his majesty, the said court shall proceed to nominate some other person, subject to the approbation or disallowance of his majesty, in the same manner as before directed, and so *toties quoties*, until some person or persons shall be nominated and appointed, who shall be approved by his majesty; and in case the court of directors shall not, within days, proceed to supply the same, then it shall be lawful for his majesty to appoint a person to supply the office so vacant."

"It is further enacted, that no order or resolution of any general court of proprietors shall be available to revoke or rescind, or in any respect to affect, any proceeding of the court of directors, after his majesty's pleasure shall have been signified upon the same."

The debates on this bill turned principally on its merits and demerits, as compared with the India bill rejected in the House of Lords. It was urged by Mr. Pitt, that in his bill all the rights enjoyed by the company, under their charter, were preserved inviolate, as far as was compatible with the public safety. When, in answer to this, it was shewn,



shewn, that nothing but the shadow of power was left to the company; and that, by the negative reserved to the crown in all matters whatsoever, the substance was, in effect, vested there: he contended, that whatever might be the effect of the bill, yet, having previously obtained the consent both of the court of proprietors and directors to all the regulations contained in it, no violation of privileges could be inferred, where there was a voluntary surrender of them. To this argument it was objected, that the consent of 250, the number of those who voted in the court of proprietors for the regulations in the bill, could not imply the consent of 1,400, who compose the whole body of proprietors, especially in a case of property, where no delegation of the power of balloting could be communicated, and where a great part of the absent members had not an opportunity to attend: but whatever weight might be allowed to the resolutions of the court of proprietors, they only proved, that of two evils, the more formal resumption of their authority by the first bill, or the indirect assumption of it by the last, they had chosen what they conceived to be the least.

The second point, in which the new bill differed from the former, was this, that it left where it found all the patronage of the company, the appointment of the commander in chief excepted. The fallacy of this pretence was, on the other side, strongly maintained: the whole military patronage, it was said, would almost necessarily follow the appointment of the commander in chief. The negative given to the crown in the appointment of the governors and council would, by a

judicious management, enable the minister in reality, though not in form, to nominate the whole; and every member, both civil and military, being made removeable at the will of the crown, would naturally become subservient to its views and interests.

In the former bill, the transferring the entire government of the company's affairs to the new board, the nomination of commissioners in parliament, and the permanent duration of their authority for a term of four years, had occasioned great alarm, as creating a new power dangerous to the constitution. The object of the present bill was merely control; and the exercise of that control, like every other branch of the executive government, was referred to the discretion of the crown. In answer to this, it was observed, in the first place, that to leave one set of men, who had not only been convicted of having notoriously abused their power, but were universally allowed to be unfit for the trust reposed in them, in the possession of dominion, merely for the purpose of being controlled by another, was to establish disunion and weakness in government upon system. The notable expedient provided in this case, of an appeal from the King's privy council to the King in council, was ridiculed with great success. In the second place, it was argued, that the proposed regulations tended to confound one of the strongest principles of good government, that of responsibility. The court of directors certainly stood foremost in the ostensible government of the company; but it was to make them responsible for orders and instructions which they might be obliged to sign, contrary

trary to their judgment and their conscience. Lastly, it was strenuously maintained, on the same ground that had before been taken in the debate on the rejected bill, that no effectual system of regulation could be devised, in which an independent and permanent power was not lodged in the persons who were to be intrusted with the execution of it.

The bill was read a second time on the 23d of January; and on the motion for its being committed, the House divided, ayes 214, noes 222. The bill being thus rejected, Mr. Fox

gave notice of his intentions to bring in another bill relative to the same object; in which, without departing from the leading principle of the first bill, that of establishing a responsible and permanent government at home, he should endeavour to accommodate the rest to the wishes of those who appeared to have taken what he conceived to be a very groundless alarm at his former propositions. This notice was received with great satisfaction by the House; but the events which followed prevented their proceeding further upon it.

## C H A P. VI.

*Resolution moved against the ministry by lord Charles Spencer. Union of parties called for. Difficulties stated by the leaders of each party. The minister called on to give information relative to the design of dissolving parliament—he refuses. Motion intended to be made thereon, but deferred. Minister again interrogated respecting the dissolution—his answer. Motion to obstruct the dissolution. Minister's reasons for continuing in office. Ridiculous accusation of the late ministry of bribery. Causes of the indecision of both parties. Meeting of members at the St. Alban's tavern to effect an union—their address to both parties, and the answers—their motions in the House of Commons for forming a new ministry, ordered to be laid before the king. Motion of the St. Alban's association against the exclusion of either party in forming a new ministry carried in the House of Commons. Disinterested conduct of lord North. New expedient for effecting an union—causes of its failure—mischievous consequences of those measures. His Majesty's refusal to dismiss his ministers—debate thereon. Proceedings in the House of Lords. Address to the King from the Commons, on the resolutions laid before him, and his Majesty's answer. Address to the King for the removal of his ministers, and his Majesty's answer there-to. Representation to the King on the state of public affairs. Prorogation and dissolution of parliament.*

16th Jan. **T**HE discussion of the bill for regulating the affairs of the East India company did not prevent the House of Commons from adverting, in the mean time, to the general state of

public affairs. The resolution, which passed on the 12th of January, would probably, at any other period, have operated decisively against the ministry; but the stake was too deep to be hastily thrown away; and an attempt

tempt was therefore made to evade the consequences of that vote, by considering it as too generally worded to convey any direct censure on the members of the present administration. In order therefore to bring the point to a more direct issue, the following resolution was moved by lord Charles Spencer, in the committee *on the state of the nation*:

“ That it having been declared  
 “ to be the opinion of this House,  
 “ that in the present situation of  
 “ his majesty’s dominions, it is peculiarly necessary there should be  
 “ an administration that has the  
 “ confidence of this House, and of  
 “ the public; and that the appointments of his majesty’s present ministers were accompanied by circumstances new and extraordinary; and such as do not conciliate or engage the confidence  
 “ of this House; the continuance  
 “ of the present ministers in trusts  
 “ of the highest importance and  
 “ responsibility, is contrary to constitutional principles, and injurious to the interests of his majesty and his people.”

In opposition to this motion, it was argued, that the premises, allowing them to be true and well founded, did not warrant the conclusion, since the present ministers were not even accused of having had any share in the transactions alluded to. They had been constitutionally appointed by his majesty, who had the sole right to appoint them; and though it was not denied that a majority of the House was competent to declare their want of confidence in ministers so appointed, yet they were bound in duty to alledge good and sufficient grounds for such a declaration; otherwise the nation would justly

consider it not as a constitutional question, but as a daring assumption of the prerogative of the crown, and a factious attempt in such a majority to nominate their own ministers.—In answer to these arguments it was proved, from various precedents, that the House of Commons had frequently passed votes of censure on ministers, without alledging any specific acts as the grounds of such censure. But without having recourse to this authority, it was asserted, that the reasons adduced in the motion were full and sufficient. That the present ministers did not possess the confidence of the House, was a fact recorded on their Journals. It would be vain and fruitless to fight over again, on every occasion, the grounds on which that resolution was voted; and if the deliberative opinion of a decided majority, on a great public question, and in the exercise of their undoubted privileges, deserved the appellation of *factious*, by what epithets was the conduct of the minority to be described, who were attempting to weaken the authority, and to overawe and controul the general sense of the body, of which they made a part?

In the course of the debate, Mr. Powis expressed his wishes for an union between the contending parties, as the only means of saving the constitution from the shock it was otherwise likely to receive. No notice was taken by Mr. Pitt of this overture; and Mr. Fox declared, that until the right honourable gentleman, by quitting the situation, which in the opinion of that House he had obtained by unconstitutional means, and which he seemed inclined to maintain in defiance of their resolutions, had made *amende*

[F] 2 *honorable*

*honorable* for his offence, and thus qualified himself to return to it on fair, open, and honourable grounds, he would never consent to act with him. On the division there appeared for the resolution 205, against it 184.

20th Jan. The public expectation was now fixed on two important events, the one or other of which it was supposed would be the necessary consequence of the last vote of the House of Commons; namely, the resignation of the ministers, or the dissolution of parliament. On the 20th of January, the day appointed for the committee again to sit *on the state of the nation*, there was a general call amongst the members, called country gentlemen, for a coalition. Mr. Fox persevered in the sentiments he had before delivered, but declared his readiness to put off the committee, that no hasty steps might be taken; at the same time he was of opinion, that the chancellor of the Exchequer was bound to give some explanation of the very extraordinary conduct he had thought proper to adopt. Mr. Pitt acknowledged that his situation was new and extraordinary; but had no doubt, that whenever the proper time came for stating his reasons to the House, why he continued in office after the resolution passed on the 16th, he should make it appear that he had been actuated by a strict sense of his duty.

23d Jan. The rejection of Mr. Pitt's India bill, which took place, as was before related, on the 23d, was generally considered as the concluding act of the present House of Commons. As soon as the division was over, the minister was desired to give the House some satis-

faction respecting a measure in which they were to nearly concerned; and, on his remaining silent, a loud and general call was repeated from every side of the House. At length some harsh expressions, used by general Conway, relative to his conduct, obliged him to rise; but, after some warm remonstrances on the treatment he had received, he concluded with a flat refusal to answer the interrogatories that were put to him. Several of the members who usually voted with him, now joined in the general request, but in vain. The House grew unusually warm, and Mr. Eden was preparing to move the following resolution,

“ That for any of his majesty's confidential ministers in that House, to refuse to the House an explanation of the sense in which such minister understands a speech or an answer of his majesty, is contrary to the ancient and uniform practice of former ministers; and tends to produce unnecessary applications to his majesty, and is disrespectful to his majesty and to the House:”

When Mr. Fox interfered, and recommended an adjournment, that the right honourable gentleman might have time to recollect himself, and consider whether he had treated the House with that respect which might be expected from a minister standing in his peculiar circumstances.

24th Jan. On the following day, Saturday, as soon as Mr. Pitt had taken his place, Mr. Powis rose, and after lamenting with tears the extraordinary and disgraceful scene he had been a witness to not long before, and thanking the member who had so generously put an  
end





that House; that he neither could nor ought to remain long in such a situation, he was ready to confess; but he was bound to use his own discretion, in preventing the mischievous consequences that might attend an instant resignation. He might meritoriously continue in office, if he were persuaded that his resignation would leave the country without any executive government at all. It behoved him to consider who were likely to be his successors; and he was bound, in honour and in duty, so far to support the prerogative of the crown, as not to quit a situation, because it was become difficult or dangerous, till he saw some prospect of its being filled in a manner more acceptable to all the parties concerned.

About this time a ridiculous circumstance, brought forward by the precipitate zeal of the friends of the new ministry, for the purpose of retorting on their adversaries the charge of undue influence, engaged the attention of the House of Commons.

On the 24th of this month, Mr. Yorke acquainted the House, that he had matters to communicate, in which their privileges were deeply concerned: the first was, that an offer had been made to a member of the House, of a place of £. 500 a year, provided he would change sides, and give his vote in opposition to the present ministry; the second, that £. 500 had been sent to Scotland by the same party, and lodged in the bank of Edinburgh, for the purpose of defraying the travelling expences, and thereby quickening the pace of the Scotch members; and that the lord advocate of Scotland, Mr. Henry Erskine, was the person to whom the disposal of

the money was entrusted. Mr. Yorke having further acquainted the House, that the member, Mr. Dalrymple, from whom he received this intelligence, was then present, and ready to give the House any further satisfaction they might require, he was called on by opposition to mention the particulars. He accordingly related, that a Mr. Hamilton, of Bargeny, formerly a member of the House, had offered him a place, on the conditions before stated, of £. 500 a year from the duke of Portland, or the Portland administration. With regard to the second story, he had been assured of the fact in a public company, by Mr. Charteris, a member not then in his place.

As soon as the intelligence was thus stated, the friends of the duke of Portland insisted that it should be taken down in writing by the clerk, in order to be fully investigated. A message was sent privately to the duke, to acquaint him with what had passed; in consequence of which he immediately repaired to the lobby, and desired the House might be acquainted that he was ready to come within their bar, and answer such questions relative to the subject as they might chuse to put to him. Several members suspecting that the whole matter might have originated in a jest, expressed their wishes that it might be dropped; but the members who had brought forward the charges, refusing their consent to a motion, in which it proposed to state *that the said charges had been wholly abandoned by them*, an order was made for the attendance of Mr. Hamilton.

A few days afterwards, Mr. Charteris being in his place, explained

to the House the occasion of the jest which he had put upon his honourable friend, and which he was sorry to find had occasioned so much serious discussion: and it appearing, by a letter read to the House from the gentleman himself, that the offer of Mr. Hamilton had arisen from the same mirthful disposition, the order for his attendance was discharged, and the following motion agreed to:

“ That it appears to this House, that the charges contained in the said information [the same having been previously read by the clerk] respecting the duke of Portland and the late administration, were groundless.”

As the grounds, on which the minister endeavoured to defend his continuance in office, after three several votes of disapprobation had passed the House of Commons, amounted in fact to nothing more than that *he* was of opinion his remaining in power was serviceable to the country, though *the House* chose to think otherwise, it is scarcely necessary to add, that they appeared to the majority wholly unsatisfactory. The next step therefore, which in the course of parliamentary proceedings ought regularly to have been adopted, was an address to the throne, to remove him from his majesty's councils; and such a measure, by bringing the contest to an immediate decision, would, at all events, have rescued the government of the country from the disgraceful situation in which it then stood. But as, on the one hand, the strong and decided opposition of the country gentlemen

to a dissolution of parliament seems to have overawed the minister into the dereliction of a step so necessary on his part; so, on the other hand, their general call for an union prevented the opposition from pursuing those measures of vigour, which the constitution of parliament, in concurrence with their own interest, obviously required.

On the 26th of January, a meeting of such members of the House of Commons as were anxious to promote a coalition of parties met at the St. Alban's tavern. Their numbers amounted to near seventy; and an address was immediately agreed to and signed, and ordered to be presented by a committee of their body to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt\*.

The address was expressed in the following terms:

“ We whose names are hereunto signed, members of the House of Commons, being fully persuaded that the united efforts of those in whose integrity, abilities, and constitutional principles we have reason to confide, can alone rescue the country from its present distracted state, do join in most humbly entreating them to communicate with each other on the arduous situation of public affairs, trusting, that by a liberal and unreserved intercourse between them, every impediment may be removed to a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters, acting on the same public principles, and entitled to the support of independent and disinterested men.”

In answer to this address, both

\* See Appendix to the Chronicle, p. 265, for a journal of the transactions of this meeting.

parties expressed themselves desirous of complying with the wishes of so respectable a meeting; but the duke of Portland conceived that he could not have any interview with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of union, so long as the latter held his situation as prime minister, in defiance of the resolutions of the House of Commons. On the other hand, Mr Pitt declined resigning, either actually or virtually, as a preliminary to negotiation.

2d Feb. In order to co-operate with and assist the exertions of the meeting at the St. Alban's, it was moved by one of their members, and carried unanimously in the House of Commons, "That the present arduous and critical situation of public affairs required the exertions of a firm, efficient, extended, and united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as might have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country."

In addition to this, a second resolution was moved by Mr. Coke, which had for its object the reprehension of Mr. Pitt's refusal to resign, declaring, "that the continuance of the present ministers in office was an obstacle to the forming a firm, efficient, extended, and united administration."

This last motion occasioned much debate. The ground on which it was combated, was the growing popularity of the new administration; and the House was there re-adjusted not to provoke the people to go to the foot of the throne, and implore the crown to rescue them from its tyranny. On the other side, it was asserted that the popularity of the ministers was founded on a tempo-

rary delusion, and supported by artful misrepresentations and gross calumnies. That the design to create a dissension between that House and the people at large, was of a nature the most alarming and dangerous to the constitution, and a daring attack upon the privileges of the House, which, if not firmly resisted, would terminate in the destruction of the liberties of the nation. Mr. Pitt threw himself on the candour and justice of the House: but declared firmly, that he would not by any managements be induced to resign. To march out of his post with a halter about his neck, change his armour, and meanly beg to be readmitted, and considered as a volunteer in the army of the enemy, was an humiliation to which he would never submit. Some of the members, who still continued their endeavours to effect a coalition, wished the previous question to be put on the motion, with a view to try whether the House would consent to rescind the votes of censure they had before passed, as a matter of accommodation; declaring, if this was not done, they should consider themselves as bound to support the present question: that those resolutions and the present administration ought not to stand together; that the authority of the House must be supported, and that the pride of an individual ought not to stand in the way of it. On the division there were 223 for the motion, against it 204.

The day following the resolutions, after a long and warm debate, in which the same ground was gone over as before, were ordered, by a majority of 24, to be laid before his majesty.

The step taken by the House of Commons



Commons would probably have brought the contest between the two parties to a speedy decision, if the members, who met at the St. Alban's tavern, had not checked it by a declaration, which, coming from so powerful a body, almost forced affairs again into a state of suspense and indecision.

On the 11th of February, Mr. Marsham read to the House, as a part of his speech, a resolution of the members of the meeting at the St. Alban's tavern, in which they declared, "that an administration formed on the total exclusion of the members of the last or present administration would be inadequate to the exigencies of the public affairs."

This declaration gave occasion to the leading persons on both sides to deliver their sentiments, respecting the so much desired coalition. Mr. Fox, after expressing his sincere wishes for an union, again insisted on the resignation of the chancellor of the Exchequer, or at least on his declaring that the present administration was virtually and substantially dissolved, as an indispensable preliminary step. He did not scruple, he said, to avow his opinion, that the House of Commons had, and ought to have, a real and substantial negative in the nomination of ministers of state: the conduct of the right honourable gentleman militated directly against this position; and therefore, however desirable an union on almost any terms might be, yet he conceived it would be infinitely overbalanced by the mischief of establishing a precedent, which, if pursued, would render the House of Commons worse than useless. This sacrifice to the constitution, which had been so grossly vio-

lated, must be absolutely required from him; all other points, Mr. Fox conceived, might be easily adjusted.

Mr. Pitt declared, that, for the reasons already given by him, he could not recede from his former determination. He allowed, that no minister could in fact continue long in office that did not possess the confidence of that House; but he denied that there were any constitutional means to force him to resign. The proper method of effecting his removal was by an address to the crown; till, in consequence of such a measure, the king should think proper to remove him from his office, he held it neither illegal nor unconstitutional to retain it. With regard to other and subordinate considerations, he confessed that there might be persons with whom he could not possibly bring himself to act, without forfeiting that character of consistency which other gentlemen he thought had too much undervalued. If such persons there were, and they would consent to sacrifice their views, and to remove themselves out of the way of union, he thought they would do themselves honour, and merit the thanks of their country.

These allusions called up lord North, to whom they were manifestly pointed. He said, that though he did not feel in himself the least disposition to gratify the caprice or the unjust prejudices of any individual; yet, what he should be unwilling to do for the right honourable minister, he was willing and ready to do for his country. That if his pretensions should be deemed any obstacle to an union, he should rejoice in removing it; but he apprehended that not himself, but the chancellor

chancellor of the Exchequer, stood in the way of union, since it appeared that nothing was now wanting for that salutary end, but that the right honourable gentleman should pay a just and dutiful respect to the resolutions of that House, by retiring from a situation which he both obtained and held on principles they had repeatedly condemned.

The highest applauses were bestowed on lord North for his noble and disinterested conduct, particularly by the leaders of the St. Alban's assembly, who called loudly on Mr. Pitt, but in vain, to yield to the pressing exigencies of his country.

Notwithstanding the discouraging circumstances which appeared in the above debate, the associated members still continued their endeavours to effect an union. They returned their unanimous thanks to lord North and Mr. Fox for their open, candid, and manly declarations of their willingness to conciliate the differences subsisting between the contending parties, and an expedient was at length suggested, which, without any concession of principle on either side, but only a concession of mode, it was hoped might lead to an amicable negotiation: this was, that the duke of Portland should be requested by the king to have a conference with Mr. Pitt for the purpose of forming a new administration.

This proposition was acceded to; and a message was accordingly sent by Mr. Pitt to the duke, in which he acquainted him, that he was commanded to signify to him "his majesty's earnest desire, that his grace should have a personal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming a new ad-

ministration on a wide basis, and on *"fair and equal terms."*

This message was perfectly satisfactory to the duke of Portland as to the mode proposed, but he wished to have the terms of the message perfectly understood between him and Mr. Pitt previous to the conference. The word *fair* he had no objection to; it was a general term, and they might in framing the arrangement, mutually discuss what each considered to be fair: but the word *equal* was a limited and specific term, and therefore he wished to know from Mr. Pitt to what particular object it was intended to be applied. It seemed to promise slender hopes of a real union, and had the appearance of forming an arrangement more on the idea of having equal numbers of each party in the cabinet, than on mutual confidence and unity of principles. Mr. Pitt replied, that the word objected to would be best explained at their conference, and declined all further preliminary discussions. Two other proposals were offered by the duke of Portland; the first, that he should be permitted to construe the message of Mr. Pitt to imply a virtual resignation; the second, that he might receive his majesty's commands relative to the conference from the sovereign in person: but they were both refused.

Thus ended all hopes of a coalition of parties; and the meeting at the St. Alban's closed their efforts with declaring, "That they heard, with infinite concern, that all further progress towards an union was prevented by a doubt respecting a single word; and that they were unanimously of opinion that it would be no dishonour-  
"able

“able step in either of the gentle-  
 “men to give way, and might be  
 “highly advantageous to the public  
 “welfare.”—It must, however, be  
 confessed, that the attempt itself,  
 though highly applauded in general,  
 was considered by some as futile  
 and absurd; that it did not promise  
 any solid or permanent system, and  
 that it contributed in a considerable  
 degree, by inducing delay and indecision,  
 to aggravate the mischief  
 it was designed to remedy.

This day the chancellor of the exchequer being asked, previous to the consideration of supply for the service of the ordinance, whether he had any thing to communicate to the House relative to the resolutions that had been laid before the king, informed the House, “That his majesty, after a consideration of all the circumstances of the country, had not thought proper to dismiss his ministers, and that his ministers had not resigned.”

This intimation brought on a long and warm debate. The attention of the House was called to it in the most solemn manner. It was said to be the first instance, since the Revolution, of a direct denial on the part of the crown to comply with the wishes of the House of Commons; that it was the first time the House had not received a gracious answer from a prince of the house of Brunswick; that it was a matter of melancholy, but most weighty consideration, that persons had been found capable of advising his majesty to depart from the uniform practice of his ancestors, from that line of conduct under which the country had grown great, and rich, and powerful; and that an event so new and alarming required, on

their part, a firm but moderate, a prudent but effectual assertion of their privileges: that the power of granting or refusing the supplies was the constitutional shield of their authority; and that to this, if it should at last be found necessary, they were bound to have resort; but to avoid all imputation of rashness or violence, and to leave his majesty's ministers time to recollect themselves, it was only proposed to defer the report of the ordinance till the Friday following.

The mention of *refusing the supplies* was received by the other side of the House as a threat, which even the utmost madness of faction, it was said, could not seriously design to execute. The very right of such a refusal was questioned. The exercise of this privilege, in former times, was founded on principles which, it was contended, did not now exist. The settled revenues of the crown were then sufficient for all the ordinary purposes of the executive government, without an annual application to parliament; and it was only on extraordinary demands, such as for the prosecution of wars disapproved of by parliament, that the right of refusal was exercised; whereas, in the present state of our government, to deny the ordinary annual supply, would be, in fact, to dissolve the whole fabric of government.

The chancellor of the exchequer, without denying the right of refusing supplies in cases of necessity, contented himself with appealing to the justice of the House, whether his majesty's refusal to dismiss his ministers, because that House had thought proper to condemn them without a trial, was a justifiable ground for the exercise of it. On the

the division there appeared for postponing the supplies 208, against it, 196.

As the service of the ordnance could not suffer any inconvenience by deferring from time to time the report on the estimates of that establishment, it appears to have been the design of the leaders of opposition to have pursued that plan, as the most constitutional method of giving effect to the resolutions of the House of Commons. On the other hand, the country gentlemen, though they had given up all hopes of effecting a coalition, and were extremely adverse, on the same principles, to the continuance of the ministers in office, yet they were not willing to support a measure that had the smallest appearance of pushing matters to extremities. It seems, therefore, to have been agreed on, as a sort of compromise, that the supplies should be suffered by opposition to proceed in their usual course, and that the country party should take the lead in endeavouring to effect a removal of the ministry by an application to the throne.

An address was accordingly moved by Mr. Powis, to express "the reliance of the House on his majesty's royal wisdom, that he would take such measures as might tend to give effect to the wishes of his faithful Commons, which had been already most humbly presented to his majesty,"—and to this it was afterwards, on the motion of Mr. Eden, agreed to add, "by removing any obstacle to the formation of such an administration as the House has described to be requisite in the present critical and arduous state of pub-

lic affairs." This address was carried by a majority of twenty-one.

The House of Lords, after the rejection of the India bill, as if exhauited by so unusual an effort, beheld the struggles and dissensions of the House of Commons rather as a spectator, than as a part of the constitution deeply concerned in the result. In order to break through this silence, which at so critical a time, was neither calculated to support the dignity of the House nor the interest of the minister, the earl of Effingham, on the 4th of February, moved two resolutions in opposition to those moved in the House of Commons on the 24th of December and the 16th of January.

1st. "That an attempt on any one branch of the legislature, to suspend the execution of law, by separately assuming to itself the direction of a discretionary power, which, by act of parliament, is vested in any body of men, to be exercised as they shall think expedient, is unconstitutional.

2d. "That by the known principles of this constitution, the undoubted authority of appointing to the great offices of executive government was solely vested in the king, and that that House had every reason to place the firmest reliance in his majesty's wisdom in the exercise of this prerogative."

These counter resolutions were objected to by the friends of the late ministry, as being in their nature productive of jealousy and animosities between the two Houses.

With regard to the first, it was stated, that the House of Commons had a peculiar cognizance of all matters relating to the revenues, and that



that any interference of the Lords was a matter ever objected to and disallowed by the other House. The second resolution was undoubtedly true, as an abstract proposition; but if it was to lead to no consequences, it was an idle waste of words unbecoming their lordships' dignity; if it was to be applied as a censure on the House of Commons, the consequences of it would be no other than discord between the two Houses, and a dissolution of parliament.

On the other hand the resolutions were supported on this ground; that though any branch of the legislature was empowered to declare its sentiments on every subject, yet the resolutions of the House of Commons assuming in one instance directly to control a legal discretionary power, and in the other infringing upon the king's prerogative, with a view to restrain him from the choice of his own ministers, the House of Lords was called upon to express its abhorrence of such alarming proceedings.

The resolutions, after a short debate, passed by a considerable majority.

The House of Commons suffered this attack on its resolutions, without being betrayed into any violence or intemperance; and what at a more settled time might have been productive of the most pointed remonstrances, was now proceeded in with much caution and forbearance.—To come to an open rupture with the Lords at this critical juncture of affairs might afford a specious plea for a dissolution of parliament, and the House accordingly contented itself with moving for a

“ Committee to examine into the

usage of either house of parliament in regard to the interposing in the exercise of discretionary powers, vested in the servants of the crown, or in any body of men, for public purposes.” A variety of precedents were selected and reported by this committee from the Journals of the House of Commons, similar to the resolutions objected to by the Lords, and in consequence of the report the House passed the six following resolutions: “ That the House had not assumed to itself a right to suspend the execution of the law:—That for them to declare their opinion respecting the exercise of any discretionary power, was constitutional, and agreeable to established usage:—That it was a duty peculiarly incumbent upon them to watch over, and endeavour to prevent, the rash and precipitate exercise of any power, which might be attended with danger to public credit and loss to the revenue:—That the resolution of the 24th of December constituted a judicious and regular discharge of an indispensable duty:—That had the House neglected to make a similar provision in the critical situation of public affairs, they must have been responsible to their constituents for the most alarming consequences:—and, That the House would moderately and firmly assert their privileges, and persevere in the conscientious discharge of what they owed to the nation and to posterity.”

On the 25th of February the address of the Commons was presented to the king, and on the 27th the speaker reported to the House his majesty's answer\*; in which, after assuring them of his earnest desire to put an end to the divisions and

\* See State Papers, p. 310.

distractions of the country, and reminding them of the recent endeavours he had used for that purpose, he declares that he cannot see that it would in any degree be advanced by the dismissal of those at present in his service. He observes, that no charge or complaint is suggested against his ministers, nor is any one or more of them specifically objected to; and, on the other hand, that numbers of his subjects had expressed to him the utmost satisfaction on the change of his councils. Under these circumstances, he trusted the House would not wish for the removal of his present ministers, till there was some prospect that such an union as had been called for might be carried into effect.

The consideration of 1st March. his majesty's answer was deferred to the first of March, on which day a second address was ordered to be prepared; in which, after acknowledging his majesty's gracious endeavours to give effect to the object of their late resolutions, they lament that the failure of those endeavours should be considered as a final bar to the accomplishment of so salutary and desirable a purpose, and express their concern and disappointment that his majesty had not been advised to take any farther step towards uniting in the public service those whose joint efforts recently appeared to his majesty most capable of producing so happy an effect: they represent that the House, with all humility, claims it as their right, and on every proper occasion feels it to be their bounden duty, to advise his majesty touching the exercise of any branch of his royal prerogative; and, after stating the substance of their former resolutions, the address

concludes with declaring, "That as his majesty's faithful Commons, upon the maturest deliberation, cannot but consider the continuance of the present ministers as an insurmountable obstacle to his majesty's gracious purpose to comply with their wishes, in the formation of such an administration as his majesty, in concurrence with the unanimous resolution of this House, seems to think requisite in the present exigencies of the country, they feel themselves bound to remain firm in the wish expressed to his majesty in their late humble address; and do therefore find themselves obliged again to beseech his majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to lay the foundation of a strong and stable government, by the previous removal of his present ministers."

The necessity of presenting this address was inferred from the evidence that had appeared of a settled plan, formed by the secret advisers of the crown, for degrading the weight and importance of the House of Commons, by destroying that confidence which the people ought naturally to repose in their representatives. Previous to the year 1782, this object was pursued through the means of a corrupt influence within the House, exercised in the support of certain ministers and of certain measures odious to the nation at large. At this time the petitions of the people were treated with scorn and neglect, and it was strongly maintained, that in the House of Commons only was the sense of the people to be collected. But when by the bill, called Mr. Burke's bill, and other acts, that passed in the year 1782, the influence of the crown in that House was almost entirely

tirely destroyed, it became necessary to have resort to other principles. The House of Commons was now to be degraded, and its resolutions to be despised and trampled on; and the people were artfully incited to appeal from the natural guardians of their liberties to the very power, against the encroachments of which they were instituted to protect them.

Three points in his majesty's answer to the last address were particularly animadverted upon. The first, "That no charge or complaint had been suggested against his ministers." On this it was remarked, that the charge obviously implied against the present ministers being, their not possessing the confidence of that House, his majesty had therein been advised to declare, 'that he did not consider such a want of confidence as any disqualification for the public service'—The second was, 'That numbers of his subjects had expressed their satisfaction at the changes he had made in his councils.' This was objected to, as leading to a most alarming innovation in the constitution: it was proved, from examples in the reign of James the second, that addresses might be procured in support of measures of the most dangerous tendency; and it was contended, that to suffer ministers to appeal, at their own option, either from parliament to the people at large, or from the people to their representatives, would be to establish a precedent subversive of the very form as well as essence of the constitution.—Thirdly, it was stated in the answer, 'That his majesty could not dismiss his present ministers until he saw a prospect of such

an union as the House had recommended.' The only obstacle, it was said, that stood in the way of such an union, was the continuance of those ministers in office; this had been expressly voted by the House, and therefore it was a mockery to hold out that object as the reason for retaining them, which could only be obtained by their dismissal.

In answer to these observations, the advocates of administration insisted principally on the smallness of the majority by which the resolutions of the House had been carried, and on the growing popularity of the ministers abroad. The necessity of resisting any encroachment upon the prerogative of the crown was also strongly urged, and of preserving that balance in the several branches of the legislature, to which the beauty, the permanence, and all the envied advantages of the British constitution were ascribed.—The address was carried by a majority of twelve.

On the fourth the address was presented to the king, and an answer returned to the following effect:

"Gentlemen,

"I have already expressed to you how sensible I am of the advantages to be derived from such an administration as was pointed out in your unanimous resolution; and I assured you, that I was desirous of taking every step most conducive to such an object.

"I remain in the same sentiments; but I continue equally convinced, that it is an object not likely to be obtained by the dismissal of my present ministers.

"I must repeat, that no charge,  
or

or complaint, nor any specific objection, is yet made against any of them.

“ If there were any such ground for their removal at present, it ought to be equally a reason for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united administration you state to be requisite.

“ I did not consider the failure of my recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the purpose which I had in view, if it could have been attained on those principles of fairness and equality, without which it can neither be honourable to those who are concerned, nor lay the foundation of such a strong and stable government as may be of lasting advantage to the country ; but I know of no farther steps which I can take, that are likely to remove the difficulties which obstruct that desirable end.

“ I have never called in question the right of my faithful Commons to offer me their advice on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of my prerogative. I shall be ready, at all times, to receive, and give it the most attentive consideration : they will ever find me disposed to shew my regard to the true principles of the constitution, and to take such measures as may best conduce to the satisfaction and prosperity of my people.”

The consideration of the answer was deferred to the eighth of March, when the following representation was ordered to be presented to the king :

“ That an humble representation be presented to his majesty, most humbly to testify the surprize and affliction of this House on receiving the

answer which his majesty's ministers have advised to the dutiful and reasonable address of this House, concerning one of the most important acts of his majesty's government.

“ To express our concern, that when his majesty's paternal goodness has graciously inclined his majesty to be sensible of the advantage to be derived from such an administration as was pointed out in our resolution, his majesty should still be induced to prefer the opinions of individuals to the repeated advice of the representatives of his people in parliament assembled, with respect to the means of obtaining so desirable an end.

“ To represent to his majesty that a preference of this nature is as injurious to the true interests of the crown, as it is wholly repugnant to the spirit of our free constitution ; that systems founded on such a preference are not in truth entirely new in this country ; that they have been the characteristic features of those unfortunate reigns, the maxims of which are now justly and universally exploded ; while his majesty and his royal progenitors have been fixed in the hearts of their people, and have commanded the respect and admiration of all the nations of the earth, by a constant and uniform attention to the advice of their Commons, however adverse such advice may have been to the opinions of the executive servants of the crown.

“ To assure his majesty that we neither have disputed, nor mean, in any instance, to dispute, much less to deny, his majesty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of state such persons as to his majesty's wisdom shall seem meet : but, at the same time



time, that we must, with all humility, again submit to his majesty's royal wisdom, that no administration, however legally appointed, can serve his majesty and the public with effect which does not enjoy the confidence of this House: that in his majesty's present administration we cannot confide: the circumstances under which it was constituted, and the grounds upon which it continues, have created just suspicions in the breasts of his faithful commons, that principles are adopted, and views entertained, unfriendly to the privileges of this House, and to the freedom of our excellent constitution; that we have made no charge against any of them, because it is their removal, and not their punishment, which we have desired; and that we humbly conceive we are warranted, by the ancient usage of this House, to desire such removal without making any charge whatever; that confidence may be very prudently withheld, where no criminal process can be properly instituted: that although we have made no criminal charge against any individual of his majesty's ministers, yet, with all humility, we do conceive, that we have stated to his majesty very distinct objections, and very forcible reasons, against their continuance: that with regard to the propriety of admitting either the present ministers, or any other persons, as a part of that extended and united administration, which his majesty, in concurrence with the sentiments of this House, considers as requisite; it is a point upon which we are too well acquainted with the bounds of our duty, to presume to offer any advice to his majesty; well knowing it to be the undoubted prerogative of his majesty to ap-

point his ministers without any previous advice from either house of parliament; and our duty humbly to offer to his majesty our advice, when such appointments shall appear to us to be prejudicial to the public service.

“ To acknowledge, with gratitude, his majesty's goodness, in not considering the failure of his recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the gracious purpose which his majesty has in view, and to express the great concern and mortification with which we find ourselves obliged to declare, that the consolation which we should naturally have derived from his majesty's most gracious disposition, is considerably abated by understanding that his majesty's advisers have not thought fit to suggest to his majesty any farther steps to remove the difficulties which obstruct so desirable an end.

“ To recal to his majesty's recollection, that his faithful commons have already submitted to his majesty, most humbly, but most distinctly, their opinion upon this subject; that they can have no interests but those of his majesty and of their constituents; whereas it is needless to suggest to his majesty's wisdom and discernment, that individual advisers may be actuated by very different motives.

“ To express our most unfeigned gratitude for his majesty's royal assurances that he does not call in question the right of this House to offer their advice to his majesty on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of his royal prerogative, and of his majesty's readiness, at all times, to receive such advice, and to give it the most attentive consideration.

“ To declare that we recognize

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in these gracious expressions those excellent and constitutional sentiments, which we have ever been accustomed to hear from the throne since the glorious æra of the revolution, and which have peculiarly characterized his majesty, and the princes of his illustrious house; but to lament that these most gracious expressions, while they inspire us with additional affection and gratitude towards his majesty's royal person, do not a little contribute to increase our suspicions of those men who have advised his majesty, in direct contradiction to these assurances, to neglect the advice of his commons, and to retain in his service an administration, whose continuance in office we have so repeatedly and so distinctly condemned.

“ To represent to his majesty, that it has anciently been the practice of this House to withhold supplies until grievances were redressed; and that if we were to follow this course in the present conjuncture, we should be warranted in our proceeding, as well by the most approved precedents, as by the spirit of the constitution itself; but if, in consideration of the very peculiar exigencies of the times, we should be induced to wave for the present the exercise, in this instance, of our undoubted legal and constitutional mode of obtaining redress, that we humbly implore his majesty not to impute our forbearance to any want of sincerity in our complaints, or distrust in the justice of our cause.

“ That we know, and are sure, that the prosperity of his majesty's dominions in former times has been, under Divine Providence, owing to the harmony which has

for near a century prevailed uninterruptedly between the crown and this house. That we are convinced that there is no way to extricate this country from its present difficulties, but by pursuing the same system to which we have been indebted at various periods of our history for our successes abroad, and which is at all times so necessary for our tranquillity at home. That we feel the continuance of the present administration to be an innovation upon that happy system.

“ That we cannot but expect, from their existence under the displeasure of this House, every misfortune naturally incident to a weak and distracted government; that if we had concealed from his majesty our honest sentiments upon this important crisis, we should have been in some degree responsible for the mischiefs which are but too certain to ensue.

“ That we have done our duty to his majesty and our constituents in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redress: that the blame and responsibility must now lie wholly upon those who have presumed to advise his majesty to act in contradiction to the uniform maxims which have hitherto governed the conduct of his majesty, as well as every other prince of his illustrious house; upon those who have disregarded the opinions, and neglected the admonitions of the representatives of his people, and who have thereby attempted to set up a new system of executive administration, which, wanting the confidence of this House, and acting in defiance to our resolutions, must prove at once inadequate, by its inefficiency, to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous, by its

its example, to the liberties of the people."

This representation was the last effort made by opposition, and was carried only by a majority of 191 to 190. If we consider all the circumstances of this extraordinary contest, it cannot but appear surprising that so few instances should have happened of defection to the court party. The fixed determination that appeared early in the court to support the new administration, at all hazards; the terrors of a dissolution; a perseverance in the minister, insensible to consequences; the violent prejudices entertained without doors, and the cautious and indecisive conduct of opposition within, afforded no doubtful presages of the event. To a conviction of the justice and importance of the cause in which they were engaged, we are bound in candour to attribute this steadiness, in part; and some share of it may probably be ascribed to a high rival sense of honour in the several members of the coalition, desirous of rescuing that measure from the odium of its being founded merely on selfish and interested designs.

10th March. On the tenth of March the mutiny bill passed without a division.—A general report now prevailed, that parliament was to be immediately dissolved.—All the supplies had been regularly voted, to the amount of near ten millions, but, with the exception of the land and malt tax bills, no money had been raised or appropriated to specific services. It was, however, contended, that the voting of the supplies would be a sufficient justification to the ministry for issuing money for the necessary expenditure of government. On the other side it was urged, that the House having resolved that such issuing of the public money would be subversive of the constitution, and an high crime and misdemeanor, no plea of necessity could be available, since the emergency would be wilfully created by those who should advise his majesty to dissolve the parliament. The most pointed personalities were addressed to Mr. Pitt on this subject, but in vain; he persevered in an absolute refusal to discuss the points at all; and on the 24th of March the parliament was prorogued, and the day following dissolved by proclamation\*.

\* See State Papers, p. [315].

## CHAP. VII.

*Claims of the Emperor upon Holland. Unfortunate situation of the affairs of the Republic through the violence of parties and internal dissension. Continual attempts by the republican faction to abridge the Stadtholder's power, and attacks upon the duke of Brunswick. That prince resigns his great offices, and quits the country. Interference of the King of Prussia in behalf of the Prince Stadtholder. France obtains an unbounded influence in the affairs of the Republic. Plenipotentiaries sent to Brussels to accommodate the differences with the Emperor. Austrian troops take possession of Old Lillo, and commit other violations of the territorial rights of the Republic. France accepts the office of mediation between Holland and the Emperor. Dispute occasioned by a Flemish boatman on the Schelde. Emperor's ultimatum presented at Brussels. Three new and extraordinary demands added to the former ultimatum. Appearances of an immediate rupture at the commencement of the autumn 1784. Declaration by the Emperor's minister, that the first shot fired upon the Schelde should be considered as a declaration of war. Some account of the nature of the claims, and of the reasons and arguments offered on both sides; with a particular regard to the dispute relative to the Schelde. State of the claim upon Maastricht. Imperial vessel fired at and stopped upon the Schelde. Imperial ambassador recalled from the Hague, and the conferences broken up at Brussels. Preparations for war on both sides. Exertions of public spirit by individuals in Holland. States apply to France for a general: Count de Maillebois deputed to that appointment. Endeavours to prevent or divert the storm. French monarch expostulates with the Emperor. Dyke broken by the Dutch near Lillo, and the country laid under water. Inflexibility of the Emperor with respect to the Schelde. Russia takes a decided part in favour of the Emperor's claims. Jealousy excited by the confederacy of these two great powers. Political causes which rendered it particularly incumbent on France and Prussia to protect Holland. Prince Henry of Prussia's visit to the court of Versailles. Porte attentive to the state of affairs in Europe, and in readiness to profit of any occasion of advantage which might be offered. Movements and preparations in France. General disposition of that nation with respect to the war. Disadvantages to which the Emperor would be exposed in the prosecution of a war in the Low Countries. Doubtful and critical state of public affairs in Europe at the close of the year 1784.*

WHEN the affairs of his Eastern neighbours afforded no farther immediate scope to the exercise of the emperor's political activity on that side, no time was lost in its direction to other more



more remote objects. The seizing or recovery of the Dutch barrier formed only an opening to what was farther intended on that side; and through all the bustle and preparation of war that appeared on the Danube, the court of Brussels served as a constant monitor to the states of the United Provinces, in reminding them, that many other matters of serious consideration remained still to be settled with that monarch.

Such a continual intermixture and fluctuation of limits as unavoidably took place through all the vicissitudes of peace and war, alliance and enmity, that had formerly so long prevailed between Spain and Holland, being farther involved and perplexed by the circumstances of the succession war, by the new engagements contracted between the republic and the German branch of the house of Austria upon the subsequent transfer of territory, and by that singular sort of mixed dominion which both retained for so many years in the Netherlands, did necessarily leave behind much open room for litigation; nor indeed could plausible grounds for setting up new claims, or for questioning the validity of old titles, ever be exhausted in such circumstances. Independent, however, of these causes, artificial limits in confined countries, where small objects are of importance, must necessarily be more fruitful of contention than those boundaries of nations which are thrown out upon a large scale, and strongly marked by the hand of nature.

The emperor was, it might be said, legally armed at all points

upon this occasion. His assumption of being Heir-general to all the rights, titles, or demands, which ever had, or might have been asserted by the Spanish branch of the house of Austria, as well as by his own immediate line, together with his acting as representative for the people of the different districts, which he possessed under the various titles of duke, count, or lord, furnished him with a number of distinct claims, which were the more inexhaustible, as no limitation of time, nor argument founded on prescription, was likely to operate against so powerful a claimant. Articles of forage, which had been supplied by some districts in the succession war, and the contributions which had been levied on others, were now brought forward as standing matters of account to be settled and discharged; and, if we are not mistaken, the wars even of the preceding century afforded some present subjects of demand. But of all the claims now set up, that upon the city and country of Maastricht seemed to be the best founded, and was by far the most distressing to Holland.

At the same time, the affairs of the republic were in so unfortunate a situation, that they scarcely could have failed, at any period of time, or under any circumstances of neighbourhood, to have drawn upon it unexpected claims and extraordinary demands. The termination of the war with England had only afforded a cessation of immediate evil and danger to Holland; for the peace had neither restored vigour or unanimity at home, nor reputation or importance abroad. On

the contrary, their civil dissensions were every day increasing in magnitude and virulence; so that there scarcely seemed a hope of any remedy, that would not at least prove as dangerous as the disease. The protection and apparent services which they had received from France during the war, had thrown into the hands of that power an evident preponderancy in all the affairs of the republic; and that influence being unceasingly, though covertly exerted, in support of the old Lovestein, or republican faction, of which the French interest in Holland, for the most part, and at most times consisted, and whose members were the hereditary enemies of the stadtholderian system of government, as well as of the Orange family, it was now become so strong, that no sufficient counterpoise remained in the state, to restrain the excess and violence incident to the predominance of political parties.

As a prelude and necessary opening to the completion of their designs in reducing the authority and abridging the prerogatives of the stadtholder, this aristocratic party (which, independent of foreign support, and however controuled or apparently reduced at particular periods, ever retained no small degree of inherent power in the republic) had determined on the removal of the prince Lewis, duke of Brunswick Wolfenbüttele, and field-marshal of the Dutch forces, who having been the stadtholder's guardian and representative during his minority, had thereby long possessed the efficient powers of the state. The consideration that the eminent

posts which he held were the rewards of long services and experienced ability, had little effect in controuling the animosity of his adversaries; and though this prince had discharged all the high trusts which had been reposed in him, in a manner which merited and had actually obtained the greatest public applause; yet, in seasons of jealousy and suspicion, the discontents that accumulated in the long possession of power, and the heats of popular dissension, quite overbore all opinion of past merits, and rendered superior capacity and ability rather objects of terror than of reverence or affection. The opposite party had carried on a long war of public and private invective against his conduct and designs, and did not scruple openly to attribute to his counsels and influence with the stadtholder, certain deep-laid and dangerous schemes, which, as they asserted, were formed for the subversion of the constitution, and the establishment of a tyranny upon the ruins of the republic.

The duke had long endured, with admirable temper and magnanimity, a course of unceasing reproach and abuse; but finding that the prevalence of his enemies was becoming every day more decided, and that their inveteracy proceeded so far as to hold him out to the public as the common enemy of the state and country, he thought it wise or necessary to give way to the torrent, as a means of allaying the public fever, and restoring tranquillity to the stadtholder's government, whose interests only connected him with the republic. The duke of Brunswick accordingly wrote a letter

letter to the states-general, in which, after some short reference to the approbation which his conduct, during thirty-two years spent in their service, had heretofore, in seasons of peace and union, happily received, he recurred to the continual troubles which he had experienced, and the numberless attacks which had been made upon him during the last four years; these he assigned as the cause, together with the indifference to his injuries shewn by the states themselves, in refusing to grant him that opportunity which he had frequently claimed, of publicly refuting those charges and calumnies which had been raised against him, for his then resigning all the offices that he held under the state, and discharging himself from all obligations and engagements of fidelity to the republic.

While the republic was thus depriving itself of the security to be derived from those talents and experience on which it had so long relied, its situation became daily more critical with its great neighbour the king of Prussia, who was naturally and politically its friend and protector. Exclusive of his near affinity with the prince stadtholder, it would have been entirely contrary to his views and interests, closely connected as he was with them in all the relations of neighbourhood and alliance, that any considerable revolution should take place in the actual constitution of the republic; yet such was the impetuosity of the domineering party, that the reiterated remonstrances and powerful interference of that monarch seemed to have but little weight, whether in restraining personal imputations on the stadtholder, or po-

litical attempts on his authority.

In the mean time, the republican party were every where forming military associations, and, under the term of volunteers, and the ostensible motives of public defence, were in serious preparation for a civil war; nor was the opposite or Orange party, however inferior in power, if not in number, at all deficient in point of violence and animosity. Thus lamentably torn to pieces, and convulsed in all its members, the circumstances and condition of the republic could not, under any known dispensation of things among states, but have attracted the views, and excited the enterprize of powerful and ambitious neighbours.

A dangerous refuge, however, remained, and in this situation was eagerly grasped at; for France having, as we have seen, through the violence of parties, and the collision of jarring views and interests, accompanied by a series of unexpected and singular events, but all tending to the same conclusion, obtained an unbounded influence in the affairs of the republic, it identified their interests so much, that she was bound by every principle of policy to counteract the designs of others, and to afford her protection at whatever risque or expence. This was affording every thing that the aristocratical party could wish; the state would be protected from danger without, while they were at leisure to new model the internal government.

This peculiar situation of affairs between France and Holland, did not seem in any degree to operate upon the conduct of the emperor,

who, perhaps, built more upon the friendship and closeness of alliance between him and France, than older politicians would have been inclined to do upon the faith of any national connection, when that faith was to be put to the test by superior interests and temptation. That prince, indeed, appeared to be so secure of his object, that he seemed to depart, upon this occasion, in some measure from his general character; and the court of Vienna was observed, in all its transactions with the republic, to resume that high tone and peremptory haughtiness, which the prevalence of a taste more conformable to the uncertain tenure of human power had brought into disuse; but what had indeed characterized the house of Austria, even in those untoward seasons, in which haughtiness seemed something more akin to magnanimity.

The states-general finding themselves involved in demands of which they knew not the direct aim nor full extent, thought it prudent to submit to necessity; and, in a contest with so powerful an adversary, by giving up forms, to manifest a conciliatory disposition; and, under these impressions, they April 21st sent two plenipotentiaries to Brussels, furnished with such powers as could yet appear necessary for an amicable adjustment of all differences with that court.

With these pacific dispositions, so fully displayed on their own side, and in the very act of concession, it could not but excite their astonishment and dismay, to find that the night after the arrival of their plenipotentiaries in that city, should have been chosen on the other, for the commission of an act of open vio-

lence and hostility: for on that night, without previous declaration or notice, a small detachment of Austrian foot, with four field-pieces, entered the territories of the republic, and took possession of the fort of Old Lillo. It is true, indeed, that this was a place of little consequence or value, for that it had been so entirely neglected since the construction of the fortress of New Lillo near it, that it was not only without artillery or garrison, but the governor of the latter had converted the interior ground into a kitchen-garden. The seizing it, however, in this manner, was less a violation of territorial right, than if it had been a place of greater importance; and it seemed the less to be accounted for, that in a map of the Netherlands, which had been constructed so late as the year 1778, under the immediate orders of the court of Vienna, that place had been marked as lying within the Dutch limits.

The cause of alarm did not rest here; for in little more than a week after, when the negotiations were actually commenced, and the Dutch ministers appeared evidently disposed to give all reasonable satisfaction with respect to the emperor's claims, a detachment of Austrian dragoons advanced in like manner to a place called Hartog Eyk, near Heerle, where they demolished the barriers, pulled down the Dutch flag from the custom-house, and charged the receiver of that department, in the name of his imperial majesty, not to obey or execute any orders from the regency of Heerle, who were his legal and natural masters, nor to receive from any person whatever any money upon account or pretence



tence of toll or duty; threatening, in case of disobedience, to send him bound hand and foot to the next Austrian garrison.

Such violent proceedings, at such a season, and under such circumstances, certainly augured no friendly or conciliatory dispositions on the part of the court of Brussels, unless, indeed, it could be supposed that they were merely intended to accelerate the motions of the negotiators, and to correct the constitutional phlegm and habitual slowness charged to their country. However that was, the states undoubtedly could not but sorely feel the degraded circumstances of their situation, and the deplorable change which a few years had produced in their affairs, as well as in their rank and character with other nations.

These hostile transactions occasioned an universal alarm in Holland. Hasty measures were adopted for securing the frontiers from immediate danger, at least from any considerable loss, impracticable as it was to preserve them entirely from insult. Such regiments of horse and foot as were next to hand were immediately dispatched to Maastricht, not only as a place of the first importance, but as an object known to be particularly aimed at. Other troops were ordered from different quarters to reinforce those garrisons or posts which were most exposed, or deemed to be of greatest consequence. But even in this moment of dismay and apparent danger, when the public safety might have depended so much upon the celerity of movement and promptness of design and action, the measures of defence were

obstructed by the disputes between the states and the prince stadtholder, relative to the rights or limits of the executive power. Such being the fatality of civil dissensions, that they frequently render the citizen obtuse and deaf to the most imminent public dangers.

The states had previously solicited the French king, who was now their only refuge, for his friendly interposition with his brother-in-law the emperor, in softening his disposition towards the republic, and for his accepting the office of mediator in finally arranging and settling the disputed limits and frontiers, as well as the other matters of difference between them. As the part which France, notwithstanding her new connections with the republic, might pursue, in so delicate a conjuncture of circumstances and interests, afforded much room for doubt and apprehension, it could not but administer the highest satisfaction to the states, when, under the depression and alarm excited by these violences, the duke of Vauquion, ambassador from the court of Versailles, communicated to them the welcome intelligence, that his master had frankly and readily accepted the desired office of mediation.

It may well be supposed, that the desire of effectually securing the friendship of France, in this trying and critical situation of their affairs, had no small effect in influencing the conduct of the states, with respect to that new treaty of close alliance and friendship between both powers, which seemed to be about that time commenced, and which being successfully carried on through the course of their disputes

putes with the emperor, was brought to a conclusion at their termination. Such a circumstance in private affairs might possibly be considered as using an undue influence with the umpire; nor is it entirely certain, that the same opinion was not held on one side upon this occasion.

In the mean time the states used their utmost endeavours to remove the scene of the negotiations for an accommodation from Brussels to Vienna. But their applications for this purpose failed entirely of effect: Prince Kaunitz, the imperial prime minister, having declared that the emperor had entirely remitted his claims to the government of Brussels, and to the conduct of the count Belgiojoso, his minister in the Low Countries. This refusal was particularly untoward; as, besides the immediate interest which the government of the Netherlands had in supporting and pushing all the emperor's demands to the utmost, the count Belgiojoso, so far from shewing any marks of an accommodating spirit, was extremely harsh and peremptory in all his transactions with the republic.

It seems remarkable that the business of the Schelde, and of opening the port of Antwerp, which every body knew to be the great object which the emperor had in view in all these measures, was entirely overlooked in that statement of claims and demands which had been presented to the states by the imperial ministers. As an omission of so much consequence could not possibly be attributed to negligence or forgetfulness, it may be supposed it was intended, that that business should

be considered as a matter of such clear and evident right, that it could not be subjected to any discussion; and that it depended entirely on the emperor's will to fix the time which he might think proper for carrying the measure into execution.

It was possibly upon this principle, and perhaps in part to increase the embarrassment and consternation of the states on finding themselves at once attacked on every side, and on all points, without knowing where the claims would end, or what part of the differences would be submitted to negotiation, or otherwise, that some short time before the transactions we have related had taken place, a Flemish boatman was employed to make an experiment on the Schelde, which seemed calculated for no other purpose than to bring the question on the free navigation of that river to an immediate issue.

This man having passed the Dutch fort of Lillo, and a guardship stationed near it, on his way down the river from Antwerp, without notice, and consequently without that examination which he invited, in the morning, he returned the same way in the afternoon, when the captain of the guardship observing that he did not lower his flag, nor bring to as usual for examination, called to him several times to do both, which he absolutely refusing, was in consequence boarded; when the reason of his conduct being demanded, the Fleming replied, that he was under positive orders not to stop at Lillo, nor to submit to any inquisition. As a further proof that the business was designed and prepared for, some Ne-  
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therland magistrates of considerable rank were on board the boat; of whom the grand bailiff of Beveren said to the Dutch officer, "This is imperial territory, we do not acknowledge any Dutch or Zealand authority, and the boatman shall make no declaration."—We are strangely left in the dark as to the issue of this affair; although (which did not seem of much consequence) notice is taken that some insulting language was used on the Netherland side.

But although the boat was discharged at this time, it seemed as if it had been thought that enough was not yet done, and that it was determined to push things to extremity. For in two or three days after the same boatman returned to make another experiment; and though the Dutch commandant sent to request that he would submit amicably to that visitation and those forms which he could not himself avoid insisting on, the other peremptorily refused to comply. A gun, charged only with powder, was at length fired at the boat, and proper officers sent on board; but the boatman obstinately persevered, and entered a formal protest against the whole proceedings, as acts of direct violence.

A new statement of the emperor's claims and demands, described as his *ultimatum*, was presented to the Dutch ministers in some time after the opening of the negotiations at Brussels, in which, along with an enlargement of former articles, and the addition of some new ones, relative to the restitution of places or territories said to have been usurped, and the payment of real or supposed debts, that monarch insisted, in the

5th article, upon his right to the absolute and independent sovereignty of the whole Schelde lying between Antwerp and Saftingen; and that the Dutch guard-ship stationed opposite to fort Lillo should accordingly be for ever removed, as he could not think of permitting the exercise of any foreign authority whatever within any part of his sovereignty on that river.

In consequence of a communication made to the court of Versailles by the states-general, of the memorial which they had drawn, in answer to the claims and demands made by the emperor, and containing likewise a number of counter claims set up on their side, which in law language and practice might be considered as a set-off against the former, the French king took that opportunity, along with many commendations of their past and present moderation, and the desire which they had manifested of preserving the public tranquillity, strongly to recommend a continuation of the same prudent and equitable conduct, particularly cautioning them to abstain from all measures which might, in any degree, be considered as wounding or affecting the emperor's dignity. He likewise recommended, that in order to give the greater efficacy to his own conciliatory endeavours, and the better to enable him to enforce all the means which his connections with that sovereign might admit of, that they should furnish and support him with such specific propositions as they were willing to make for laying the foundation of an equitable and lasting accommodation.

This was accordingly done; but the interposition of France seemed



as yet far from producing any favourable effect on the conduct of the emperor, who was undoubtedly, and indeed apparently, very little satisfied with her interference at all in the business.

Early in the autumn of 1784, every thing seemed tending rapidly to the most decisive and alarming crisis. Three new and extraordinary demands were added to the emperor's former ultimatum.—These were, in the first place, "The entire and free navigation of the Schelde from Antwerp to the sea," which was to be laid down as a *sine qua non*; and was accompanied with a declaration, "that in the intermediate time, until matters were finally settled, the emperor's subjects should occasionally exercise their undoubted right of navigating that river; and that two ships were then in actual preparation for the purpose." This was farther enforced by the Count Belgiojoso, who, in his usual peremptory manner, declared to the Dutch ministers at Brussels, that the first shot fired upon the Schelde would be considered by his master as a declaration of war, and immediately treated and resented accordingly.

The second article related to the foregoing, and insisted, that the several forts of Frederic Henry, Liefenhock, Kruischans, and Lillo, which had been erected by the Dutch for the maintenance of their monopoly in the navigation of the Schelde, should be dismantled and demolished.

The third demand, if not more alarming, seemed at least more extraordinary than the former. This was no less than a free navigation and uninterrupted commerce to and in both the East and West Indies.

This indeed was a singular demand. It was in fact claiming a moiety of all the benefits which the Dutch derived from their colonies in the New World, and their conquests and settlements in the East, being the fruits of much hard adventure, great risque, and advance of treasure, of numberless treaties and negotiations, and of many severe wars, through the course of near two centuries. A requisition which, taken in its full extent, would have reached to their monopoly of the Spice Islands, and even to their trade in Japan, if that fierce and haughty people had not rendered all speculation and adventure upon their forbidden coasts impracticable.

It may now be necessary to look somewhat into the nature of the principal claims and demands made on the one side, and of the objections stated on the other, for the forming of some opinion how far they were supported upon the principles of reason, justice, and equity, or upon the ground of particular treaties and conventions, or either.

The states of Holland insisted, that several of the emperor's demands were in direct contravention of the most solemn treaties. That by the treaty of Munster, concluded on the 30th of January, in the year 1648, with his predecessor, Philip the IVth of Spain, Duke of Burgandy, of Brabant, and Earl of Flanders, that prince, besides acknowledging in the fullest manner the independency of the United States, not only confirmed to them all such possessions as they already held, and such barrier towns and forts as were then assigned, but renounced, for himself and his successors for ever, all claim and title



to any such as they might hereafter, without infraction of that treaty, acquire, by conquest or otherwise. That by the same treaty, he not only irrevocably confirmed the charters and rights of the Dutch East and West India Companies, but rendered himself and his successors the perpetual guarantees of their commerce in both parts of the world. That by the 6th article of the said treaty it is further specially provided, that the said king's own subjects should be restricted to continue their navigation in the East Indies, in the same manner which they had hitherto exercised it, and should, on no account whatever, be permitted to extend it beyond those limits.

That by the 14th article of the said treaty of Munster, it was expressly stipulated, that the Western or lower Schelde, (commonly called Le Hondt) the canal of Sas, the Swin, and other mouths of the sea, bordering upon them, should be *kept* closed on the side belonging to the states.

That the treaty of Munster had been recognized and confirmed, and the rights of the states fortified and enlarged, by a number of subsequent treaties. That by the barrier treaty, concluded in 1715, between the Emperor, the King of Great Britain, and the Republic, the former ceded certain territories therein specified to the latter, in full and complete sovereignty, for the security and better exercise of their sovereignty and rights on the lower Schelde, and for facilitating their communications between Brabant and Dutch Flanders. That the said cession was formally repeated and confirmed, and a small

farther addition of territory ceded, for the same express purpose, in the convention which was concluded between the same three powers, in the year 1718.

That, with respect to their commercial rights, the same emperor, Charles the VIth, having, in derogation of the treaty of Munster, adopted the well-known project of establishing a company to trade from Ostend to India, that prince, notwithstanding, found it necessary, after it had been carried on for some years, to relinquish the design, and to dissolve the company. For by the treaty of Vienna, concluded in 1731, between the Emperor and his Britannic Majesty, and to which the States General became parties by an act of concurrence, the former was bound to abolish the said commerce and company for ever. And, with respect to the trade to the West Indies, the said act of concurrence states, on the part of the Dutch, "That  
" they will conform with good faith  
" to the regulations established by  
" the treaty of Munster, in every  
" thing that is therein stipulated  
" with respect to the commerce and  
" navigation of the West Indies."

It was strongly urged, that the rights of the republic, and particularly her exclusive sovereignty of the Schelde, had been confirmed and guaranteed to her by all the treaties which secure the political existence of Europe. That it was now near 140 years since the conclusion of the treaty of Munster; during all which long period she had held, unclaimed and unquestioned, the exclusive navigation of that river. But that it was no new claim, nor novel exercise of sovereignty or right, even at that very time; for that the river had been  
equally

equally shut up, ever since the taking of Antwerp by the Duke of Parma, in the year 1585. That therefore, supposing the treaty of Munster had contained no specific article whatever upon that subject, yet the very omission, in a matter of such vast importance, and the acquiescence in a measure so long, and so notoriously established, must have been considered by all mankind as a full acknowledgment and confirmation of the right. Nor did this exclusive right and benefit, already possessed, and thus legalized and confirmed, want the sanction of a fair and full compensation in its purchase; for it was a part of the price which Spain paid for the preservation of those very Netherlands which are now held by the emperor, the claims of which would never otherwise have been relinquished by the States of Holland. Nor is the world now to learn, that the power of the republic was, both then and after, fully competent, and that opportunities of advantage, sufficiently favourable, had been offered, for the establishment of those claims with success, if they had not been thus renounced.

They farther insisted, that the business of the Schelde was far from being merely a matter of commerce, as was pretended. The question of opening that river was much more of a political than of a commercial nature. Things had undergone such changes, and the circumstances of commerce were so totally altered, that Antwerp was not now capable of becoming an object of jealousy or envy. But the opening of the Schelde, would be opening the gates of a broad and great road, into the very heart of their dominions. It would be laying the in-

most recesses, and the vital sources of the state, open and exposed; and would at once include, not only the immediate security, but the independence and very existence of the republic.

On the other side, it was answered, on the part of the emperor, that the states had been guilty of so many infractions of the treaty of Munster, in all those parts of it which secured the rights, or were in any degree advantageous to the Austrian Netherlands, that they had thereby forfeited all claim to the performance of those stipulations which were in their own favour. That he found himself therefore, both in reason and equity, perfectly absolved from paying any regard to those provisions on which they now wished so much to insist. That they, however, strained the meaning (as they did in all similar cases) to their own advantage, of that article in the treaty of Munster which related to the Schelde, and which by no means conveyed that sovereignty and exclusive right that they pretended. But if every thing they advanced upon that or any other ground of treaty had been even admitted, still the shameful yoke which had been imposed upon the Netherlands was too unnatural and too degrading to be lasting; nor could it, from these circumstances, be any longer possibly endured, than while absolute necessity, arising from the unfortunate situation of public affairs, rendered a submission to it inevitable.

It was farther said, that the Dutch had been no less guilty of violations of the barrier, and other later treaties, than they had been with respect to that of Munster. But that if all other violations of faith and treaty

on their side had been overlooked or forgotten, their shameful prevation, and the injustice of their conduct with respect to Mastricht would have been in itself sufficient to discharge and cancel all obligations and conditions with a people, who never paid any regard, or attended farther to the provisions of any treaty or convention, than as it suited their own interest.

It may not be improper, upon this occasion, to take some short notice of the nature of the dispute relative to the city and territories of Mastricht; which (we have already observed) seemed to be among the best founded of the claims asserted by the Emperor.

In the year 1672, when Holland seemed upon the point of being entirely overwhelmed, by the sudden and powerful irruption of Lewis the XIVth, although peace then subsisted between France and Spain, yet the Count de Monterey, governor of the Netherlands, without waiting the slow result of instructions from his court, by which the occasion would have been in a great measure lost, had political sagacity and spirit sufficient to comprehend and act up to the true interests of the state, without regard to consequences. He accordingly endeavoured to stem the violence of the torrent, so far as it could possibly be done under any appearance of a neutrality, and afforded much secret aid, and did great real service to the endangered, and apparently sinking, States of Holland. This wise and meritorious conduct, having the fortune of being approved by the court of Madrid, was of course continued by the governor-general; and the services were so essential and critical, as to lay the

foundation of a private treaty between Holland and Spain, by which the republic was bound, in consideration of the past, and as an inducement to farther assistance, to cede the city of Mastricht, with certain appertaining territories therein specified, to the latter; the cession being, however, subject to this special condition, that France should be prevented from retaining any of her conquests, or making any dismemberment of the territories of Holland.

That great point being attained, through the unexpected and fortunate turn which the war took, and which obliged Lewis the XIVth to relinquish all his hasty conquests at the subsequent treaty of peace concluded at Nimeguen, Charles the II<sup>d</sup> of Spain then put in his claim for the possession of Mastricht; but the cession was evaded by the States, upon the footing of some mortgages which the prince of Orange had upon that city and its territories. The Spanish king shewed a confidence and generosity which demanded a return of good faith, by paying off the mortgages. New difficulties were, however, thrown in the way; and the cession seems to have been so irksome, that it was still delayed, and continued a subject of negociation through the remainder of that prince's life.

The general confusion occasioned by that king's death and will, and the long troubles and wars in which all Europe was convulsed and involved through the claims to his succession, seemed to have erased all traces of the affair of Mastricht entirely from remembrance. No notice whatever was taken of it in any of the succeeding treaties or conventions, whether of peace, or distribution



distribution of territory. Things rested in this state until the year 1738, when the emperor Charles the Sixth, considering himself as inheritor of all the Spanish rights in the Low Countries, revived the long-forgotten or neglected claim upon Mastricht. Commissioners were accordingly appointed on both sides, who opened a negotiation at Brussels, with an apparent view of bringing the matter to a conclusion. But, as if it had been predestined that the bringing up of this business should ever be accompanied with, or interrupted by scenes of great public disorder and misfortune, so the death of that prince, and the numerous and powerful claimants, who attempted a partition of the inheritance of his daughter, the late empress queen, soon put an end to the negotiations at Brussels, and threw Europe into a similar state of war and confusion with that which had been produced by the Spanish succession. The claim upon Mastricht seemed accordingly to be again forgotten, until it was now revived by the emperor.

But Mastricht, notwithstanding its intrinsic value, and the great importance which it derives from situation and circumstance, was only a matter of very secondary consideration in this dispute. The Schelde was the real bone of contention—the great object of desire on the one side, and of apprehension and dismay on the other. All other matters in debate were capable of compromise.

The public, in almost every part of Europe were much interested in this subject, and the sentiments and opinions of mankind have seldom been so much divided upon a ques-

tion of so simple and confined a nature as the navigation of a river.

The grounds of argument in support of the emperor's claim were very open and specious, and were capable of being dressed in so plausible a guise, and of putting on appearances so interesting and engaging, that they were admirably calculated for seducing the opinions of the generality of mankind, who taking only a transient view of the subject, were influenced more by sentiment, than by any attention to questions of state or policy in their decisions.

The bare relation of the act, that an antient and respectable people, who had been long or early renowned in commerce, had been brought to ruin and beggary, by depriving them of their natural right to the navigation and benefits of a river which ran through their territories, seemed at once sufficient to decide the question in the minds of the hearers, and to unite them in a general reprobation of so flagrant an injustice. Upon the same principle, the deliverance of a people from so cruel a mark of bondage, and the restoration to their natural rights and former happiness, seemed an achievement so glorious, as to be worthy and characteristic of a hero. The former greatness, splendour, and opulence of Antwerp, were artfully dwelt upon with a view to the passions; and with great effect, though little truth or justice, its decline was attributed entirely to this odious measure, to which the Dutch were said to be prompted by their jealousy and avarice, in order to monopolize all commerce, and that Amsterdam in particular might rise to greatness upon



upon her ruins. With an equal view to the passions, and with still less truth or justice, the Schelde was magnificently represented as the finest river in Europe, as if its beauty could have any thing to do with the questions of right, or of political necessity. It may be easily judged, that the general and established character of avidity attributed to the Dutch, with the harsh, arbitrary, and monopolizing spirit, which they had ever displayed in commercial matters, could not but operate greatly to their disadvantage upon the opinions and prejudices of mankind.

The States, however, had many strong grounds of argument and fact to oppose to plausible and artful representations, or to prejudiced and hastily-conceived opinion. It was said to be absurd, in the present state of things and of the world, to recur to what was called *Natural Rights*, in order to overthrow those social compacts between men, and political conventions between states, which are the foundation and the security of all public and private property. What a picture would Europe exhibit, if all its powers were now obliged to recur to original principles, and to the laws of nature, and to relinquish all those possessions, which fraud or force, war or treaty, through the revolutions of a long series of ages, had enabled them to acquire! It would be unloosing all the bands that unite mankind; throwing them back again into a state of savage nature; and rendering the world a chaos of endless confusion and disorder.

It was however denied, that a river's passing in its inland course through some part of a prince's ter-

ritories, constituted any such natural right, when its opening to the sea was in the possession of another sovereign. But, at once to do away all the pathetic declamation thrown out upon this subject, it was strenuously insisted, that the whole course of the two branches of the Schelde, which passed within the dominions of Holland, was entirely artificial; that it was formed by and owed its existence to the hands of Dutchmen; that its banks were the produce of ages of unintermitted labour; and that they were still maintained by great and continual labour and expence. That if it had not been for those standing monuments of Dutch enterprise, those admirable dykes which excite the astonishment of mankind, the waters of the Schelde, stagnating in shallow lakes and immense marshes, had never reached the sea in any distinct or sufficient portion for the purposes of navigation. That the lower Schelde being thus originally made and still preserved by Dutchmen, as they had before created and still preserved the two provinces of Holland and Friseland, so it was equally their own property. That as it could not even be imagined that those immense labours were intended for the use of others, so their benefits, as well as the stupendous works themselves, must be considered, upon every principle of natural right, of law, and of justice, as their own exclusive property, independent of all treaties whatever.

In answer to the tragical representations, by which the degradation and fall of Antwerp from its ancient splendor and greatness were charged entirely to Dutch avarice

and

and despotism, particularly in the measure of shutting up the Schelde, it was observed, that the departure of foreign commerce from that city had originated from various well-known causes, many of them antecedent to, and all of them differing widely from, that only one which was now assigned. Antwerp had been fast declining for more than a century before the commencement of the troubles and wars of the Netherlands. Commerce had branched out into other channels; and Amsterdam, though long before considerable, had, within that period, from its superior advantages, and other concurring causes, risen to be the first commercial city in Europe. Antwerp, however, continued great and opulent, and notwithstanding the losses which it sustained by its memorable siege, would have been still considerable, if its ruin had not been completed by the same causes and means which desolated Bruges, and other great cities of the Netherlands. The despotism, cruelty, and religious persecution of the Spaniards, obliged the merchants and manufacturers to abandon them all, and to convey their commerce and their arts, along with themselves, to other countries. It was observed, as a curious circumstance with respect to this subject, that Spain, the sovereign of Antwerp, had been no less interested than Holland, in the measure of shutting up the Schelde; for that, as the celebrated statesman John de Witte says in his Memoirs, the greatness and opulence of that city were not compatible with the views of Spanish despotism.

The real cause, however, of the States being struck with such ap-

prehension at the demand of opening the Schelde, was not on their side explicitly stated; as that, besides being an acknowledgment of their fears, would have precisely pointed out the objects of their terror, and shewn in what manner their ruin could with the greatest ease be accomplished.

The different branches of the Schelde intersected their dominions in such a manner, and had such an open communication with their various other waters, that their harbours, docks, naval arsenals, many of their principal cities, and, in a great measure, the whole interior of their country, would lie open and exposed to the possessor of the former; so that their very existence ever after must lie at the mercy of such an inmate; and they must sooner or later expect, and ever live under the constant dreadful apprehension of becoming sacrifices to ambition, revenge, or even caprice.

As a certain degree of marine force would, however, be necessary for the accomplishment of this dangerous purpose, and that the emperor possessed none at present, report and apprehension served to supply that immediate defect. It was given out, and by many credited, that as that sovereign and Russia had lately been in the habit of playing into each others hands, with respect to Turkey, the Crimea, the Black Sea, and the Danube, so they were likewise now in concert in the establishment of the Schelde project; and that the latter of these potent allies having failed in all her views of obtaining a port, at any price, in the Mediterranean, or ocean, the former would accommodate her with the

use of the Schelde, as a place of arms, and station for her navy. Such a report and opinion, however founded, could not but greatly heighten the distress and apprehension of Holland.

The test of war or peace announced by the emperor, without waiting the result of the negotiations at Brussels, or regarding the mediation of France, was now to be put to issue; although the states, as a proof of their moderation and conciliatory disposition, had removed the guard ship from before Lillo; and had even rejected the proposal of repairing the fortifications of Maastricht (critical as the situation of that place was, and much as the repairs were wanted) lest its being adopted at such a season should have given any umbrage to that prince. The emperor had, however, previously offered to remit the whole, or most of his other pretensions, upon the condition of opening the Schelde in that perfect manner which he prescribed, so as that the navigation might be entirely free and unlimited as in the open seas, and no claim or exercise of sovereignty pretended. On the other hand, the states relaxed so far in this matter, as to offer to permit of a limited navigation on it, subject to certain restrictions, and confined, as we take it, to his subjects in the Netherlands only.

Two imperial vessels had been preparing for some time to make the destined experiment upon the conduct of the Dutch with respect to the Schelde; it was to determine whether they would persevere, at all events, in the assertion of their supposed right, or whether they would sink under the well-grounded apprehension of their great

opponent's power. Every measure was used, both at Brussels and Paris, to induce the emperor to wave this measure of decision, and to wait the result of the negotiations; but he was determined in his object, and confirmed the threat of count Belgiojoso, by declaring, that he would consider the first insult offered to his flag upon this occasion as an act of formal hostility, and a declaration of war on the part of the republic.

The equipment and preparation of these vessels was evidently carried on in a manner that was intended to draw the eyes of all Europe to the transaction, and to prepare them for the consequences. One of these was to proceed down the Schelde, from Antwerp to the sea; and the other, up the river from the sea, on its course from Ostend to that city. The captain of the former of these was furnished with written orders from the emperor, commanding him to proceed in the brig *Lewis*, from Antwerp, along the Schelde, into the sea, and expressly forbidding him and his crew from submitting to any detention, or to any examination whatever, from any of the ships belonging to the republic, which he might meet in the river; and likewise forbidding his making the least declaration at any of the Dutch custom-houses, or acknowledging their authority in any manner.

The imperial brig passed Lillo, and some other forts, without examination, but getting in sight of a Dutch cutter, belonging to admiral Van Reynst's squadron, which lay towards the mouth of the river, a boat was sent on board with an officer, who was told by the captain,

that he was on his passage to the sea, and that his instructions forbid his holding any parley whatever with the officers or ships of the United Provinces. Upon the brig's Oct. 8th, coming along side the Dutch cutter, the captain 1784. waving the imperial in-

structions in his hand, refused to give any farther satisfaction, and persevered in pursuing his course to sea; the commander of the former, after intreaties, threats, and the firing of a gun with powder only, had all failed of effect, in inducing him to drop the design, and return to Antwerp (the informality of passing Lillo without a passport being offered to be overlooked) he at length fired a shot with ball, which proving equally fruitless, he poured his broadside of seven guns into the brig, which did some damage to the vessel and rigging, but was fortunately guiltless of spilling blood.

The broadside being followed by a menace of sending the imperial brig to the bottom, if she did not immediately bring to, the captain found it necessary to comply, and to cast anchor. After various protests, remonstrances, and demands on his side, to pursue his voyage, with a constant positive refusal to take the vessel back to Antwerp, he at length quitted her, and a Dutch officer, with some seamen, were sent on board. All the circumstances of this transaction were magnified to the utmost on the imperial side; and the charges against the Dutch, of firing langrige-shot at a defenceless vessel, and of removing the buoys, and other water-marks on the Schelde, in order that she might be lost on the shoals, were, in the highest degree of colouring, represented as instances of

singular cruelty and atrocity. It would seem, indeed, that the captain had a very slow and precarious navigation, as it was on the third day from his leaving Antwerp, that this event took place. The vessel from Ostend was likewise stopped in her attempt to pass up from the sea; the circumstances being in general similar, but that no shots were fired.

Every thing now tended to an immediate rupture, so far as the emperor's absence at the time from Vienna, and the great distance of his armies, did not serve to retard that event.

As soon as the instructions from court could be received, the imperial ambassador was recalled from the Hague, and the negotiations at Brussels broken up. An army of 60,000 men was under orders, and in preparation, for marching from the Austrian hereditary dominions to the Netherlands; the troops already there amounting to about 16,000. Great trains of artillery, and all the other apparatus of war, were in motion; and none that know the emperor's character will suspect but that he was already forward in preparation for an event, which he could not but foresee was probable, and the issue of which he had so much at heart. The great distance of his forces from the scene of action was, however, an insurmountable check to his activity. The different states of the empire, whose territories the army was to cross in its long march, were applied to for a consent, which could not be well refused, but which was in general unwillingly granted. The countries belonging to the king of Prussia were of necessity held sacred upon this occasion. Nor was the



the emperor satisfied with the bare passage of his troops through their dominions; he called likewise upon the states of the empire to furnish their respective quotas of troops towards the support of a war, which, from the late affair on the Schelde, he wished to be considered as entirely defensive on his side.

Nor was the republic by any means insensible to her danger, nor negligent in providing all possible means for the most obstinate defence. In spite of her unhappy internal divisions, her ancient courage and resolution seemed to revive. Though she evidently dreaded the arduous and unequal contest, and was willing to make many sacrifices to avoid it, yet she seemed determined rather to hazard all things, and even to perish in the encounter, than to submit willingly to a condition with which her ruin was inseparably involved. Agents were employed all over Germany, that nurse of war, and inexhaustible breeder of armies, who were indefatigable in their exertions for hiring troops from those princes who make it a custom to barter mankind for money. The exertions were no less considerable at home, in recruiting the troops, strengthening the frontiers, and putting the posts and garrisons in the best posture of defence. As the appearances of things became more alarming, and the danger seemed fast approaching, they prepared for the worst that might happen; being determined to have recourse to the last desperate refuges of defence which the nature of their country peculiarly afforded. In this determination, they were in readiness for laying the flat and exposed countries under water; and as the

last resort, took measures for suddenly arming the peasants, whose fierce nature and characteristic obstinacy, when operated upon in the defence of their native dykes, would undoubtedly have afforded spectacles of unusual animosity and horror. Among the exertions of public spirit displayed by individuals, in this season of common danger, the merchants and burgomasters of Zealand subscribed a large sum of money for the raising of 2,000 light troops, who were to bear, in the front of their caps, the arms of the province, with an inscription, "*pulchra pro libertate*," for fair liberty. Such a spirit would produce great effects in a defensive war, where the peculiar situation of the country would enable every man to perform in some degree the service of a soldier. The university of Leyden took measures for raising a regiment of 1,260 men at their own expence, and similar exertions were general.

As if it had been doomed that Holland should at this period be under a necessity of looking to France for every thing, so the departure of the duke of Brunswick from their service obliged the states to apply to that court for a general, whose abilities and experience might enable him to conduct their arms with effect, in a war of so much difficulty and danger as that now expected. The count de Maillebois, an officer of undoubted talents and abilities, who had seen much service in the wars of Lewis XV. and who had been rendered peculiarly remarkable by the violent breach which took place between him and the marshal d'Estrees, in the last German war, relative to some transactions at the battle of Hassenbeck,

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in the year 1757, was deputed to this service by the court of Versailles, and appointed commander in chief of the Dutch forces by the states. This, however, was not actually carried into effect until the beginning of the ensuing year.

In the mean time, nothing was left untried, either by the states, or by the court of Versailles, in their endeavours to divert the approaching storm. The former denied that the affair which passed on the Schelde could afford any just ground for the resentment expressed by the emperor, in recalling baron Reischach, in suddenly breaking up the negotiations, and the various measures tending to violence and hostility which he had since adopted; much less could it be considered, in the light that was represented, as a commencement of hostility and war. The states had no disposition to any act of hostility or aggression whatever against the emperor, nor were they still less peaceably inclined; but they were bound, by all the laws of nature, of nations, of justice, and of reason, not to permit a violation of their dearest and most incontrovertible rights. That though the measure in question was thus in every sense justifiable, and being warranted by the example of all other nations in similar circumstances, could require neither apology nor explanation, yet so strong were the conciliatory dispositions of the states, and so great their condescension and desire of living in harmony with the emperor, that they had dispatched counter orders to their commanders on the Schelde, restricting them from proceeding to violence; and directing, that if fair means could

not prevail, they should let the vessels for that time pass; and that these dispatches arrived within two hours after the affair had happened. That they had besides previously declared at Brussels, that they could by no means be answerable for the consequences, nor hold themselves in any degree accountable for them, if such an attempt was made. While the measure was, on the other side, rendered still the more unjustifiable, from its being undertaken in the midst of a negotiation for an amicable conclusion of all differences.

The court of Versailles began now to expostulate seriously with the emperor upon this subject. It was observed, in a memorial presented upon this occasion, that the sincere friendship which attached the king to the emperor, combining with his wishes for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, rendered it a duty on him to come to an explanation with respect to the present differences. That while, at the solicitation of both parties, he had employed his good offices to bring about a reconciliation, he had carefully abstained from giving any opinion on the foundation of the emperor's first pretensions; a silence, the observation of which he still prescribed to himself; but his concern for the glory of the emperor authorized him to observe, that his first pretensions, and the demand for opening the Schelde, could not be considered under the same point of view. That the Dutch, in refusing a compliance with that demand, only supported a right which was secured to them by solemn treaty, and which they looked upon as the basis of their prosperity,

prosperity, and even existence. It seemed to be inferred from this reasoning, without an absolute decision in terms, that the affair on the Schelde by no means warranted the breaking off the negotiations, any more than the subsequent proceedings; and if the claim itself was not absolutely condemned, it was considered as having nothing to do with the business at Brussels; from all which a resumption of the negotiations was strongly recommended, and even pressed.

The memorial then stated, that by pursuing an opposite conduct, it was to be apprehended, that the emperor would excite a general uneasiness, and that other powers would think themselves obliged to take such precautions and events might require. That the king himself must, in that case, be under the necessity of assembling troops on his frontiers. That he could not by any means be indifferent to the fate of the United Provinces, nor see them attacked by open force in their rights and possessions; more especially at the present time, when he was on the point of concluding an alliance with the republic, the fundamental articles of which had been agreed on before these differences commenced. That if, moved by considerations of such great importance, the emperor can be induced to suspend all marks of hostility, and listen to the voice of moderation and humanity, the king renews the offer of his mediation to procure an equitable and suitable accommodation, which he will the more zealously endeavour, as in so doing he shall obey the dictates of his personal sentiments with regard to the

emperor, and he will thereby have the satisfaction to concur in extinguishing, in its first seeds, a war, the consequences of which cannot be calculated.

In the mean time, affairs seemed approaching fast to the last extremity on the borders of Holland and the Netherlands. Whether it proceeded from any motions made by the imperial troops, or from the discovery of some intended surprize, we are not informed; but some time previous to the close of the year, the states thought it necessary to have recourse to that sad measure of security, of laying part of the country under water. A

Nov. 7th.  
dyke was broken near Lillo in the night, by 1784.

which means the adjacent mixed territories on both sides, to a considerable extent, were immediately overflowed. Much damage was unavoidably done; and it was said, that a number of persons, to the amount of about fifty, perished through the suddenness of the inundation. An attempt was made to break another dyke, at some distance, on the same night, but was prevented from taking place through the timely intervention of the Austrian troops. This measure spread a general alarm through the Austrian borders; Ostend began hastily to throw up defences; all commerce between the two states was stopped; and nothing but attack and surprize was thought of, and prepared for, in the advanced places on both sides. All the troops in Austrian Flanders were in motion; every preparation for immediate war making; engineers and other officers continually arriving from Vienna at Brussels; and

the emperor himself expected speedily. Other sluices were, about the same time, opened on the side of Utrecht, and a considerable tract of country overflowed.

The expostulations and remonstrances of France were not capable of subduing the inflexibility of the emperor on the subject of the Schelde. He was willing to accept the mediation of that power upon all other points of difference, and accordingly to consent to the renewal of the negotiations limited to those objects; but the free navigation of that river he considered as so incontrovertible a right, that it was not to be subjected to any discussion whatever. In the mean time he was indefatigable in his preparations for war, and the Netherlands were gradually filling with troops, which arrived by quick marches and in small bodies, while the movements of the grand army were of necessity slow, through the difficulty of procuring subsistence on the way for such numbers, along with the numerous artillery, and various other incumbrances by which they were retarded. The extreme severity of the winter was likewise a great impediment to the advance of the imperial armies, and consequently a circumstance very favourable to Holland. While military affairs were thus suspended, the emperor shewed his usual diligence with respect to other matters. He particularly used his utmost endeavours to prevent the German princes from hiring troops to the Dutch, to prevent their recruiting in the empire, and their obtaining a passage through the territories of the several states for such forces or recruits as they might

notwithstanding raise. It was said that the language used upon some of these occasions was in a higher tone than was perfectly pleasing. It was likewise said, that he applied to the court of London to know what part Great Britain would take in the war.

That sovereign seemed so absolutely and inflexibly fixed in all his determinations upon the subject of the Schelde, that it carried the appearance even of approaching to obduracy. It was reported, and we only give it as such, that a great majority of his generals having expressed their opinions strongly against the war, on account of its nature, difficulties, and probable consequences, he shewed the utmost dissatisfaction upon the occasion, and without departing in the least from his own determination, gave the warmest approbation to the single voice, which endeavouring to obviate these difficulties and apprehensions, would encourage its prosecution.

While all Europe contemplated this new and unexpected contest, and several of its powers seemed little disposed to approve of its cause or principle, Russia, who had so lately seduced Holland to enter into the views of her naval ambition, by leading the states into the scheme of the "Armed Neutrality," (to which all their subsequent misfortunes and present dangers might, with no small justice, be attributed) now took a decided part against the republic, in a business with which she seemed to have very little concern. At the same time that she affected or assumed the office of being a mediator, she held out to the world her fixed  
determination



determination in support of the emperor's claims, and an utter condemnation of the conduct of Holland in refusing to comply with them. It was likewise known or believed, whether publicly declared or not, that she was engaged to support him with all her forces, in case the interference of any other power in favour of the republic should render her intervention necessary.

The rest of Europe was not, however, at this time disposed to suffer the republic to become a sacrifice to the views and ambition of these two great powers. The part which the Prussian monarch must necessarily have taken in such an attempt was sufficiently obvious; and that which would be pursued by France became now not less apparent. The two crowns were evidently united in opinion upon this subject; and the long visit which the celebrated Prince Henry of Prussia paid at the court of Versailles was attributed entirely to it: many supposing that plans were then formed for their future conduct and mutual operation, should affairs be carried to the last extremities. The Northern crowns, or at least one of them, seemed to catch the alarm; and such naval and military movements and arrangements took place in Sweden, as occasioned the demand of an explanation from the court of Petersburg. Even the Porte, upon this occasion, seemed to shake off its native indolence, and to pay an unusual attention to the state of European politics, so that it was generally understood from their aspect and movements, that the Ottomans were resolved not to miss so favourable an opportunity

as might now possibly be offered for returning the recent obligations which they owed to the emperor.

In fact, the private treaty concluded between that prince and Russia in 1782, the objects of which were kept a secret from their nearest friends and allies, although particularly and immediately alarming to the Porte, did not fail to give much umbrage to others of their neighbours. The continual schemes for the aggrandizement of the house of Austria, which had been pursued, or in some degree adopted by the emperor, and which seemed to keep his mind in constant action; the concurrence, which upon every occasion, they received from his great ally; with the vast ambition and dangerous designs attributed to both, served, all together, to increase this jealousy to a very high degree, and to extend it to no small number of the European princes and states. It was supposed that the ruin of Holland would be only the prelude to other pretensions, which might be extended on every side, while the success in each would serve as an encouragement to farther attempts at forming new arrangements of power, and new partitions of dominion. The fate of Poland could not be forgotten in such a course of consideration; and the reflection might now come home to those, who, thinking themselves out of danger, had paid no regard at the time to the *fire which was consuming their neighbour's house*.

It seemed therefore necessary, that some measure of union should be adopted by the central and western powers of Europe, in order  
to

to counterbalance this great Northern confederacy, and to obviate its suspected designs, and apprehended effects. And if such a measure were to take place, France seemed calculated, from her situation, power, interest in the question, and other circumstances, to be the proper, if not natural, head or centre of such an union.

Indeed, independent of that confederacy, and of her new and growing connections with Holland, France could not, upon any right principles of policy, behold the ruin of her safe and inoffensive neighbour the republic, and the consequent aggrandizement of the emperor upon her ruins, with the vast and dangerous addition which it would have made to his power on that side. These considerations seem to have weighed with the court as well as with the nation; although the ties of affinity between the two monarchs induced the former to use the most conciliatory measures, and to endeavour, so far as it could be done consistently with reason and policy, to avoid proceeding to extremities; but shewing a full determination as to the part which they would take, if the emperor's obstinacy should render that issue unavoidable. The measures pursued were accordingly in exact conformity to this mode of thinking, and intention of acting. Above half the standing forces of France had been early, but by degrees, and with little noise or bustle, thrown into quarters upon the borders of Alsace, Lorraine, and the Low Countries; and as things seemed to ripen to an issue, and that appearances became more hostile on the other side, orders were given,

and measures taken, to prepare for forming in the ensuing summer two camps in Flanders; one of them of 86,000 men, in the celebrated plains of Lens, which had been rendered memorable by one of the great Condé's splendid victories.

The nation in general, and probably some of the ministers, wished for nothing more than a war, upon the fair ground which the present state of things offered. This did not merely proceed from the restless temper or military disposition of that people, but from the great and tempting national object of annexing the Austrian Low Countries to their monarchy; an acquisition which was considered as certain in case of a war. France had already such a foretaste of the sweets which were to be derived from those rich and fertile provinces, as was sufficient not only to provoke her appetite, but to excite a constant yearning for their permanent possession. During the time that she had held the Netherlands, in the war of 1744, she had drawn, by taxes and contributions, from those provinces, above two millions sterling a year. It is not then to be wondered at that she should cast a wishful eye at so fair and tempting an object, which was just within her grasp; and which nature, situation, and at this particular time a train of extraordinary and unexpected concurrent circumstances, seemed to destine to her possession.

The refined policy of statesmen, as well as the schemes of private men, will sometimes produce effects directly contrary to the purposes of the framers. The union between the maritime powers, their prosperity, strength, and alliance with

with the court of Vienna, afforded the only lasting and solid securities which the house of Austria could have for retaining her possessions in the Netherlands. The rupture between England and Holland, the change of political system in the latter, the losses sustained by both in the late ruinous war, and the consequent weakness which they produced, all tended in their several degrees to weaken these securities. By the advantage which the emperor took of the distress and danger of Holland, in the destruction of the barrier, they were totally dissolved and done away; by that act he irremediably cut off every shadow of security from his own tenure, which must ever after be held at the mercy of France; and he thereby likewise compelled the republic to throw herself entirely, and without reserve, into the arms of that power, than which there could be nothing more directly contrary to his real interests. By his still pursuing the blow farther against the republic, and aiming it now at her very vitals, he was forcing and precipitating France into the execution of a design, which she had ever at heart, but which the ties

between the two sovereigns might probably have prevented during their respective lives. For, notwithstanding the great power of the emperor, the valeness of his military force, and the undoubted excellency of his armies, they lay at too great a distance from the scene of action, and France lies too much in their way, to enable him to carry on a war upon any degree of equality against that power in the Low Countries; even supposing Holland to be entirely out of the question, or to be considered only as a cypher. His armies must pass, in separate and far-divided columns, fatigued and worn down by the length and difficulties of their march, along 200 miles of the French frontier, and liable at every step to be cut off, before they could reach the object of their destination; while the provinces in contention, being entirely defenceless, and embraced on every side by France with the strongest holds in the world, would be overrun and possessed by her troops in a week.

Such was the doubtful and critical state of public affairs at the close of the year 1784.

## C H A P. VIII.

*Unexpected source of jealousy and discord opened in Germany. Scheme for the exchange of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands. Season ill chosen for such a measure. Empress of Russia writes to the Prince of Deux Ponts upon the subject; who peremptorily refuses a compliance, and acquaints the court of Berlin with the proposal. King of Prussia remonstrates with the court of Petersburg on the subject: Empress's answer. Conduct of the courts of Vienna and Munich. States of Bavaria alarmed. Satisfaction given by the elector not deemed sufficiently explicit. Great dissatisfaction excited in Hungary by the late schemes of reform. Rebellion of the peasants in the mountainous borders of Transylvania and Walachia. Savage cruelties committed on the nobility. Peasants defeated, reduced, and Horiab, their mock king, publicly executed. Vigilance of the Prussian monarch, and efficacious measures pursued by him, for preventing any innovation in the Germanic constitution and system of policy. Treaty of union and confederation, for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, and the rights of the Germanic body, in general and particular, signed at Berlin on the 23d of July 1785; the principal parties being the King of Prussia, the elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and the elector of Saxony. Measures pursued by the court of Vienna to prevent or to counteract the new league prove ineffective. King of Prussia's exposition of the causes and motives which led to the new German confederation, generally approved by the neighbouring powers. The appearances of immediate war in Germany seem to be superseded by a more moderate disposition, and the questions upon the exchange of Bavaria are suffered to die away without farther explanation or discussion. The storm of war being diverted from the Low Countries, by the great importance of the political questions which unexpectedly arose and were agitated in Germany, the republic of Holland thereby gained time to provide the more effectually for the worst that might happen, as well as for endeavouring to ward off the evil entirely by an accommodation. Negotiations resumed at Paris, under the auspices of M. de Vergennes. Dutch deputies received at Vienna by the emperor. Speech and answer. Definitive treaty of peace between the emperor and the republic of Holland concluded under the mediation and guarantee of France. Principal stipulations of the treaty. Treaty of alliance and friendship between France and Holland, finally ratified on the 25th of December 1785. Account of the Spanish expedition against Algiers in the year 1784; and the causes which prevented its insertion in the business of that year.*

**I**T was in the height of the contest about the Schelde, when the public attention was fully engrossed, and the emperor's mind supposed to be entirely occupied by that momentous subject, that the world was astonished by the opening of a new source of jealousy

and discord in Germany. What rendered this new business entirely unaccountable was, that it not only seemed in its nature, principle, and design, to run directly counter to all the measures which that prince had hitherto pursued, and was still, with no less apparent eagerness and determination



termination pursuing, with respect to Holland and the Schelde, but at once shut out all the avowed and imputed views, from which the contest was supposed to originate.

This new subject of alarm and contention was no less, than the proposed or supposed exchange of an antient and great electorate in the heart of Germany, for the Austrian Netherlands; those very Netherlands upon whose account the emperor seemed at the time on the point of encountering all the hazards of a war, whose consequences (as had been well observed, and strongly urged by the court of Versailles) could not be calculated.

We have formerly given a full account of the immediate measures pursued by the court of Vienna upon the death of the late elector of Bavaria, to seize and annex to the Austrian dominion a great part of that electorate; together with those loose and undefined claims then laid and kept open with respect to the remainder, which seemed evidently calculated, when the proper season arrived, to be extended to and to embrace the whole of that extensive dominion\*. The Prussian monarch became, upon that great and very critical occasion, the distinguished and successful guardian and protector of the rights of the German princes, and the liberties of the Germanic body in general. The war which he then undertook, though not illuminated by those dazzling actions which captivate the imagination, yet considered in its motives, with the disinterestedness which marked his whole conduct, through the progress and conclusion of the contest, may possibly

serve to crown him with more unfading laurels, than the most splendid acts and the most glorious victories of his youth. The peace concluded at Teschen, on the 13th of May 1779†, so effectually annulled the claims and pretensions of the House of Austria upon the dominions of Bavaria, that it might be supposed to have cut off the possibility of any future discussion or contest upon that subject.

But though the necessity of apparently relinquishing the design was then predominant, yet the object presented so irresistible a temptation, that the desire of its acquisition could not be foregone. And as the same great obstacles still remained to the obtaining of it by force, other means were to be tried, and measures of another nature pursued.

Ambition and vanity seldom grow old, and the lure of a crown was supposed to have been successfully held out to the elector palatine, in order to induce him to an exchange of the Duchy of Bavaria, including all those appendages which were left and confirmed to it by the treaty of Teschen, for the Austrian Netherlands, which were to be constituted a kingdom, under the revived denomination of Austrasia. Nothing could certainly have been more advantageous to the house of Austria, or more consonant to its views of supreme greatness, than this exchange. For, exclusive of the precarious tenure by which the Low Countries were held, and which was now perhaps more sensibly felt than at any former time, the accession of so large and considerable a country

\* See Ann. Register, vol. xxi. for the year 1778. Hist. Article, p. 1 to 35.

† See Ann. Register, vol. xxiii. Hist. Art. p. 5.

<sup>a</sup>s Bavaria, rendered still more important by its peculiar situation, besides rounding and completing the Austrian dominions, would have consolidated such a great and compacted body of power, as nothing afterwards in the empire, considering the division and general weakness of its states, could be supposed able in any degree to counterpoize.

On the other hand it would seem, that nothing less than the passion of filling a throne, for however short a time, and the empty gratification of leaving a name enrolled in the mouldering catalogues of forgotten kings, could have induced the elector, at his time of life, and without children, to enter into a measure so disagreeable to his subjects, so dangerous to his co-estates of the empire, and so unjust to his apparent heirs and presumptive successors, as the dominion which he was to obtain bore no adequate proportion in the great objects of extent, number of inhabitants, importance, or security, to the country which he was to give in exchange.

No season, however, could well be chosen, that was less favourable to the carrying of such a measure into execution, than the present. The attention of Europe was already much roused by the northern alliance, and by a succession of measures or projects which were supposed to have arisen from it; so that the more distant as well as the nearer powers began now to entertain no small jealousy of the conduct and views of these two great empires, whose union appeared to be so strictly cemented, that they were scarcely to be considered in any other point of view than that of acting under the same

common influence of design, and under the impulse of the same common interest in every thing. In such a disposition and state of circumstances, it was scarcely reasonable to expect, that an innovation in the constitution of the Germanic body, as well as in the general system of European policy, could by any means pass unquestioned; or indeed that the attempt would not be attended with much difficulty and danger.

The negociation upon this intended barter was conducted with such extreme closeness and secrecy, that no suspicion of the design was entertained, even by those who were the most immediately interested in, and would be the most deeply affected by the measure, until the treaty was supposed to be already far advanced, if not absolutely concluded. This business was likewise attended with the peculiar circumstance of its existence having been in the first instance absolutely denied, and never after fully acknowledged, by the contracting parties themselves. A letter from the empress of Russia to the duke of Deuxponts, tending to induce him to an acquiescence in, if not a confirmation of, the proposed scheme of exchange or barter, was the first intelligence which that prince, the presumptive heir and successor to the elector palatine in all his estates, dominions, and titles, received, that any such design was in agitation. This letter was probably received about the close of the year 1784, as the king of Prussia was informed of the whole affair by the duke, who claimed his interference and protection as guarantee of the treaty of Teschen, early in the following month of January.

In whatever terms the duke's answer

answer was conveyed, it was so ill taken by the court of Petersburg, that the refusal was probably very peremptory. The king of Prussia immediately remonstrated strongly with that court upon the subject, as having been a mediator of the peace at Teschen, and being a guarantee to the treaty. The empress, in her answer, declared, that she had conceived this project to be the only sure means of preventing a war: that upon this ground she very seriously wished for its being carried into immediate execution: that these sentiments had indeed dictated the letter written by her to the duke of Deuxponts, inviting him, in the most friendly manner, to come into the scheme; but finding herself ill requited for her good offices, so far as could be judged from the answer which she received from the duke, which is of a tenor that she neither can nor shall give any reply to, she had dropped all farther concern in the business; and the empress declares to the king, that she has no intentions to enforce the execution of this project, excepting that the parties more immediately concerned should fully agree to it.

But, previous to this development of the business by the empress of Russia, both the courts of Munich and Vienna had thought it necessary publicly to contradict the reports which were spread upon the subject, and to assert, that they were unfounded; and though the expressions were loose and general, they were evidently intended to convey an idea that no such design had existed. The states of Bavaria were so exceedingly alarmed at the report, that the elector thought it necessary to give them some satis-

faction on the subject. He assured them, in a written document, dated on the 13th of February 1785, that the reports spread of a pretended treaty between him and the imperial court, relative to an exchange of country, were without foundation; that the convention between him and that court, which had been lately ratified, related only to the adjustment of limits; and that he had already ordered an extract of that treaty, so far as it concerned the provincial states, to be communicated to them.

Though this answer seemed to afford some temporary satisfaction, yet it was soon considered as not being sufficiently explicit; a general apprehension and alarm was spread among the people; and the order of burghers joined the nobles in the most pressing solicitations to the elector for a farther and clearer explanation. The discontents excited upon this occasion served to renew with additional force those old animosities which, through a long course of mutual injuries and cruel wars, had for ages subsisted between the inhabitants of Bavaria and the Palatinate. This ill temper became so prevalent, that all the powers of discipline and despotism were scarcely sufficient to prevent the Bavarian and electoral troops from proceeding to the most dangerous extremities. It was even said to have pervaded the elector's palace and court; and it was reported, that the very grooms could not be prevented from coming to blows in his stables.

While the emperor, by a course of policy not very explicable, nor seemingly well connected, was sowing the seeds of foreign jealousy and commotion; the multifarious projects

projects which he adopted at home, and the continual innovations in all the established forms of internal government, laid such a foundation of discontent in a very great and valuable part of his subjects, as seemed capable, in its consequences, of interfering in no small degree with his foreign views.

Of all his dominions the noble kingdom of Hungary, whether considered with respect to extent, intrinsic value, or the peculiar character of its inhabitants, seemed to merit a very high, if not the first place, in point of consideration, and particularly to demand the greatest attention and the most lenient hand in its government. The brave and haughty nobility, and the warlike inhabitants of that country, after having, through a course of ages, shed so much blood in resisting the invasions of their rights, and the various oppressions to which foreign government is but too prone, had at length the unparalleled magnanimity, without any retrospect to past injuries, to save the house of Austria, at a similar expence of blood, perhaps from final dissolution, in the hour of its greatest distress, and most imminent danger. Every body knows the situation in which the late Maria Theresa's affairs were, when, with the present emperor, an infant, in her arms, she threw herself and him for refuge and protection upon the generosity of that gallant nobility. The affection and ardour with which her distress and eloquence inspired them, is not less a subject of admiration; nor how speedily and effectually they turned the tide of fortune in her favour. Personal gratitude for so unexampled a service, operated during the

long reign of that great princess, in producing a great regard to the privileges of the Hungarians, and their government was conducted upon such principles, as afforded general satisfaction, and consequently served to confirm their zeal and attachment.

A haughty, martial, and ancient nation, especially if they have not been softened by arriving at the highest point of cultivation and refinement, are generally (perhaps always) great enemies to innovation, and exceedingly tenacious of their old forms and customs; even though these might admit of or require improvement. This disposition will be fortified and increased, if it is accompanied with strong national prejudices and aversions, founded upon a sense of former injuries. Men are indisposed to follow the example, or to adopt the customs, of those whom they hate, however laudable; and the Hungarians had no predilection in favour of the Germans, nor of their government.

The Emperor, in the course of his numberless schemes of reform, had trenched deeply upon the civil and religious establishments of Hungary. He had new-modelled their courts of justice, and reduced their number from thirty-eight, which was that of the districts into which the kingdom was divided, to ten only; which was considered as a number insufficient for its due administration in so extensive a country. He had introduced the German mode of military conscription, than which nothing could have been more odious to the people, into Hungary and the adjoining provinces. He had likewise abridged the power, influence, and privileges



leges of the nobility; and seemed intent upon placing that kingdom under the same form of government with his Austrian provinces. The vast armies which were kept on the frontiers to awe the Turks, served to give a sanction to these measures, but could not lessen the discontent of the people.

The rude peasants, inhabiting the mountainous and woody countries which form the borders between Transylvania and the Austrian Wallachia, blind to consequences, and equally ignorant of their own force and condition for war, as they were of that which they were to encounter, broke out into an open, and, until its extent could be known, alarming rebellion, towards the close of the year 1784. It does not appear clearly, whether this revolt proceeded from their aversion to the new military conscription, in consequence of which they had been lately enrolled, and arms placed in their hands, or whether it was occasioned by the oppression of their lords. It is probable that the operation of both causes concurred in the event; but however that was, their fury fell indiscriminately upon the nobility and the public officers. Their numbers amounted to fourteen or fifteen thousand; and so totally ignorant were they of public affairs, and of all the circumstances of their situation, that they ventured to elect one of their chiefs, and a peasant like themselves, named Horiah, to be their king; and this extraordinary representative of majesty had a seal actually made, with the representation of a spear piercing a heart, and the motto of Horiah; *Rex Daciae*, inscribed on it.

VOL. XXVII.

These savage and insatuated peasants committed the most horrible cruelties. They attacked the nobility separately in their castles, which they every where destroyed, and massacred whole families, without distinction of age or sex. About 200 of the nobility were butchered in this manner, before they had time either to escape or to make any effectual preparation for defence. The numbers and fierceness of the rebels supplying the want of discipline and military skill, they for some time repeatedly defeated such small detachments of troops as could be hastily collected to oppose their ravages.

Though this state of things could not be lasting, yet, through the nature and difficulties of their rude country, as well as the distance of the royal forces, the rebellion subsisted for three or four months before it could be finally suppressed. The insurgents had, however, the courage or rashness to venture a general action with the Austrian forces, in which they dearly purchased a full knowledge of their insufficiency to support such a contention, they being routed without difficulty, and a considerable slaughter made, with little loss to the victors. The mock king, Horiah, with their two other principal leaders, having been betrayed by their own followers, as Pugatcheff had, in a similar enterprize, some years before in Russia, were surprized, and taken alive in a cave. One of these found means to hang himself with a very narrow undiscovered girdle, which he wore next to his skin, possibly for that purpose. Horiah, and the other, were sent about as a public spectacle, to  
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undergo different parts of their allotted punishment, in the scenes of their greatest enormities, and in the sight of their deluded followers. A fixed number of the inhabitants from each of the rebellious districts were at length obliged to attend at the place of execution, in order to behold their miserable exit upon the wheel. The tragedy did not entirely end here; for the prisons being over-crowded by the great number of prisoners taken, they soon generated a pestilential distemper, which was not only fatal to many of these unhappy people, but did much mischief in the country; so that, instead of thinking of farther punishment, besides throwing the prison doors open, the recovery of the infected, and the means of preventing the contagion from spreading farther, became the only objects of attention.

In the mean time, the ever vigilant monarch of Prussia was taking the most efficacious measures for preventing the exchange of Bavaria, for protecting in all respects the rights, and for preserving from violation those family conventions, by which the different branches of the Palatine line were mutually bound to each other and to the empire. For these purposes, and to counteract the effect of that dangerous union, and of that vast power which might be combined against himself singly, he found it necessary to form an alliance and confederation with those neighbouring princes, who were equally interested in preserving entire the Germanic system and the constitution of the empire, and whose joint power might be sufficient to give effect to their union.

Nothing could be more vexatiously alarming to the court of Vi-

enna, nor any thing more subversive, in various respects, of its views. The manner in which it was felt, and the deep resentment which it inspired, were sufficiently obvious, from the bitterness which was expressed against its great framer, who was described as little less than being the common disturber of mankind, as well as of Germany; while not only the present alarm, but all the evils which might in consequence of it distract the empire, and possibly involve it in blood and ruin, were imputed to the inordinate ambition and sinister designs of that monarch.

The king bore these personal censures and imputations to all appearance with the most perfect indifference. He justified his conduct upon the grounds of reason, justice, and policy: no warmth of reply, no censure, no severity of retort, appeared in any of his publications. A report which was spread at that time, if the fact should hereafter be established, would serve highly to exalt that monarch's character, and to shed much additional lustre upon his past and present conduct in the business of the Palatinate. It was reported, that two rich, extensive, and sovereign bishoprics (one of them vying in power and greatness with the ecclesiastical electorates) were held out to him in perpetuity, as a temptation for not opposing the designed scheme of barter; and that he rejected the proposal (or, as he is said himself to have termed it, the bribe) with the strongest marks of indignation.

The court of Vienna had shifted its ground, so far as its communications to the public went, with respect to the affair of Bavaria. At first it was generally disavowed; the report

report declared to be totally unfounded, and strong insinuations thrown out, that it originated in a certain quarter, where an insidious disposition to perplex the affairs, and to disturb the peace of the empire, was constantly prevalent. But after the proposal from Russia to the duke of Deuxponts, and the promulgation of the business by that prince, the existence, or absolute conclusion of the treaty, seemed only to be denied, while the measure in itself was justified; the competency both of the emperor and the elector to make any amicable exchange of territories, which might suit their mutual interest or convenience, being strenuously insisted on; while it was held out that such a measure, being unaccompanied with force or violence, and calculated equally for the accommodation or advantage of both parties, could not in any degree be considered either as a violation of the general laws of the empire, or a breach of any particular treaties.

In the midst of these complicated affairs, while something was likewise to be apprehended from the movements and disposition of the Ottomans, the emperor had points of the greatest importance to his interests, and very near to his heart, to carry within the empire, against which a part of his foreign policy militated in the strongest manner. These were no less, than the election of his nephew, and presumptive successor in his hereditary dominions, the archduke Francis, son to the great duke of Tuscany, to the dignity of king of the Romans, which could only preserve the empire in his family; and the other was of little less importance, being the erection of a ninth electorate,

to supply the chasm in that body, which the extinction of the house of Bavaria had occasioned.

The candidates for the new electorate were the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the duke of Wirtemberg. The former, from his power, wealth, and extent of dominion, would undoubtedly stand alone as a claimant, if no other considerations than these were to interfere; but the duke of Wirtemberg's eldest daughter being consort to the grand duke of Russia, and his youngest the intended spouse of the archduke Francis, the emperor's apparent heir, it was of the greatest importance to these two powers, that he should be promoted to the rank and office of ninth elector, as well for securing thereby a majority of suffrages in favour of the intended king of the Romans, as for more remote causes. Nothing then could seem more irreconcilable with the pursuit of these objects, than the exciting and spreading that general alarm and apprehension of his designs among the numerous members of the Germanic body, which it was impossible that the attempt of uniting Bavaria to the Austrian dominions, upon whatever conditions, or under whatever pretence, should not occasion, even if the whole Palatine line had consented to the transfer.

The new treaty of union and confederation, for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, the rights of the Germanic body in general, and of the respective states in particular, was signed at Berlin on the 23d of July 1785; the principal parties being the king of Prussia, the king of Great Britain, as elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and the elector of Saxony. The margrave

of Anspach, the duke of Deuxponts, and some other princes, were either then or soon after included in it, and it was either known or supposed, that it had received the sanction of several others of no small power (among whom Sweden was mentioned) who were ready, if the occasion called, to become parties to the alliance.

As the court of Vienna had omitted no means in its progress to prevent this league of union from being carried into execution, so the resentment now shewn was proportioned to the vexation which it excited. Circular declarations were publicly addressed to all the courts of Europe and states of the empire, endeavouring to give an odious colour to the treaty, and exclaiming against it, as being founded only on private, sinister, and ambitious designs, as tending to disturb the peace of the empire, and as being in its nature and design inimical to the Germanic constitution, and to the liberties and rights of that body.

In the mean time the imperial ministers at the German courts were instructed strongly to represent the mischiefs and dangers of such confederations; that, besides that being injurious to the body at large, individual members, by acceding to them, were imposing fetters on themselves, as they would thereby be restrained from those amicable, neighbourly, or family exchanges of territory, or arrangement of limits, which might be equally convenient and serviceable to the parties on both sides; and which could not in any degree be considered as the smallest violation of the constitution of the Germanic body. They were likewise to press strongly, in the emperor's name, those states

which had not declared themselves, for an open, precise, and categorical answer, as to their determination on that point; and if the answer was favourable, to propose the question, whether they did not think it might be necessary to form a counter alliance, in order to oppose those violent enterprizes against the constitution, which were to be apprehended from the former. If this leading question was agreed to, they were then to require their accession to an alliance, which his imperial majesty had suggested for the defence of the constitution.

There is no room for supposing, that this scheme of a counter alliance was productive of any effect.

On the other side, the king of Prussia communicated to those sovereigns who were by treaty or interest connected with the Germanic body, a declaration, signed at Berlin on the 23d of August 1785, containing an exposition of the causes and motives which not only led to the new German confederation, but which rendered the measure absolutely necessary for the preservation of the empire. In this piece, after delineating the conduct and apparent views of the court of Vienna; exposing the futility of the distinction, with respect to its consequences, between a forced and voluntary exchange of Bavaria; and refuting the position held up on the other side, that the latter would be neither a violation of the Germanic constitution, nor a breach of particular treaties; he proceeds to shew the dangerous tendency and consequences of that measure, if permitted to be carried into execution. He states, that the addition of so fine and so extensive a country as Bavaria to the dominion of the house of Austria,



Austria, which already preponderated too much in the scale, would take away all balance of power in Germany; that the security, as well as the liberty of all the states of the empire, would then depend only upon the discretion of that house; and he exclaims, that that great and powerful house ought to be contented with its vast monarchy, and not to think any more of an acquisition so alarming, not only to Germany, but to all Europe.

He reminds the maritime powers, that the house of Austria was bound to them, by the barrier treaty of 1715, never to alienate any part of the Netherlands to any prince, excepting only to one of their own house; a stipulation which could not be set aside without the consent of all the contracting parties. After touching slightly upon the undeserved reproach which so inoffensive a measure had drawn upon himself, and the attempts made to throw an odious colour upon the treaty, he proceeds to shew, that such alliances, calculated merely for mutual security, and for the preservation of mutual rights, were conformable to the laws of nations as well as of the empire, and to the practice of all states; and that the present treaty, extending merely to these objects, and being purely defensive, could not administer any just cause of offence or jealousy to any other power. He observes, that he had not entered wantonly into this measure: that his situation in the empire, along with a due regard to his own security and that of his co-estates, placed him under an indispensable obligation to pursue all measures that were necessary for preserving inviolate the Germanic constitution and system: that besides this gene-

ral obligation, he was particularly bound in the present instance, as guarantee both of the treaties of Westphalia and Teschen.

The reception which this declaration of the king's generally met at the courts to which it was communicated, was by no means flattering to the hopes, or encouraging to the views of the court of Vienna. Even the republic of Holland, critical as its own situation still was with the emperor, gave the warmest approbation to this alliance, for securing the peace of the empire, and maintaining the rights of the Germanic body. At Petersburg only the communication was received rather coldly. The empress declared to the count de Goertz, ambassador from the king of Prussia, that not seeing the Germanic constitution threatened with any danger, and thinking it sufficiently secured by the treaties of Westphalia and Teschen, as well as by the solemn assurances which she had herself given, in conjunction with the emperor, she could not persuade herself that the confederacy, though it might easily give occasion to jealousy and mistrust in the several states, could in the least contribute to put the constitution and liberties of Germany on a surer foundation.

During these transactions the preparations for an immediate war in Germany had been carried on with great and equal vigour and industry on both sides. Indeed this result of the dispute seemed to be considered so much as a certainty on one side, that the emperor had his magazines removed into the interior countries, from those parts of Bohemia and the adjoining provinces which were most liable to a sudden irruption of the Prussian armies.

But the confederation, the countenance of the neighbouring powers, the approbation which the Prussian memorial met with, and the apparent general indisposition of the German states to the scheme of barter, seemed all together to have retarded the enterprize, and to afford time for a more moderate disposition to take place. The question upon the exchange of Bavaria was suffered to die away, without further explanation or discussion; and as the appearances of hostility ceased on the one side, they were of course discontinued on the other.

While the storm of war, thus unexpectedly turned from the Schelde, was hanging over the mountains of Bohemia, Saxony, and Silesia, the republic of Holland had leisure to recover from its first surprize; and sedulously seized the unhopèd-for opportunity of providing effectually at home for the worst that might happen, and of endeavouring at the same time to ward off the evil and danger by an accommodation. France was, however, her shield of defence; and through the ability and firmness of that great minister, the count de Vergennes, the republic could not have had a more effectual security.

It was impossible that the queen of France should not be deeply affected by a contest, which so closely involved her nearest and dearest connections, and threatened so immediate and perhaps irreparable a breach of the harmony and friendship subsisting between them. It was reported at the time, that on the morning of a day upon which a grand council was to be held, the result of which it was supposed would be conclusive, with respect to the part that France should take, if

the emperor persevered in pushing his designs against Holland to the last extremity, that amiable princess took an opportunity of meeting M. de Vergennes on his way to the council, and, with a countenance deeply expressive of her anxiety and dismay, said, she hoped he would not on that day forget that the emperor was her brother! to which the minister replied that he certainly should not; but that he was bound likewise to remember, that the king of France was her husband, and the Dauphine her son.

The interposition and mediation of France was undoubtedly much facilitated in its effect, by the state of affairs in Germany, and the uncertainty of the event with respect to Bavaria. The emperor's inflexibility was not, however, easily subdued; and so many difficulties were thrown in the way of an accommodation, that through a great part of the year 1785 it seemed yet very doubtful what turn affairs might finally take. That prince's frequent absence from his capital, at seasons when affairs of the greatest importance were in agitation, occasioned likewise much delay in the transacting of business of moment at the court of Vienna.

As princes seldom miss any favourable opportunity of obtaining money from their subjects, and that it was impossible any season could be more auspicious to such a purpose in the Netherlands than the present, when the spirits of the people were highly exalted at the prospect of a war supposed to be undertaken solely for the recovery of their rights, the states of Brabant, both ecclesiastical and secular, were summoned by the imperial minister, in the beginning of March

1785, to demand in his master's name, a loan of four millions of florins, to be paid in such manner as should be afterwards settled. This money was granted by the assembly with all the facility that the present circumstances indicated.

The negotiations for an accommodation between the emperor and Holland were in the course of the summer resumed at Paris, under the auspices of the French prime minister. And, towards the latter end of June, the barons de Wassenaar and Leyden set out from the Hague, as deputies from the republic to the court of Vienna. The object of this deputation seems to have been that merely of making such concessions on the part of the republic as might accord with the emperor's ideas of dignity, particularly with respect to the insult offered to his flag; a point in which he seemed to think his honour so much concerned, that nothing less than satisfaction on that head could open the way to an accommodation.

July 24th, That sovereign having  
1785. at length returned to Vienna, after a long tour in Italy and elsewhere, granted an audience to the Dutch deputies. Their speech to the emperor upon this occasion was as submissive as it well might be. They declared, that the states never had the smallest intention either of offering injury to his imperial majesty, or insult to his flag: that through the whole train of circumstances which had occurred, they had invariably regulated their conduct in such a manner, as upon every occasion unquestionably to shew the great regard and respect which they entertained for his imperial majesty, so far as this could be done consistently with

their own independence, their undoubted rights, and their honour. That there was nothing they wished more sincerely, than to see that cordial amity, which had so unfortunately been interrupted, again renewed; and that they might be enabled to treat his subjects upon the same footing with those of the republic.

The emperor's answer, though stately, was satisfactory; and while it sustained the dignity, and did not conceal the superiority of the speaker, conveyed a hint to the states, of the propriety, if not necessity of celerity in their proceedings, if they hoped to profit of the present favourable opportunity of healing the rupture. He told them that it was highly pleasing to him, that the republic had, by their deputation, complied with what he had required, as necessary to precede an accommodation. That he should order his ambassador at Paris to resume the negotiations, under the mediation of his brother, the king of France; and he did not doubt but a speedy conclusion would prevent the unhappy occurrences, which must be the unavoidable consequence of a farther delay.

But notwithstanding the favourable omens that now appeared, some difficulties afterwards arose, which had nearly interrupted the negotiations, and occasioned for a time a renewal of the preparations for war and defence in the Low Countries. These arose upon the affair of Mastricht; for the emperor insisting upon the payment of a very large sum of money on that account, the states wanted to bring up the old Silesia loan, (being money which had been lent to the emperor Charles the VIth, upon the se-

curity of the revenues of that duchy) and to place it as a set-off against a part of that demand. It is not always prudent to lend money to the powerful; nor is it at all times safe to demand its payment. This proposal was received with the highest indignation; and it required all the abilities of a Vergennes to prevent its proving fatal to the treaty. The mortgaged estate had changed its owner; the present emperor had received none of the money; and he neither was now, nor ever had been in possession of Silesia. The states not only found it necessary to recede from this proposition, but had reason to think themselves fortunate that it produced no farther consequence.

The preliminary articles of peace between the emperor and the states general were signed at Paris on the 20th of September 1785. In

Nov. 8th, less than two months after, the definitive treaty 1785. was finally concluded, and signed at Fontainebleau by all the parties, under the guarantee, as well as mediation, of his most christian majesty.

The treaty of Munster was laid down as the basis of the present, and its stipulations to be in all cases binding, where they were not expressly excepted by the new clauses. The principal articles were—That the states acknowledged the emperor's absolute and independent sovereignty over every part of the Schelde, from Antwerp to the limits of the county of Saftingen, conformably to a line drawn in 1664; they, of course, renouncing the right of levying any tax or impost on that part of the river, and binding themselves not to inter-

rupt in any manner the commerce or navigation of his subjects thereon; that the rest of the river, beyond those limits to the sea, together with the canals of the Sas, the Swin, and the other neighbouring mouths of the sea, were to continue under the sovereignty of the states general, conformably to the treaty of Munster.—That the states should evacuate and demolish the forts of Kruischans and Frederic Henry, and cede the territories to his imperial majesty.—That to give a new proof to the emperor of their desire to establish the most perfect intelligence between the two countries, the states consented to evacuate, and to submit to his discretion, the forts of Lillo and of Liefkenshoek, with the fortifications in their present condition; only reserving to themselves the right of withdrawing the artillery and ammunition.

That the emperor renounces all the rights and pretensions which he had formed, or can form, in virtue of the treaty of 1673, upon Maastricht and its depending or adjoining specified territories; and that the states shall pay to his imperial majesty the sum of nine millions and a half of florins, in the current money of Holland. They likewise stipulated to pay him half a million more of florins, as an indemnification to his subjects for the damages which they had sustained from the inundations.—The other articles went to several renunciations of claims or rights on both sides; to mutual cessions of villages or districts; to the adjustment of limits; and to various local or internal regulations. No forts or batteries to be in future raised within cannon-shot of the limits on either side;



side; and those already constructed to be demolished. All pecuniary claims or debts between the respective states to be annulled; and the contracting parties were bound to renounce, without any reservation, all further pretensions that either might have against the other.

Thus was Holland, as if it were a winding-up of the calamities and losses brought upon her by the late unfortunate war, compelled to purchase, at a large expence in money, present peace, and a future doubtful security, from a new and unexpected enemy. It would seem, from the emperor's letter of acknowledgment to prince Kaunits, for his ability and services in the conduct and conclusion of this business, as well as from the presents which he made to the negociators, that its issue had been highly satisfactory to that sovereign. The money was undoubtedly useful and welcome; but it does not seem, upon the whole, that this affair was considered as redounding much to his honour as a sovereign, or as affording any great increase to his reputation as a politician.

The count de Vergennes acquired the honour to his country, and the glorious distinction to himself, of being the pacificator general of the universe. It could not but be a grievous consideration to Englishmen, that while France, through the happiness of great ministers at home, and their choice of able negociators abroad, was spreading her consequence, and extending her influence through the nations of the earth, Great Britain, through some unaccountable fatality, seemed to be fallen from that high seat, in which she had so long and so gloriously presided, and to be no

longer considered, or almost remembered, in the general politics and system of Europe.

In two days after the treaty of peace between the emperor and Holland had been signed, the new treaty of alliance between that republic and France was Nov. 10th, likewise concluded, and finally ratified on the 1785.

following Christmas-day. This treaty is founded upon, or includes all the principles, which can serve to bind and cement, in the closest and most indissoluble union of which they are capable, distinct nations under distinct governments; whereby they might mutually participate, in peace or in war, of good or of evil; and in all cases administer the most perfect aid, counsel, and succour to each other. It may indeed be considered as a perfect model for such documents in future; and is not, perhaps, to be equalled in these respects by any other treaty extant.

Besides the general stipulations, of the parties contributing every thing in their power for mutual security, and for their respective preservation in tranquillity, peace, and neutrality, they guarantee each other in the actual possession of all their estates, domains, franchises, and liberties, and mutually bind themselves to protect each other from all hostile attacks in every part of the world. If their united good offices and exertions for the preservation of peace, with respect to either, shall prove ineffectual, they are to assist each other by sea and land, in the following proportions, viz. — France shall furnish Holland with 10,000 effective infantry, 2,000 cavalry, with twelve ships of the line, and six frigates; and

and their high mightinesses, in case of a marine war, or that France shall meet with any hostilities by sea, shall furnish six ships of the line, and three frigates; and in case of an attack upon the territory of France, the states general shall have the option of furnishing their land contingent as they like, either in money or troops, at the estimate of 5,000 infantry, and 1,000 cavalry.—The power which furnishes the succours, whether in ships or men, shall pay and support them, wherever they may be employed, or for whatever time, by the ally, and to be entirely at his disposal during the war, being immediately subject to their own chief, but in all operations under the commander in chief of the requiring party; and while the auxiliaries remain in the ports or country of the requiring party, they are to be supplied with provisions and necessaries upon the same terms with his own ships and troops.—The contracting parties, as soon as either of them have furnished the stipulated supply, are bound to keep an equal number of ships and frigates armed, and in constant readiness, to replace such as may be lost by the accidents of war or sea.—If the stipulated succours should be insufficient for the defence of the requiring party, or for the purpose of procuring a proper peace, they shall be augmented as the necessity may require; nay, they shall assist each other with all their forces, if necessary; it being, however, agreed, that the contingent of troops to be furnished by the states general shall not exceed 20,000 infantry, and 4,000 cavalry, and that they are in all cases to preserve the option, of furnishing money in the place of land forces.

In the case of a naval war, in which neither of the parties are directly concerned, they shall mutually guarantee to each other the liberty of the seas, &c. &c.—If either party is engaged in a war, in which the other shall be obliged to take a direct part, they shall concert together the most effectual means of annoying the enemy, and oblige him to make peace; *and neither of them shall have power to disarm, to make or receive proposals of peace or truce, without the consent of the other*; and if a negotiation shall be opened, it shall not be begun and followed by either of the parties, without the participation of the other, and they shall make each other acquainted with all that passes in the said negotiation.—They are mutually bound to keep their forces at all times in good condition, and either party has a right to require and obtain from the other whatever satisfaction it may think necessary respecting the state of its military, and means of defence.—Both parties shall faithfully communicate to each other those engagements which subsist between them and other powers of Europe, which are to remain untouched; and *they promise not to contract any future alliance or engagement whatever, which shall be directly or indirectly contrary to the present treaty*.

To cement the union still more strongly, a treaty of commerce is stipulated, by which the subjects on either side are to be treated and considered by the other as the most favoured nation. And, by one of the separate articles of the present, it is stipulated, that both parties shall, as much as possible, further their mutual prosperity and advantage,

*tage, by rendering each other every assistance, both in counsel and succour, upon all occasions, and not agree to any treaties or negociations which may be detrimental to each other, but shall give notice of any such negociations, &c. as soon as they are proposed.*—As the parties were at liberty to invite such other powers as they thought necessary to join in this treaty, it is evident that Holland may be considered as virtually bound to become a party to the Bourbon family-compact, in its full extent.

Such are the unexpected revolutions which take place in the conduct and actions of states as well as of individuals. All the systems of policy which had been pursued for two centuries by the maritime powers in the support of a balance of power, all the conventions, treaties, and ties of union between them, founded upon the seemingly unfailing principles of a common interest, common views, common religion, foreign danger, and common defence, were now at once done away and dissolved.

We passed over the Spanish expedition against Algiers in the year 1784, as its insertion would then have interrupted the order of our narrative, in the recital of affairs which were of far greater general interest and concern. The little advantage that had been produced by former expeditions was not sufficient to deter the court of Madrid from farther attempts of the same nature; and it seemed as if the animosity was so inveterate, that the annual attacks on the one side were to be renewed, and the destructive piratic war on the other perpetuated, during their mutual existence.

The effect hitherto produced by these repeated attacks on the side of

Spain, had indeed been very unfavourable to all the Christian states bordering upon the Mediterranean. Their ill success served at once to increase, in a very extraordinary degree, the confidence, fierceness, and cruelty of the Barbarians, and while they excited their adventure and revenge, inspired them with no small contempt of the courage and military prowess of their enemies. Their land forces, now inured to war, had learned to withstand regular attacks with firmness, and to make light of the bursting of shells, and the roar of cannon; they had likewise procured good engineers, lined their coasts with batteries, and covered them with a powerful artillery.

On the other hand, while they spared no pains or expence in providing for security at home, their hostile exertions, both in the Ocean and the Mediterranean, went far beyond any thing that had been known since the days of the Barbarossas, whether with respect to enterprize, courage, or effect; and differed only from the boldest enterprizes of those tyrants of the sea, in their being unmixed and purely naval, and the force not being in any degree, or at least in any given point, so vast. The improvements in their marine, in the construction and working of their vessels, notwithstanding the aids which they derived from European artificers in building, and renegadoes in manning them, was not a little astonishing. The Algerine corsairs were now built upon the model of the best European frigates; and the desperate intrepidity with which, under whatever disparity of force, they fought them to the very last extremity, with the skill and address which they displayed in action, would

would not have disgraced the flag of any maritime power whatever. Indeed it seemed necessary, that their cruelty should prevent the admiration excited by their courage, and that their being pirates should prevent their actions from being considered as heroic.

Spain, along with her own great preparation, thought it necessary now to call in the assistance of such of her friends and neighbours, as were from situation in circumstances similar to her own. Portugal and Naples were not less interested in quelling the rapacity of that nest of pirates than herself; and Malta embarked professionally in all such enterprizes. The Venetians, indeed, were already engaged in a war with Tunis; and had for some time been farther involved in a very troublesome dispute with their younger sister, the republic of Holland; which, though proceeding only from a private mercantile or pecuniary transaction of no great value, had been conducted with such a temper on both sides, as more than once threatened the most serious consequences.

The combined armament amounted to above 130 sail, composed of the same orders of vessels which we have heretofore described; and it was computed, that more than 16,000 seamen were employed in their equipment. The ships of the line, for protecting and covering the attacks, were more numerous, and of a greater bulk and weight of metal than in the former expedition; the rates rising from sixty-four to more than eighty guns. Of these, four were Spanish, two Maltese, one Sicilian, and two Portuguese. Three Maltese galleys, and an equal number of Spanish, were very full of men,

their complement (the slaves we presume included) being little short of 600 each. The boats for guns, mortars, and howitzers, were entirely Spanish, and amounted to 71. The Neapolitans and Maltese furnished a proportion of the other vessels. The conduct of this enterprize, as of the former, was committed to admiral Don Antonio Barcelo.

The armament arrived before Algiers early in July 1784. The Algerines were in a much more formidable state of preparation than at any former period. They had not only adopted the Spanish method of constructing gun-boats, to a number at least equal with those of the assailants, but seem to have improved on the model; for they are said to have been stronger and more effective. They did not, however, venture out to meet the combined armament, which seems to have been expected, but their ships, galleys, and boats were drawn up with great judgment, and in excellent order, at about half cannon-shot distance, in the front of their forts and batteries, which were covered with a tremendous artillery.

The first attack was very violent, and supported with the greatest vigour and courage for above ten hours; nor was the resistance less fierce. Some boats were blown up on both sides, but more on that of the Algerines; the town was likewise set on fire by the shells, and continued to burn for some hours. The damage, however, does not appear to have been very considerable, and it was all that the town sustained; for in seven succeeding attacks which took place between the



the 12th and the 21st of July, the combined forces were never able to approach near enough for the shells to take effect; and are said to have been in every one repulsed with loss, and furiously pursued by the Algerines, even under the cannon of the covering line of battle ships.

Immense quantities of powder were consumed, and of shot and shells expended on both sides, in the course of this frequent action; while the emulation between the different nations engaged in the combined armament occasioned a continual display of the greatest valour. A knight of Malta, who commanded or fought in one of the galleys, declares in a letter, "that nothing could exceed the gallantry of the combined fleets, except the warlike spirit of the infidels." Though the enterprize neither was nor could be attended with the success that was wished or expected, yet, it was generally acknowledged, that the commander in chief, Don Antonio Barcelo, gained the highest applause and honour by his conduct and gallantry through its whole course. He even proposed and strongly contended, notwithstanding the repeated failure which they had experienced, to make a final general attack, with a view of storming and forcing their way into the port; and to give the greater efficacy to the design, intended to have gone himself on board one of the bomb vessels; but in this he was opposed by the uniform opinion of all the commanders, both natives and allies, who remonstrated against it, upon the greatness of the danger, and the little prospect there was of its producing any adequate effect.

It must afford a grateful satisfaction to every Englishman to find,

that even in this distant enterprize, and in which we had no concern, the martial and naval renown of his country should have been nobly supported by the gallantry of an individual. Mr. Henry Vernon, nephew to the brave and once celebrated admiral of that name, having served as a volunteer in this expedition, distinguished himself with such marked enterprize, conduct, and gallantry, in all the most arduous occasions which were afforded by the various attacks and retreats which took place in the severe conflicts with this fierce enemy, as to attract the notice and excite the admiration of all the commanders of the different nations present. In one of these he is said to have saved the life of Don Barcelo, when the boat in which they both were was struck by a cannon-shot from one of the forts. And though he was wounded in the 7th attack, yet, in so conspicuous a light was his valour and merit considered, that it was intended he should command one of the two leading ships, which were to attempt forcing their way into the port, in the final attack proposed by Don Barcelo.

It being agreed in a council of war, that nothing farther could be attempted with any probability of success against the place, their ammunition likewise being nearly exhausted, and the weather becoming foul, it was determined to return to Spain. But before the necessary preparations could be well made, such a tempest came on in the night of the 22d of July, that the ships were obliged incontinently to put out to sea; and it was supposed that they left more than a hundred anchors and cables behind in taking their leave of Algiers.

*View of the character of the late parliament. Enormous supplies voted in its first session. Fruitless expenditure of this subsidy occasions the resolutions which terminated the American war. Evidence of the parliament's independence. Enumeration of important matters in which it was engaged. Rescinds the famous resolution respecting the Middlesex election. Disappoints many, by not prosecuting certain enquiries, &c. During the short space of two years, saw no less than five ministers in succession. Different opinions on its interference in their appointment and removal. Well inclined to support the measures of the minister in power at the time of its election. The campaign of 1781 causes universal alarm, and occasions the commons to interfere to procure a change of councils. Minister acquiesces. Delay in appointing a new ministry occasions a threat of withholding the supplies. Complexion of the new administration. Honourably supported. Negotiates the peace; which is censured in parliament. The celebrated coalition formed. The minister, in consequence, retires. Power acquired by the house of commons, in consequence of the coalition. Different opinions entertained of that circumstance. The leaders of the coalition succeed to the ministry; but are dismissed, and a fifth ministry appointed. Addresses for its removal. Advantageous ground, possessed by the court, favourable to resist the practice of dismissing a minister at the requisition of the commons. King's answer to those addresses, calling for specific charges against the ministers, a measure well calculated to throw difficulties in the way of such parliamentary proceedings. Instances in illustration thereof. Firmness of the commons. Their dissolution. Advantages possessed by the ministry upon that event. Causes of the support the ministry received from the people. More than 160 members lost their seats. Meeting of the new parliament. Former speaker re-chosen. Substance of his majesty's speech. Addresses. Mr. Burke's speech on the measure of dissolving the late parliament. His proposed remonstrance to the throne. Commutation act—debate thereon. Bills for settling the East India dividend, for respite of duties, and for the better government of the affairs of that company; analysis of the latter, and sketch of the debates thereon. The budget—its contents. Bill for the restoration of estates forfeited in the rebellion of 1745. The Lord Chancellor's argument against it; it however passes. Conclusion of the session. Substance of the king's speech.*

**B**EFORE we proceed to the history of the new parliament, which was appointed to meet on the 18th of May, it may not be improper to take a short view of the character of the late parliament, with the dissolution of which we closed the 6th chapter.

Perhaps no parliament ever sat in Great Britain that was engaged

in deliberations of greater magnitude and importance, that caused more signal revolutions in the administration of public affairs, or that saw the principles of the constitution more violently agitated and shaken.

In the first session, the house of commons gave a conspicuous proof of its liberality and zeal for the sup-  
port

port of government, by voting supplies for the service of the current year to the amount of upwards of twenty-one millions sterling. The fruitless expenditure of this enormous subsidy produced, in the following session, the two celebrated resolutions which put an end to the American war, and at the same time asserted the right of the commons to controul, by their authoritative advice, the exercise of one of the most undoubted prerogatives of the crown. These votes were carried in direct opposition to, and in the face of the most strenuous exertions of the court party: they militated directly, and in their certain consequences, against the interests of several powerful classes of members of parliament, and are therefore strongly insisted on as a proof of the integrity and independence of that house of commons collectively considered.

It next appears in the character of a reformer. By the bill for regulating the civil list establishments, thirty-six offices, tenable by members of parliament, were abolished, and an order of payment was framed, which rendered the accumulation of any future debt impracticable. On the same principle of reformation of their own house, connected with a principle of public economy, the commons passed an act for rendering contractors with government incapable of sitting in parliament. On the same principles, a bill was passed to disqualify all officers concerned in the collection of any branch of the revenue from voting in elections for members of parliament. On the same principles, several officers of the Exchequer were suppressed, and the rest, whose emolu-

ments were excessive, and grew in exact proportion to the burthens of the public, were reduced to moderate and fixed salaries. On the same principles, several important regulations, and the remedy of infinite corruptions, disorders and oppressions, were provided for in the bill for the management of the East India company's affairs, which was rejected in the house of lords. By the act for regulating the office of paymaster general, the accumulation of the public money in the hands of the paymaster, which had sometimes amounted to upwards of a million, was prevented, and the interests of such monies thereby saved to the public in future. The same house, for the purpose of asserting the freedom of elections, and the rights of the electors, rescinded the famous resolution relative to the Middlesex election, and expunged it from their journals.

In its inquisitorial capacity, its conduct has not been universally received with the same approbation. Many looked for an enquiry into the causes and conduct of the American war; others regard as a notorious failure of duty, that the India delinquents were not prosecuted to condign punishment; and others expected a more vigorous investigation of the facts relative to the undue influence exercised in the house of peers, and the impeachment of the instruments employed therein.

But the most important point of view, in which the late parliament claims our attention, remains still to be considered. During the short period of two years, that parliament saw no less than five ministers, in succession, at the head of public affairs. In the removal or appointment

ment of these, the house of commons took no inconsiderable part; and its conduct therein has been variously represented; on the one side, as actuated by a spirit of faction, which threatened the destruction of the very forms of our government; on the other, as supporting, with a becoming steadiness and perseverance, the true principles and spirit of the constitution.

The minister, under whose auspices the house of commons was elected, at a conjuncture highly favourable to the interests of the court, found them, as was naturally to be expected, inclined to give government the most liberal and unreserved support, a proof of which we have already had occasion to mention. But the unfortunate campaign of 1781, having caused an universal alarm for the safety and very being of the empire, the house of commons found it necessary to interfere by their authoritative advice, and to indicate their wishes for an entire change of councils. The minister, so soon as he perceived that he was no longer in possession of the confidence of the house, declared himself ready to resign his office whenever his majesty should think fit to name his successor. Some delay intervening in the appointment of the new administration, so jealous were the commons of their authority, that threats were thrown out of having recourse to the most violent of all parliamentary expedients, that of stopping the supplies of government\*, if the desires of the house should not be speedily complied with.

The next administration, although formed out of a party whose strength in parliament had never appeared in point of numbers to be very considerable, and though generally supposed not to enjoy the perfect good-will of the court, met, notwithstanding these discouraging appearances, with an honourable and independent support during its short existence.

The administration of the noble earl, to whom his majesty next entrusted the direction of public affairs, passed almost entirely during the recess of parliament. It fell unfortunately to his lot, and that of his colleagues, to negotiate the terms of a general peace, which was signed at Versailles, on the 20th of January 1783. Upon the assembling of parliament, this measure was the first subject of their deliberations, and was judged to deserve a strong and severe censure. About the same time an event took place, which appearing evidently to have his dismissal for one of its principal objects, caused the minister to retire without a struggle.

This event was the celebrated coalition; and it was on this occasion that the charge of faction and violence was first brought forward against that house of commons. There certainly can be no doubt; but that in consequence of this junction the house of commons was enabled to effectuate the removal of the minister whose misconduct they had just condemned; nay farther, perhaps to limit the king, in the choice of new ministers, to certain individual objects;

\* See Mr. Thomas Pitt's (now lord Camelford) speech in the debates of 1782.



and this, in the language of many, who, though violent assertors of the authority of the commons on a similar occasion, but ten months before, professed, on the present, an uncommon zeal for the prerogative of the crown, was represented as forcing the king's closet, trampling on the monarchy, and taking the sceptre out of his majesty's hands: but, on the other side, these effects were said to be the natural and inevitable consequences of that system of policy, and those established maxims of the constitution, which had invariably, and so happily, prevailed ever since the accession of the present family to the throne, and by which the jarring theoretic rights of the several branches of the legislature could alone be safely adjusted.

However this may be, there was no attempt at that moment to assert the prerogatives of the crown any further than in debate; and the leaders of the coalition consequently succeeded, according to established practice, to the offices of their vanquished adversaries.

We have already related the grounds on which his majesty dismissed this ministry (the fourth within the year) from his service; the appointment of a fifth ministry, the high offence which several circumstances attending those two measures gave to the house of commons, and their addresses to his majesty thereupon, for the removal of his new ministers. Some advantageous ground, which was at this time in possession of the court, made it a favourable opportunity for attempting to resist the practice of dismissing a minister at the requisition of the commons, which, if not actually trenching on the

prerogative, was considered as too deeply affecting the personal consequence of the sovereign. On the two former occasions, charges of a criminal nature either were or were ready to be brought forward against the minister, whose removal was sought after; and it is probable, that the ready compliance, at those times, with the wishes of the commons, was chiefly owing to their fears of provoking an hostile enquiry into their conduct. On the present, the minister was new in his office, and consequently unimpeachable as to his conduct therein; and the king was therefore advised, in answer to the requisitions of his parliament, to call for the specific charges, which were the grounds of those requisitions, as an essential part of the proceeding; sagaciously foreseeing, that if this principle was once admitted, it would often throw insuperable difficulties in the way of all such parliamentary proceedings. The transactions of the last year furnished two strong proofs of the truth of this speculation. It might well be doubted, for instance, whether the house of commons could have been brought to adopt a charge against the minister of the American war, in which they so long and so heartily supported him, notwithstanding they were convinced that his removal was a measure necessary for the salvation of the country? and, again, whether the maker of the late peace could have been formally charged and tried for that act, without endangering the public faith? The house of commons continuing fixed and unshaken in the support of what they deemed their privileges and authority, recourse was had to the last expedient which

remained, that of a dissolution; the consequences of which we now proceed to lay before our readers.

The advantages which the ministerial party possess over their opponents, upon a premature dissolution of parliament, from their knowledge of the precise time when the writs for the new elections will be issued, are known to be at all times very considerable; but on the present occasion, a variety of circumstances concurred, which tended to throw great additional weight into the same scale.

During the three preceding months, the majority in the house of commons seemed more anxious to prevent a dissolution, than to provide for their individual security in case such an event should take place. They appear to have confined their views so entirely to the objects for which they were contending in parliament; as to have totally neglected both their general interests in the nation, and their particular connections as representatives. They beheld addresses pour in from every quarter, without any, or at best but feeble and ill-concerted attempts either to oppose them in their progress, or invalidate them by counterpetitions. Thus, whatever motion there was in the country, being all on one side, and in one direction, it appeared to be more general than perhaps it really was. It acquired, nevertheless, by degrees, great strength and force, and not only drew within its vortex every thing that was light and afloat, but carried away even those whose principles were imagined to be more deeply rooted. No ties, no attachments were able to hold against it. Friendship, gratitude, and even

dependency, gave way. Several instances occurred, during the ensuing elections, in which the agents and servants of great men were found acting openly and avowedly against the party of their employers.

To these observations it must be added, that the object, upon which the contest between the house of commons and the court first broke out, and the points which came afterwards to be disputed between them, were not of a kind sufficiently popular to make their own way amongst the people at large. The state of the British empire in the east was not at all felt, and but little heard of or understood by them. The privileges of the house of commons, though the foundation of the liberties of the people, do not appear at first sight to have a necessary connection with them; and some pains had been taken, during the present reign, to render them odious, by setting them up in opposition to the claims of the people. Perhaps nothing requires greater management and address, than the use of delegated authority. As fear is the passion excited by inherent power, so are envy and jealousy by that which is delegated. We cannot give away any power, even though we are not able to exercise it ourselves, without regarding the person who receives it in the same disagreeable light that the miser does his heir.

On the other hand, administration possessed many great and peculiar advantages. Being eased, by the prevalence of their adversaries in parliament, of a considerable part of the burthen of their public duty, they found themselves at sufficient leisure to prepare for an event,

at all times within their power, and which was so cautiously concealed as to have drawn on the minister the imputation of a breach of faith. Indeed the novelty of the measure itself, the dangerous consequences that might arise from it, the answer received from the king relative to the affairs of India, the assurances conveyed to the house from Mr. Pitt, the appointment of a committee to examine papers from the India house, which took place, with the approbation of the chancellor of the exchequer, but a few days before the dissolution, kept the minds of their opponents at least in a state of inactive suspense, which caused the dissolution at length to burst upon them totally and universally unprepared.

These advantages were not neglected, and power, activity, and popularity, were exerted on a field neglected and almost deserted by the adversary. The event proved such as it was natural to expect. Upwards of one hundred and sixty members lost their seats, and of these almost the whole number were the friends of the late administration. So complete a rout of what was looked upon as one of the strongest and most powerful parties that ever existed in Great Britain, is scarcely to be credited.

Amongst the interests which on this occasion joined the court, that

of the dissenters, and of the East India company and its servants, were the most considerable.

On the 18th of May, both houses being assembled with the usual formalities, the house of commons proceeded to the choice of a speaker, when Mr. Cornwall was again placed in the chair. The day following, his majesty, in a speech from the throne, declared the causes of his calling the parliament. He assured them of the satisfaction he had in meeting them, after recurring, in so important a moment, to the sense of his people: and of his reliance, that they were animated by the same sentiments of loyalty and attachment to the constitution, which had been so fully manifested throughout the kingdom. He then directed their attention to the maintenance of the public credit, to the support of the established revenues, and to the affairs of the East India company: and, after warning them against adopting any measures for the regulation of these last, which might affect the constitution and our dearest interests at home, concluded with expressing his inclinations to support and maintain in their just balance the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature\*.

The strong expressions inserted in the addresses, of satisfaction and gratitude to his majesty for having

\* Before the motion was made for an address, Mr. Lee, in a long speech, stated to the house the conduct of the high bailiff of Westminster, who had neglected making a return to the writ of election, on pretence of not having finished the scrutiny into the legality of the votes; and concluded with moving a resolution, declaring it to be "his duty to return two citizens to serve for the said city." This motion, after a long debate, was negatived by a majority of 283 to 136. As this remarkable cause, though frequently agitated during the first sessions of this parliament, was not brought to a conclusion till the second, we shall refer the reader to that period of our history for a full account of the arguments and proceedings thereon.



dissolved the late parliament, occasioned a short debate. The necessity of having recourse to that measure, in order to settle a firm and constitutional administration, was strenuously urged on the one side; and, on the other, this necessity was as strenuously denied, unless it could be proved that the existence of the present administration was indispensably necessary either to the safety or the constitution of the country.

With respect to the sense of the people, which it was said had appeared to be decisively in favour of the present administration, some of those members who had formerly taken an active part with Mr. Pitt in the attempt to introduce a more equal representation in parliament, demanded on what grounds he could pretend that the genuine sense of the people had been collected in the new elections, since he had himself enforced the necessity of a reformation, on the very supposition that the people, as the law then stood, had little or nothing to do with them.

An amendment was proposed, to leave out such parts of the address as related to the above-mentioned points, but was rejected by a majority of 168.

On the 14th of June, the attention of the house was again called to this important subject by Mr. Burke, in a speech of great length, in which he examined with great freedom the dangerous principles upon which that act of power was both executed and defended by government.

He remarked, that the question might not appear at that time of very great consequence to some gentlemen; but to him it appeared of the utmost magnitude and im-

portance; and he was not ashamed to confess, that his whole mind and soul were full of it. A parliament had been sentenced, condemned, and executed, and no notice had yet been taken of so great and extraordinary an event! If the meanest subject in the land had died suddenly or by violent means, an inquest would have taken cognizance of the case, and enquired into the causes of his death: but the parliament of Great Britain had been put to a violent death; and no coroner had yet held an inquest on the body! no enquiry had been made whether it had been *felo de se*, or murdered, or *jure casus*! Did the people then think the sudden death of parliament was a subject too trifling for enquiry? or did they think that all which might have been apprehended from such a death, had perished with the parliament? He feared that the fatal consequences of it would long survive it, and be entailed on future parliaments.

Much had been said of the sense of the people, as the grounds on which ministers might rest their defence of the late dissolution; and on this head he was ready to confess, that the sense of the people, however erroneous at times, must always govern the legislature of this country: but it was difficult to collect that sense; and it was sometimes the duty of the better informed and more enlightened part of the community to resist the sense of the people, when it appeared that the people were deceived or misled. For his part, he did not think that the wiser part of the public approved of the dissolution of the late parliament, or disapproved of the measures which avowedly were the occasions of that event.



event. The people might be divided into three classes, one composed of persons who, dazzled with the lustre of the crown, can never bring themselves to think that government may be in the wrong; they were the political highflyers, who made it a point to support the crown à tort et à travers: this class, he said, was very numerous; and in it, he was sorry to add, were to be found many very respectable characters. In the second class, he placed those who, the sworn enemies to the crown, were ever ready to fall upon the house of commons, because they conceived that house to be the constitutional guardians and defenders of that species of monarchy which in this country had ever been thought necessary for the well-being of government. These two bodies of men, he said, generally united in running down the house of commons, though with the most opposite views. The third class consisted of all those persons who did not enter into the other two: they were the moderate and impartial, who, alike friends to the crown and to the democratic part of the constitution, wished to maintain both in the full enjoyment of their respective prerogatives and privileges. Of these, he would not hesitate to say, full three-fourths went heart and hand with the late house of commons; the other fourth part, he believed, had been driven, by misrepresentations, into a confederacy with two classes of men, whose principles they equally detested, the lovers of absolute monarchy, and the sworn enemies of every species of regal government. He trusted, indeed, that many of them had lately been undeceived: it was the duty of the house of

commons to warn the remainder of the dangers to which they exposed their liberties, through the delusion under which they acted.

He feared, he said, there was a settled plan to destroy, not the form, but the essence and efficacy of the house of commons. Doctrines big with danger to the constitution, had been broached within the last two years, first by a noble lord who was at the head of the administration before the last (the Earl of Shelburne) and lately revived by the minister who had received his political education at the feet of Gamaliel. In a speech from the throne, at the opening of the session before the last, the king was made to say by that minister, that "the people expected."

This assumption of the tribunitian power by the sovereign was truly alarming. When Augustus Cæsar modestly consented to become the tribune of the people, Rome gave up into the hands of that prince the only remaining shield she had to protect her liberty.

The tribunitian power in this country, as in ancient Rome, was wisely kept distinct and separate from the executive power: in this government it is constitutionally lodged in the house of commons; and to that house the people ought first to carry their complaints, even when they were directed against the measures of the house itself: but now the people were taught to pass by the door of the house of commons, and supplicate the throne for the protection of their liberties. He warned the members to beware of this double house of commons, which ministers were erecting on the foundation of their delusion; the commons of England in parlia-

ment assembled; and the commons of England in corporation and county meeting dispersed:—an artful minister would craftily play off the one after the other: he would make use of a pliant house of commons to oppress the people; and of a deluded people, to awe a refractory or independant house of commons. If the proceedings of the late parliament had been really disagreeable to the people, why had they not petitioned that house against those proceedings? If they had petitioned, and their prayer had been disregarded, or treated with contempt, the addresses to the throne for a dissolution of parliament would have been extremely proper. When public œconomy became the general wish of the people, petitions were presented, not to the crown, but to the house of commons; but means had been contrived of late so to delude the people, as to make them the very instruments of the degradation of that branch of the government, the destruction of which must necessarily be attended with the loss of their liberty. -

The East India bill had been made the specious pretext of the dissolution: it was represented as a violent attack upon the franchises of the people, an invasion of the royal prerogative, and a medium through which the late ministers intended to have secured to themselves a power paramount to every power in the kingdom. In defence of that bill, he said, that it did not appear reasonable, that the proprietors of East India stock should in future retain in their hands a power which they had so grossly abused; by which they had plundered and rendered miserable many millions of persons, who were under the pro-

tection of this nation: a power which had enabled them to enter into the most unjust and impolitic wars, the consequence of which brought very heavy expence upon this kingdom. As to the invasion of the royal prerogative, he was surprized to hear that brought as a charge laid at the door of the East India bill: the power of making war, and of carrying it on where and in what manner he pleased, was certainly one of the greatest prerogatives of the crown; and yet the late house of commons not only addressed the king not to carry on the war on the continent of America, but went so far even as to vote that man an enemy to his country, who should advise the carrying it on, or who should assist in it; so that though Sir Henry Clinton, for instance, was bound by the mutiny act to obey the king's orders, and was even liable to be shot if he should refuse to obey them, still the resolutions of the house of commons should attach upon him, and suspend the whole system of military subordination; and yet that resolution had been supported by the warmest friends of the present minister, and by himself; and no one ever thought of making it a ground for the dissolution of the parliament.

As to the patronage of the East India company, which it was said ministers intended to make the means of rendering themselves paramount to the crown, he observed, that those who were at this moment in full possession of that patronage (the company) were very far from being independent of the crown, so far from being paramount to it; and he could assure the house on his conscience, and on his honour, that the persons who were to have been

at

at the head of the company's affairs, had been busied in devising means by which they might have put it most effectually out of their own power to derive any emolument or parliamentary support from their situation. But had his right honourable friend's bill been as bad as some people represented it to be, still he would maintain that the king could not, constitutionally speaking, assign the existence of such a bill, as the reason for his dissolving the parliament: for, in the first place, he ought not to have known that such a bill was in existence; and, in the next, the house had a right to entertain whatever bill it pleased, even if it were possible that it could be treasonable; or, if it were even for lopping off a whole branch of the prerogative. A bill of exclusion had been entertained by the parliament: and if the day should come, when either a member of the house, or the whole house, should be made responsible for a part taken in any bill, on that day would the liberties of England expire.

He then produced a representation to be presented to his majesty, which consisted of many sheets of paper, folded like a lawyer's brief, and set the house into a fit of laughter. He observed, that he meant his motion as an epitaph on his departed friend, the last parliament: that he had on some occasions written \* long epitaphs to the memory of those that he honoured and respected; and on the present occasion he chose to follow the corpse to the sepulchre, and go through the ceremony of saying, "ashes to ashes, and dust to dust," in sure and certain hopes, through the merit of the good works of the last parliament, that it would have a glorious and joyful resurrection, and become immortal.

No reply was made to this speech; but as soon as the remonstrance was read, and the question put by the speaker, there was a loud cry of No! and the motion was accordingly declared to have passed in the negative †.

On

\* Probably alluding to an epitaph, said to be written by him, on the Earl of Chatham.

† As the great importance of the subject of this proposed address, and the light which it throws upon matters that do not seem to have been in general well understood, would render its omission inexcusable, we have thought it advisable to insert it as a note, in order not to interrupt the course of our narrative.—After some general expressions of duty and respect to his majesty, it represents, that, in the speech from the throne, his ministers have thought proper to use a language of a very alarming import, unauthorized by the practice of good times, and irreconcilable to the principles of this government. That it is the privilege and duty of this house to guard the constitution from all infringement on the part of ministers; and, whenever the occasion requires it, to warn them against any abuse of the authorities committed to them; but it is very lately ‡, that, in a manner not more unseemly than irregular and preposterous, ministers have thought proper, by admonition from the throne, implying distrust and reproach, to convey the expectations of the people to us, their sole representatives; and have presumed to caution us, the natural guardians of the constitution, against any infringement of it on our parts.

‡ See king's speech, Dec. 5, 1782, and May 19, 1784.

[ K ] †

This



On the 21st of June, the chancellor of the exchequer moved several resolutions, as the foundation of the act, since known by the name of

This dangerous innovation we, his faithful commons, think it our duty to mark; and as these admonitions from the throne, by their frequent repetition, seem intended to lead gradually to the establishment of an usage, we hold ourselves bound thus solemnly to protest against them.

This house will be, as it ever ought to be, anxiously attentive to the inclinations and interests of its constituents: nor do we desire to straiten any of the avenues to the throne, or to either house of parliament. But the ancient order, in which the rights of the people have been exercised, is not a restriction of these rights. It is a method providently framed in favour of those privileges, which it preserves and enforces by keeping in that course which has been found the most effectual for answering their ends. His majesty may receive the opinions and wishes of individuals under their signatures, and of bodies corporate under their seals, as expressing their own particular sense: and he may grant such redress as the legal powers of the crown enables the crown to afford. This, and the other house of parliament, may also receive the wishes of such corporations and individuals by petition. The collective sense of his people his majesty is to receive from his commons in parliament assembled. It would destroy the whole spirit of the constitution, if his commons were to receive that sense from the ministers of the crown, or to admit them to be a proper or a regular channel for conveying it.

That the ministers in the said speech declare, "his majesty has a just and confident reliance, that we (his faithful commons) are animated with the same sentiments of loyalty, and the same attachment to our excellent constitution, which he had the happiness to see so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom."

To represent, that his faithful commons have never failed in loyalty to his majesty. It is new to them to be reminded of it. It is unnecessary and invidious to press it upon them by any example. This recommendation of loyalty, after his majesty has sat for so many years, with the full support of all descriptions of his subjects, on the throne of this kingdom, at a time of profound peace, and without any pretence of the existence or apprehension of war or conspiracy, becomes in itself a source of no small jealousy to his faithful commons; as many circumstances lead us to apprehend that therein the ministers have reference to some other measures and principles of loyalty, and to some other ideas of the constitution, than the laws require, or the practice of parliament will admit.

No regular communication of the proofs of loyalty and attachment to the constitution, alluded to in the speech from the throne, have been laid before this house, in order to enable us to judge of the nature, tendency, or occasion of them, or in what particular acts they were displayed; but if we are to suppose the manifestations of loyalty (which are held out to us as an example for imitation) consist in certain addresses delivered to his majesty, promising support to his majesty in the exercise of his prerogative, and thanking his majesty for removing certain of his ministers, on account of the votes they have given upon bills depending in parliament,—if this be the example of loyalty alluded to in the speech from the throne, then we must beg leave to express our serious concern for the impression which has been made on any of our fellow-subjects by misrepresentations, which have seduced them into a seeming approbation of proceedings subversive of their own freedom. We conceive, that the opinions delivered in these papers were not well considered; nor were the parties duly informed of the nature of the matters on which they were called to determine, nor of those proceedings of parliament which they were led to censure.

We



of the *Commutation Act*. He stated the country had of late increased to the house, that the illicit trade of so alarming a height, as to endanger almost

We shall act more advisedly.—The loyalty we shall manifest will not be the same with theirs; but, we trust, it will be equally sincere, and more enlightened. It is no slight authority which shall persuade us (by receiving as proofs of loyalty the mistaken principles lightly taken up in these addresses) obliquely to criminate, with the heavy and ungrounded charge of disloyalty and disaffection, an uncorrupt, independent, and reforming parliament. Above all, we shall take care that none of the rights and privileges, always claimed, and since the accession of his majesty's illustrious family constantly exercised by this house (and which we hold and exercise in trust for the commons of Great Britain, and for their benefit) shall be constructively surrendered, or even weakened and impaired, under ambiguous phrases, and implications of censure on the late parliamentary proceedings. If these claims are not well-founded, they ought to be honestly abandoned; if they are just, they ought to be steadily and resolutely maintained.

Of his majesty's own gracious disposition towards the true principles of our free constitution, his faithful commons never did, or could entertain a doubt: but we humbly beg leave to express to his majesty our uneasiness concerning other new and unusual expressions of his ministers, declaratory of a resolution "to support, in their *just balance*, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature."

It were desirable that all hazardous theories concerning a balance of rights and privileges (a mode of expression wholly foreign to parliamentary usage) might have been forborne. His majesty's faithful commons are well instructed in their own rights and privileges, which they are determined to maintain on the footing upon which they were handed down from their ancestors; they are not unacquainted with the rights and privileges of the house of peers; and they know and respect the lawful prerogatives of the crown: but they do not think it safe to admit any thing concerning the existence of a balance of those rights, privileges, and prerogatives; nor are they able to discern to what object ministers would apply their fiction of balance; nor what they would consider as a just one. These unauthorized doctrines have a tendency to stir improper discussions; and to lead to mischievous innovations in the constitution.

That his faithful commons most humbly recommend, instead of the inconsiderate speculations of unexperienced men, that on all occasions, resort should be had to the happy practice of parliament, and to those solid maxims of government which have prevailed since the accession of his majesty's illustrious family, as furnishing the only safe principles on which the crown and parliament can proceed.

We think it the more necessary to be cautious on this head, as, in the last parliament, the present ministers had thought proper to countenance, if not to suggest, an attack upon the most clear and undoubted rights and privileges of this House\*.

Fearing, from these extraordinary admonitions, and from the new doctrines, which seem to have dictated several unusual expressions, that his majesty has been abused by false representations of the late proceedings in parliament, we think it our duty respectfully to inform his majesty, that no attempt whatever has been made against his lawful prerogatives, or against the rights and privileges of the

\* Resolutions relative to the acceptance of India Bills.

almost the very existence of several branches of the revenue, and more particularly that of tea. It had appeared before the committee on smuggling,

peers, by the late house of commons, in any of their addresses, votes, or resolutions: neither do we know of any proceeding by bill, in which it was proposed to abridge the extent of his royal prerogative: but, if such provision had existed in any bill, we protest, and we declare, against all speeches, acts, or addresses, from any persons whatsoever, which have a tendency to consider such bills, or the persons concerned in them, as just objects of any kind of censure and punishment from the throne. Necessary reformatious may hereafter require, as they have frequently done in former times, limitations and abridgments, and in some cases an entire extinction of some branch of prerogative. If bills should be improper in the form in which they appear in the house where they originate, they are liable, by the wisdom of this constitution, to be corrected, and even to be totally set aside, elsewhere. This is the known, the legal, and the safe remedy: but whatever, by the manifestation of the royal displeasure, tends to intimidate individual members from proposing, or this house from receiving, debating, and passing bills; tends to prevent even the beginning of every reformation in the state; and utterly destroys the deliberative capacity of parliament. We therefore claim, demand, and insist upon it, as our undoubted right, that no persons shall be deemed proper objects of animadversion by the crown, in any mode whatever, for the votes which they give, or the propositions which they make, in parliament.

We humbly conceive, that besides its share of the legislative power, and its right of impeachment, that, by the law and usage of parliament, this house has other powers and capacities, which it is bound to maintain. This house is assured, that our humble advice on the exercise of prerogative will be heard with the same attention with which it has ever been regarded; and that it will be followed by the same effects which it has ever produced, during the happy and glorious reigns of his majesty's royal progenitors; not doubting but that, in all those points, we shall be considered as a council of wisdom and weight to advise, and not merely as an accuser of competence to criminate\*. This house claims both capacities; and we trust that we shall be left to our free discretion which of them we shall employ as best calculated for his majesty's, and the national service.—Whenever we shall see it expedient to offer our advice concerning his majesty's servants, who are those of the public, we confidently hope, that the personal favour of any minister, or any set of ministers, will not be more dear to his majesty, than the credit and character of an house of commons. It is an experiment full of peril, to put the representative wisdom and justice of his majesty's people in the wrong; it is a crooked and desperate design, leading to mischief, the extent of which no human wisdom can foresee, to attempt to form a prerogative party in the nation, to be resorted to as occasion shall require, in derogation from the authority of the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled: it is a contrivance full of danger, for ministers to set up the representative and constituent bodies of the commons of this kingdom, as two separate and distinct powers, formed to counterpoise each other, leaving the preference in the hands of secret advisers of the crown. In such a situation of things, these advisers, taking advantage of the differences which may accidentally arise, or may purposely be fomented between them, will have it in their choice to resort to one or the other, as may best suit the purposes of their sinister ambition. By exciting an emulation and contest be-

\* "I observe at the same time, that there is *no charge or complaint* suggested against my present ministers."—*The king's answer*, 25th February, 1784, to the address of the house of commons.

## HISTORY OF EUROPE. [155]

smuggling, that only 5,500,000 lb. the East India company, whereas  
weight of tea was sold annually by the annual consumption of the kingdom

tween the representative and the constituent bodies, as parties contending for credit and influence at the throne, sacrifices will be made by both; and the whole can end in nothing else than the destruction of the dearest rights and liberties of the nation. If there must be another mode of conveying the collective sense of the people to the throne than that by the house of commons, it ought to be fixed and defined, and its authority ought to be settled: it ought not to exist in so precarious and dependent a state, as that ministers should have it in their power, at their own mere pleasure, to acknowledge it with respect, or to reject it with scorn.

It is the undoubted prerogative of the crown to dissolve parliament; but we beg leave to lay before his majesty, that it is, of all the trusts vested in his majesty, the most critical and delicate, and that in which this house has the most reason to require, not only the good faith, but the favour of the crown. His commons are not always upon a par with his ministers in an application to popular judgment: it is not in the power of the members of this house to go to their election at the moment the most favourable for them. It is in the power of the crown to choose a time for their dissolution whilst great and arduous matters of state and legislation are depending, which may be easily misunderstood, and which cannot be fully explained before that misunderstanding may prove fatal to the honour that belongs, and to the consideration that is due, to members of parliament.

With his majesty is the gift of all the rewards, the honours, distinctions, favour, and graces of the state; with his majesty is the mitigation of all the rigours of the law; and we rejoice to see the crown possessed of trusts calculated to obtain good-will, and charged with duties which are popular and pleasing. Our trusts are of a different kind. Our duties are harsh and invidious in their nature; and justice and safety is all we can expect in the exercise of them. We are to offer salutary, which is not always pleasing, counsel: we are to enquire and to accuse: and the objects of our enquiry and charge will be for the most part persons of wealth, power, and extensive connections: we are to make rigid laws for the preservation of revenue, which of necessity more or less confine some action, or restrain some function, which before was free: what is the most critical and invidious of all, the whole body of the public impositions originate from us, and the hand of the house of commons is seen and felt in every burthen that presses on the people. Whilst, ultimately, we are serving them, and in the first instance whilst we are serving his majesty, it will be hard, indeed, if we should see a house of commons the victim of its zeal and fidelity, sacrificed by his ministers to those very popular discontents which shall be excited by our dutiful endeavours for the security and greatness of his throne. No other consequence can result from such an example, but that, in future, the house of commons, consulting its safety at the expence of its duties, and suffering the whole energy of the state to be relaxed, will shrink from every service, which, however necessary, is of a great and arduous nature; or that, willing to provide for the public necessities, and, at the same time, to secure the means of performing that task, they will exchange independence for protection, and will court a subservient existence through the favour of those ministers of state, or those secret advisers, who ought themselves to stand in awe of the commons of this realm.

An house of commons, respected by his ministers, is essential to his majesty's service: it is fit that they should yield to parliament, and not that parliament should be new modelled until it is fitted to their purposes. If our authority is only to be held up when we coincide in opinion with his majesty's advisers, but is to be set at nought the moment it differs from them, the house of commons will sink



dom was supposed, from good authority, to exceed twelve millions \*, so that the illicit trade in this article was more than double the legal.

\* The whole quantity of tea imported from China is about nineteen millions of pounds, of which it is conjectured that not more than seven is consumed in the other countries of Europe.

The

sink into a mere appendage of administration, and will lose that independent character which, inseparably connecting the honour and reputation with the acts of this house, enables us to afford a real, effective, and substantial support to his government. It is the deference shewn to our opinion, when we dissent from the servants of the crown, which alone can give authority to the proceedings of this house, when it concurs with their measures.

That authority once lost, the credit of his majesty's crown will be impaired in the eyes of all nations. Foreign powers, who may yet wish to revive a friendly intercourse with this nation, will look in vain for that hold which gave a connection with Great Britain the preference to an alliance with any other state. An house of commons, of which ministers were known to stand in awe, where every thing was necessarily discussed, on principles fit to be openly and publicly avowed, and which could not be retracted or varied without danger, furnished a ground of confidence in the public faith, which the engagement of no state dependent on the fluctuation of personal favour, and private advice, can ever pretend to. If faith with the house of commons, the grand security for the national faith itself, can be broken with impunity, a wound is given to the political importance of Great Britain, which will not easily be healed.

That there was a great variance between the late house of commons and certain persons, whom his majesty has been advised to make and continue as ministers, in defiance of the advice of that house, is notorious to the world. That house did not confide in those ministers; and they withheld their confidence from them for reasons for which posterity will honour and respect the names of those who composed that house of commons, distinguished for its independence. They could not confide in persons who have shewn a disposition to dark and dangerous intrigues. By these intrigues they have weakened, if not destroyed, the clear assurance which his majesty's people, and which all nations ought to have, of what are, and what are not, the real acts of his government.

If it should be seen that his ministers may continue in their offices, without any signification to them of his majesty's displeasure at any of their measures, whilst persons considerable for their rank, and known to have had access to his majesty's sacred person, can with impunity abuse that advantage, and employ his majesty's name to disavow and counteract the proceedings of his official servants, nothing but distrust, discord, debility, contempt of all authority, and general confusion, can prevail in his government.

This we lay before his majesty with humility and concern, as the inevitable effect of a spirit of intrigue in his executive government; an evil which we have but too much reason to be persuaded exists and increases. During the course of the last session it broke out in a manner the most alarming. This evil was infinitely aggravated by the unauthorized, but not disavowed use which has been made of his majesty's name, for the purpose of the most unconstitutional, corrupt, and dishonourable influence on the minds of the members of parliament, that ever was practised in this kingdom. No attention, even to the exterior decorum, in the practice of corruption, and intimidation employed on peers, was observed: several peers were obliged under menaces to retract their declarations, and to recall their proxies.

The



The only remedy he could devise on tea to so small an amount, as to  
for this evil was, to lower the duties make the profit on the illicit trade  
not

The commons have the deepest interest in the purity and integrity of the peerage. The peers dispose of all the property in the kingdom, in the last resort; and they dispose of it on their honour and not on their oaths, as all the members of every other tribunal in the kingdom must do; though in them the proceeding is not conclusive. We have, therefore, a right to demand that no application shall be made to peers of such a nature as may give room to call in question, much less to attain, our sole security for all that we possess. This corrupt proceeding appeared to the house of commons, who are the natural guardians of the purity of parliament, and of the purity of every branch of judicature, a most reprehensible and dangerous practice, tending to shake the very foundation of the authority of the house of peers;—and they branded it as such by their resolution.

The house had not sufficient evidence to enable them legally to punish this practice, but they had enough to caution them against all confidence in the authors and abettors of it. They performed their duty in humbly advising his majesty against the employment of such ministers; but his majesty was advised to keep those ministers, and to dissolve that parliament. The house, aware of the importance and urgency of its duty with regard to the British interests in India, which were and are in the utmost disorder, and in the utmost peril, most humbly requested his majesty not to dissolve the parliament during the course of their very critical proceedings on that subject. His majesty's gracious condescension to that request was conveyed in the royal faith, pledged to an house of parliament, and solemnly delivered from the throne. It was but a very few days after a committee had been, with the consent and concurrence of the chancellor of the exchequer, appointed for an enquiry into certain accounts delivered to the house by the court of directors, and then actually engaged in that enquiry, that the ministers, regardless of the assurance given from the crown to an house of commons, did dissolve that parliament. We most humbly submit to his majesty's consideration the consequences of this their breach of public faith.

Whilst the members of the house of commons, under that security, were engaged in his majesty's and the national business, endeavours were industriously used to calumniate those whom it was found impracticable to corrupt. The reputation of the members, and the reputation of the house itself, was undermined in every part of the kingdom.

In the speech from the throne relative to India, we are cautioned by the ministers, "not to lose sight of the effect any measure may have on the constitution of our country." We are apprehensive that a calumnious report spread abroad of an attack upon his majesty's prerogative by the late house of commons, may have made an impression on his royal mind, and have given occasion to this unusual admonition to the present. This attack is charged to have been made in the late parliament, by a bill which passed the house of commons in the late session of that parliament, for the regulation of the affairs, for the preservation of the commerce, and for the amendment of the government of this nation, in the East Indies.

That his majesty and his people may have an opportunity of entering into the ground of this injurious charge, we beg leave humbly to acquaint his majesty, that, far from having made any infringement whatsoever on any part of his royal prerogative, that bill did, for a limited time, give to his majesty certain powers never before possessed by the crown; and for this his present ministers (who, rather than fall short in the number of their calumnies, employ some that are contradictory) have slandered this house, as aiming at the extension of an unconstitutional

not adequate to the risk. It was price of freight and insurance to the well known, that in this trade the shore was about 25 per cent. and the

unconstitutional influence in his majesty's crown. This pretended attempt to increase the influence of the crown, they were weak enough to endeavour to persuade his majesty's people was amongst the causes which excited his majesty's resentment against his late ministers.

Further, to remove the impressions of this calumny concerning an attempt in the house of commons against his prerogative, it is proper to inform his majesty, that the territorial possessions in the East Indies never have been declared, by any public judgment, act, or instrument, or any resolution of parliament whatsoever, to be the subject-matter of his majesty's prerogative; nor have they ever been understood as belonging to his ordinary administration, or to be annexed or united to his crown; but that they are acquisitions of a new and peculiar description, unknown to the ancient executive constitution of this country.

From time to time, therefore, parliament provided for their government according to its discretion, and to its opinion of what was required by the public necessities. We do not know that his majesty was entitled, by prerogative, to exercise any act of authority whatsoever in the company's affairs, or that in effect such authority has ever been exercised. His majesty's patronage was not taken away by that bill; because it is notorious that his majesty never originally had the appointment of a single officer, civil or military, in the company's establishment in India; nor has the least degree of patronage ever been acquired to the crown in any other manner or measure, than as the power was thought expedient to be granted by act of parliament; that is, by the very same authority by which the offices were disposed of and regulated in the bill, which his majesty's servants have falsely and injuriously represented as infringing upon the prerogative of the crown.

Before the year 1773 the whole administration of India, and the whole patronage to office there, was in the hands of the East India company. The East India company is not a branch of his majesty's prerogative administration, nor does that body exercise any species of authority under it, nor indeed from any British title, that does not derive all its legal validity from acts of parliament.

When a claim was asserted to the India territorial possessions in the occupation of the company, these possessions were not claimed as parcel of his majesty's patrimonial estate, or as a fruit of the ancient inheritance of his crown. They were claimed for the public. And when agreements were made with the East India company concerning any composition for the holding, or any participation of the profits of those territories, the agreement was made with the public, and the preambles of the several acts have uniformly so stated it. These agreements were not made (even nominally) with his majesty, but with parliament; and the bills making and establishing such agreements always originated in this house, which appropriated the money to await the disposition of parliament, without the ceremony of previous consent from the crown even so much as suggested by any of his ministers; which previous consent is an observance of decorum, not indeed of strict right, but generally paid when a new appropriation takes place in any part of his majesty's prerogative revenues.

In pursuance of a right thus uniformly recognized, and uniformly acted on, when parliament undertook the reformation of the East India company in 1773, a commission was appointed as the commission in the late bill was appointed; and it was made to continue for a term of years, as the commission in the late bill was to continue; all the commissioners were named in parliament, as in the late bill they were named. As they received, so they held their offices, wholly independent

the insurance on the inland carriage per cent. The duty on tea, as it about 10 per cent. more, in all 35 then stood, was about 50 per cent.; so that

independent of the crown; they held them for a fixed term; they were not removeable by an address of either house, or even of both houses of parliament, a precaution observed in the late bill, relative to the commissioners proposed therein; nor were they bound by the strict rules of proceeding which regulated and restrained the late commissioners against all possible abuse of a power which could not fail of being diligently and zealously watched by the ministers of the crown, and the proprietors of the stock, as well as by parliament. Their proceedings were, in that bill, directed to be of such a nature as easily to subject them to the strictest revision of both, in case of any malversation.

In the year 1780, an act of parliament again made provision for the government of those territories for another four years, without any sort of reference to prerogative; nor was the least objection taken at the second, more than at the first of those periods, as if an infringement had been made upon the rights of the crown; yet his majesty's ministers have thought fit to represent the late commission as an entire innovation on the constitution, and the setting up a new order and estate in the nation, tending to the subversion of the monarchy itself.

If the government of the East Indies, other than by his majesty's prerogative, be, in effect, a fourth order in the commonwealth, this order has long existed; because the East India company has for many years enjoyed it in the fullest extent, and does at this day enjoy the whole administration of those provinces, and the patronage to offices throughout that great empire, except as it is controuled by act of parliament.

It was the ill-condition, and ill-administration of the company's affairs, which induced this house (merely as a temporary establishment) to vest the same powers which the company did before possess, (and no other) for a limited time, and under very strict directions, in proper hands, until they could be restored, or further provision made concerning them. It was therefore no creation whatever of a new power, but the removal of an old power, long since created, and then existing, from the management of those persons who had manifestly and dangerously abused their trust. This house, which well knows the parliamentary origin of all the company's powers and privileges, and is not ignorant or negligent of the authority which may vest those powers and privileges in others, if justice and the public safety so require, is conscious to itself, that it no more creates a new order in the state, by making occasional trustees for the direction of the company, than it originally did in giving a much more permanent trust to the directors, or to the general court of that body. The monopoly of the East India company was a derogation from the general freedom of trade belonging to his majesty's people. The powers of government, and of peace and war, are parts of prerogative of the highest order. Of our competence to restrain the rights of all his subjects by act of parliament, and to vest those high and eminent prerogatives even in a particular company of merchants, there has been no question. We beg leave most humbly to claim as our right, and as a right which this house has always used, to frame such bills, for the regulation of that commerce, and of the territories held by the East India company, and every thing relating to them, as to our discretion shall seem fit: and we assert and maintain, that therein we follow, and do not innovate on the constitution.

That his majesty's ministers, misled by their ambition, have endeavoured, if possible, to form a faction in the country against the popular part of the constitution; and have therefore thought proper to add to their slanderous accusation against a house of parliament, relative to his majesty's prerogative, another of a different



that the smuggler had an advantage as the voyage from England to over the fair dealer of 15 per cent. the continent might be easily repeated

different nature, calculated for the purpose of raising fears and jealousies among the corporate bodies of the kingdom, and of persuading uninformed persons belonging to those corporations to look to, and to make addresses to them as protectors of their rights, under their several charters, from the designs which they, without any ground, charged the then house of commons to have formed against charters in general. For this purpose they have not scrupled to assert, that the exertion of his majesty's prerogative in the late precipitate change in his administration, and the dissolution of the late parliament, were measures adopted in order to rescue the people and their rights out of the hands of the house of commons, their representatives.

We trust that his majesty's subjects are not yet so far deluded as to believe that the charters, or that any other of their local or general privileges, can have a solid security in any place but where that security has always been looked for, and always found, in the house of commons. Miserable and precarious indeed would be the state of their franchises, if they were to find no defence but from that quarter from whence they have always been attacked. But the late house of commons, in passing that bill, made no attack upon any powers or privileges, except such as an house of commons has frequently attacked, and will attack (and they trust, in the end, with their wonted success) that is, upon those which are corruptly and oppressively administered; and this house do faithfully assure his majesty, that we will correct, and, if necessary for the purpose, as far as in us lies, will wholly destroy every species of power and authority exercised by British subjects to the oppression, wrong, and detriment of the people, and to the impoverishment and desolation of the countries subject to it.

The propagators of the calumnies against that house of parliament have been indefatigable in exaggerating the supposed injury done to the East India company by the suspension of the authorities which they have, in every instance, abused; as if power had been wrested, by wrong and violence, from just and prudent hands; but they have, with equal care, concealed the weighty grounds and reasons on which that house had adopted the most moderate of all possible expedients for rescuing the natives of India from oppression, and for saving the interests of the real and honest proprietors of their stock, as well as that great national, commercial concern, from imminent ruin.

The ministers aforesaid have also caused it to be reported, that the house of commons have confiscated the property of the East India company. It is the reverse of truth. The whole management was a trust for the proprietors, under their own inspection (and it was so provided for in the bill) and under the inspection of parliament. That bill, so far from confiscating the company's property, was the only one which, for several years past, did not, in some shape or other, affect their property, or restrain them in the disposition of it.

It is proper that his majesty and all his people should be informed, that the house of commons have proceeded, with regard to the East India company, with a degree of care, circumspection, and deliberation, which has not been equalled in the history of parliamentary proceedings. For sixteen years the state and condition of that body has never been wholly out of their view: in the year 1767 the house took those objects into consideration, in a committee of the whole house: the business was pursued in the following year: in the year 1772, two committees were appointed for the same purpose, which examined into their affairs with much diligence, and made very ample reports: in the year 1773, the proceedings were carried to an act of parliament, which proved ineffectual to its purpose; the

oppressions



peated four or five times in the year :  
he therefore proposed to reduce the  
duty on tea to 12*l.* 10*s.* per cent.

As this regulation would cause a  
deficiency in the revenue of about  
600,000*l.* per annum, he proposed  
to

oppressions and abuses in India having since rather increased than diminished, on account of the greatness of the temptations and convenience of the opportunities, which got the better of the legislative provisions calculated against ill practices then in their beginnings : insomuch that, in 1781, two committees were again instituted, who have made seventeen reports. It was upon the most minute, exact, and laborious collection and discussion of facts, that the late house of commons proceeded in the reform which they attempted in the administration of India, but which has been frustrated by ways and means the most dishonourable to his majesty's government, and the most pernicious to the constitution of this kingdom. His majesty was so sensible of the disorders in the company's administration, that the consideration of that subject was no less than six times recommended to this house in speeches from the throne.

The result of the parliamentary enquiries has been, that the East India company was found totally corrupted, and totally perverted from the purposes of its institution, whether political or commercial ; that the powers of war and peace given by the charter had been abused, by kindling hostilities in every quarter for the purposes of rapine ; that almost all the treaties of peace they have made, have only given cause to so many breaches of public faith ; that countries once the most flourishing are reduced to a state of indigence, decay, and depopulation, to the diminution of our strength, and to the infinite dishonour of our national character ; that the laws of this kingdom are notoriously, and almost in every instance, despised ; that the servants of the company, by the purchase of qualifications to vote in the general court, and, at length, by getting the company itself deeply in their debt, have obtained the entire and absolute mastery in the body, by which they ought to have been ruled and coerced. Thus their malversations in office are supported instead of being checked by the company. The whole of the affairs of that body are reduced to a most perilous situation ; and many millions of innocent and deserving men who are under the protection of this nation, and who ought to be protected by it, are oppressed by a most despotic and rapacious tyranny. The company and their servants having strengthened themselves by this confederacy, have set at defiance the authority and admonitions of this house employed to reform them ; and when this house had selected certain principal delinquents, whom they declared it the duty of the company to recall, the company held out its legal privileges against all reformation ; positively refused to recall them ; and supported those who had fallen under the just censure of this house, with new and stronger marks of countenance and approbation.

The late house discovering the reversed situation of the company, by which the nominal servants are really the masters, and the offenders are become their own judges, thought fit to examine into the state of their commerce ; and they have also discovered that their commercial affairs are in the greatest disorder ; that their debts have accumulated beyond any present or obvious future means of payment, at least under the actual administration of their affairs ; that this condition of the East India company has begun to affect the sinking fund itself, on which the public credit of the kingdom rests, a million and upwards being due to the customs, which that house of commons, whose intentions towards the company have been so grossly misrepresented, were indulgent enough to respite. And thus, instead of confiscating their property, the company received without interest (which in such a case had been before charged) the use of a very large sum of the public money. The revenues are under the peculiar care of this house, not only as the

to make good the same by an additional window tax. This tax, he said, would not be felt as an additional burthen, but ought to be considered as a commutation, and would in fact prove favourable to the subject:

revenues originate from us, but as, on every failure of the funds set apart for support of the national credit, or to provide for the national strength and safety, the task of supplying every deficiency falls upon his majesty's faithful commons, this house must, in effect, tax the people. The house therefore, at every moment, incurs the hazard of becoming obnoxious to its constituents.

The enemies of the late house of commons resolved, if possible, to bring on that event. They therefore endeavoured to misrepresent the provident means adopted by the house of commons for keeping off this invidious necessity, as an attack on the rights of the East India company; for they well knew, that on the one hand if, for want of proper regulation and relief, the company should become insolvent, or even stop payment, the national credit and commerce would sustain an heavy blow; and that calamity would be justly imputed to parliament, which after such long enquiries, and such frequent admonitions from his majesty, had neglected so essential and so urgent an article of their duty: on the other hand they knew, that, wholly corrupted as the company is, nothing effectual could be done to preserve that interest from ruin, without taking for a time the national objects of their trust out of their hands; and then a cry would be industriously raised against the house of commons, as depriving British subjects of their legal privileges. The restraint, being plain and simple, must be easily understood by those who would be brought with great difficulty to comprehend the intricate detail of matters of fact, which rendered this suspension of the administration of India absolutely necessary on motives of justice, of policy, of public honour, and public safety.

The house of commons had not been able to devise a method, by which the redress of grievances could be effected through the authors of those grievances; nor could they imagine how corruptions could be purified by the corruptors and the corrupted; nor do we now conceive, how any reformation can proceed from the known abettors and supporters of the persons who have been guilty of the misdemeanors which parliament has reprobated, and who for their own ill purposes have given countenance to a false and delusive state of the company's affairs, fabricated to mislead parliament, and to impose upon the nation.

Your commons feel, with a just resentment, the inadequate estimate which your ministers have formed of the importance of this great concern. They call on us to act upon the principles of those who have not enquired into the subject; and to condemn those who, with the most laudable diligence, have examined and scrutinized every part of it. The deliberations of parliament have been broken; the season of the year is unfavourable; many of us are new members, who must be wholly unacquainted with the subject, which lies remote from the ordinary course of general information.

We are cautioned against an infringement of the constitution; and it is impossible to know, what the secret advisers of the crown, who have driven out the late ministers for their conduct in parliament, and have dissolved the late parliament for a pretended attack upon prerogative, will consider as such an infringement. We are not furnished with a rule, the observance of which can make us safe from the resentment of the crown, even by an implicit obedience to the dictates of the ministers who have advised that speech: we know not how soon those ministers may be disavowed; and how soon the members of this house, for our very agreement with them may be considered as objects of his majesty's displeasure. Until by his majesty's goodness and wisdom the late example is completely done away, we are not free.

We

ject: a house, for instance, of nine windows, which would be rated at 10s. 6d. might be supposed to consume 7lb. of tea; the difference between the old duties on which, and the new duty proposed, might, at an average, amount to 1*l.* 5*s.* 10*d.* so that such a family would gain by the commutation 15*s.* 4*d.*

But the principal benefit he expected from this measure was the absolute ruin of the smuggling trade, which, he said, subsisted almost entirely on the profit of their teas. Another benefit would be, the timely and necessary relief it would afford the East India company. By this regulation they would find a vent for thirteen, instead of five millions of pounds of tea, and would be enabled to take twenty more large ships into their service.

The act met with a warm opposition in both houses of parliament. It was denied to have any claim to the principle of commutation—Tea, though an article of pretty general use, was still an article of luxury;

the admission of light into houses was indispensably necessary; the act therefore, in effect, compelled all persons, whether they drank tea or not, to pay a tax for it. The chief benefit from the measure would accrue to the Chinese, who, by the increasing consumption of tea, and demands for a higher-priced sort, would draw out of this country money to double the amount they had done before. The company might, indeed, derive considerable gains; but they must all come out of the pockets of the people, without any return; and one truth would be made very clear, that the trade of the company was not a matter of such infinite consequence to the revenues of the kingdom, since, without the intervention of their imports, we could raise the same sums upon our houses and windows at home.

But allowing the general principles of the bill to be unexceptionable, it was reprobated as a dangerous experiment. The duty on tea

We are well aware, in providing for the affairs of the East, what an adult strength of abuse, and of wealth and influence growing out of that abuse, his majesty's commons had, in the last parliament, and we still have, to struggle with. We are sensible that the influence of that wealth, in a much larger degree and measure than at any former period, may have penetrated into the very quarter from whence alone any real reformation can be expected.

If, therefore, in the arduous affairs recommended to us, our proceedings should be ill adapted, feeble, and ineffectual; if no delinquency should be prevented, and no delinquent should be called to account; if every person should be caressed, promoted, and raised in power, in proportion to the enormity of his offences; if no relief should be given to any of the natives unjustly dispossessed of their rights, jurisdictions, and properties; if no cruel and unjust exactions shall be forborne; if the source of no peculation, or oppressive gain should be cut off; if, by the omission of the opportunities that were in our hands, our Indian empire should fall into ruin irretrievable, and in its fall crush the credit, and overwhelm the revenues of this country, we stand acquitted to our honour, and to our conscience, who have reluctantly seen the weightiest interests of our country, at times the most critical to its dignity and safety, rendered the sport of the inconsiderate and unmeasured ambition of individuals, and by that means the wisdom of his majesty's government degraded in the public estimation, and the policy and character of this renowned nation rendered contemptible in the eyes of all Europe.



was one of the main pillars of the revenue; it was paid without a murmur, and by prudent regulations might be very greatly extended. It was also much doubted, whether it would produce the effects expected from it in the suppression of smuggling. The price of tea on the continent was  $7\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. cheaper than at the company's sales, and this, added to the  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. duty, it was contended, would be a sufficient compensation for all the risks run by the smuggler.

The public measures next brought forward by the minister, related to an object that required all the address and management he possessed. The first was a bill to enable the East India company to divide 8 per cent. interest on their capital. By the sudden dissolution of the late parliament, the committee to whom the examination of the state of the company's affairs had been referred, was prevented from making any progress in that business; and tho' the enquiry was resumed as early as possible in the present session, yet, before any report could be made, the house was reduced to the necessity, either of authorizing the company to make a dividend, without any information relative to their abilities so to do, or to endanger their credit, by refusing its consent. All the disgraceful and dangerous circumstances of this dilemma were strongly urged by the late ministers against their successors; and as the best and safest means of extricating the public out of the difficulty, it was proposed to make the dividend 6 per cent. instead of 8. It was admitted on all sides, that the affairs of the company were, at least, not in the most flourishing condition; and it was stated, not only as a

mockery, but as an act of real injustice to the public, that, while the company was applying to parliament for a considerable pecuniary relief, they should take care to divide amongst themselves as much as they had divided under the most favourable circumstances; and that they should not take upon themselves any part of the distresses occasioned by their own mismanagement, but lay all upon the public.

On the other side, the necessity of the case, and the probable grounds for supposing that the company might be indulged in a dividend of 8 per cent. without any detriment to the public, were chiefly insisted on. It was also urged in favour of the company, that their distresses did not arise from their own faults, but that they had partaken in the general calamity which, in consequence of the war, had involved the whole country.

The bill, as originally proposed, passed the house of commons without a division; and after a warm debate in the house of lords, passed, on a division of 28 to 9.

The second act was to allow the company a further respite of duties due to the Exchequer; to enable them to accept of bills beyond the amount prescribed by former acts of parliament; and to establish their future dividends.

These propositions gave rise to frequent debates. The partiality of the minister towards the India company was allowed to be highly and justly merited; and the proofs he gave them of his gratitude in the commutation act, the dividend act, and the present bill, kept pace with his sense of the obligation he owed them. But hitherto, it was observed, he had been discharging the



the debt out of other people's pockets, and it remained to be seen, in his bill for the better government of their affairs, whether he would be as ready to surrender to them his ministerial power, as he was to assist them with the public money.

As an amendment to the first object of the bill, it was proposed by Mr. Dempster, that the company should pay 5 per cent. for the money owing to the public; but the motion was negatived.

With respect to the authorizing the acceptance of bills, an objection was started by Mr. Fox, which, if it be allowed any weight, would be of the utmost consequence to the public. Parliament, he observed, having a superintending power over the company, and its consent being necessary to the acceptance of the bills in question, the public might well conclude that the resources of the company were equal to their payment of those bills, if parliament should authorize their acceptance, and might thereby be induced to take them as good security: as therefore parliament, which is also the guardian of the public interests, would be the cause why the money was advanced, so, in case of insolvency, it would be bound in equity to see that no one suffered from the effects of its partiality, negligence, or incapacity.

This doctrine, it was contended on the other side of the house, was totally inadmissible; and the case was stated in the following manner:—By the act of 1773 the public became entitled to a certain share in the company's profits, after a dividend of 8 per cent.; and, as a security for this share, the company were bound not to accept of

bills beyond a certain amount, until it was paid, without the consent of the commissioners of the treasury. When therefore parliament gives such consent, it amounts only to this, that the public consents to give up, for the present, the security it possessed for the payment of its share in the company's profits.

The extreme inconsistency between the third object of the bill and the first was handled with great severity. To support the first, it would be necessary to shew, that the affairs of the company were in so deplorable a state as to stand in need of every possible assistance. To justify the last, it was required to prove, that they were in so flourishing a condition as to afford an enormous dividend. The preference given by the minister to the company's interests over those of the public, weighed down and sinking under the burthen of taxes, was again reverted to; and the house was warned against the rapid strides with which the factions of the India company, after plundering and ravaging the East, were advancing to controul and domineer over the government and councils of this kingdom.

After several divisions, the bill passed both houses, and was followed by an act "for the better government of the affairs of the East India company," &c. This act, though framed upon the same model with that brought in by Mr. Pitt in the last parliament, yet differed from it considerably in several material points. The powers of the board of controul, which, in contrast to the plan of the late ministry, and in compliance with the temper of those times, was kept as subordinate as possible, were now

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greatly enlarged. In cases of urgency, which might not admit the delays of consultation, and in cases of secrecy, which might not admit of previous communication, they are enabled to issue and transmit their own orders to India, without their being subject to the revision of the court of directors. It also vests in the governor-general and council an absolute power over the other presidencies in all points relative to transactions with the country powers, and in all applications of the revenues and forces in time of war, with a power of suspension in case of disobedience.

The second part of the bill contains a variety of internal regulations respecting the affairs of India. The clauses relative to the debts of the Nabob of Arcot, to the disputes between him and the Rajah of Tanjore, and to the relief of dispossessed Zemindars, and other native landholders, were adopted from Mr. Fox's India bill, with some exceptions and limitations. Various restrictions are also laid upon the patronage of the directors, and retrenchments directed to be made in the company's establishments.

The third part of the bill relates to the punishment of Indian delinquency. All British subjects are made amenable to the courts of justice in England for all acts done in India. The receiving of presents is declared to be extortion, and disobedience of orders, and all corrupt bargains to be misdemeanors, and punishable as such. Power is given to the governors of the several settlements to seize all persons suspected of carrying on illicit correspondence, and, if necessary, to send them to England. Every company's servant is required, within two months

after his return to England, to deliver in upon oath to the court of exchequer, an inventory of his real and personal estates, and a copy thereof to the court of directors for the inspection of the proprietors; and, in case any complaint should be made thereupon by the board of controul, the court of directors, or any three proprietors possessing stock to the amount conjunctively of 10,000 l. the court of exchequer are required to examine the person complained of upon oath, and to imprison him until he shall have answered the interrogatories put to him to their satisfaction; and any neglect or concealment herein is punished by imprisonment, forfeiture of all his estates, both real and personal, and an incapacity of ever serving the company again.

Lastly; for the more speedy and effectual prosecution of persons charged with crimes committed in the East Indies, a new court of justice is appointed, consisting of three judges, appointed by the three courts, four peers, and six members of the house of commons: the four peers to be taken by lot out of a list of 26, which shall be chosen by ballot at the commencement of every session of parliament, and the six commoners out of a list of 40 members, chosen in the same manner; liberty being given to the party accused, and to the prosecutor, to challenge a certain number of the same. The act also directs, that all depositions of witnesses taken in India, and all writings received by the court of directors, and copies of those sent out by them, shall be received as legal evidence. The judgment of the court is made final, and to extend to fine and imprisonment, and

to declaring the party incapable of ever serving the company in any capacity whatever.

This bill met with a strenuous opposition in almost every stage of its progress through both houses. As the principle of the first part of the bill is the same with that brought in by Mr. Pitt in the late parliament, it is unnecessary for us to go over again the grounds on which it was opposed and defended. The extension of the power of the board of controul, a measure adopted for the purpose of giving greater vigour and efficacy to the whole system, was objected to as incongruous to the avowed principle of the bill, and insufficient for the purposes alledged to be aimed at by it. The enlarged powers conferred on the governor-general were also objected to as an inversion of the order of government, which requires that authority, exercised at a distance from the controuling power, and subject to almost insuperable temptations, should be as limited as possible. The bill was founded on these notorious facts—that the government of the company at home, in the hands of the directors, was weak and impolitic, and that the conduct of their servants abroad was disobedient, cruel, and rapacious; yet the bill confirmed the government in the hands of the former, and increased the powers of the latter. A board of controul was indeed instituted; but this confusion of all the essential powers of government, the nominal sovereignty of the court of directors, the arbitrary superintendence of the board of controul, and the despotic power conferred on the governor-general, seemed to be the most complete recipe for composing

a weak, inefficient, and corrupt government, that human invention could suggest.

In answer to these objections it was asserted, that the adjustment of these several powers had been regulated by a due attention to the nature of the object, to the rights of individuals, and to the safety of the constitution. That the whole plan was necessarily an experiment; but that it was evident, from the form of our own polity, that a mixed government did not imply one weak or inefficient. With respect to the great authority vested in the governor-general, it was defended as most suitable to the genius and prejudices of the country where it was to be exercised.

In the second part of the bill, it was remarked, that the clauses respecting disobedience of orders, the commencing of wars, and the succession to offices by seniority, were rendered nugatory by several exceptions and limitations. These exceptions were, on the other hand, defended as necessary precautions against circumstances and events in which it might be necessary to permit the exercise of a discretionary power. The inefficiency of the clause relative to the oppressed native landholders, the ruinous delay which would attend the mode of proceeding directed for their relief, and the abuses to which it was liable, were also strongly objected to; but the clause was adopted by the majority on the same grounds as the former.

The last part of the bill encountered a more vehement opposition, and the minister was called on, but in vain, to submit it to the free judgment of the house by making it a separate act. The trial by a



jury of peers has ever been considered in this kingdom as a right of so sacred a nature, that the slightest attempt to infringe upon it had hitherto never failed to occasion an universal alarm. But the institution of a new court of judicature was not the only innovation which the bill made upon the constitution. The obligation to swear to the amount of property, and the powers granted to the courts of enforcing interrogatories, tended to force persons to criminate themselves, and were modes of inquisitorial proceedings unknown to the subjects of this island. It was confidently denied, that there was any necessity for so alarming a departure from the established principles and practice of the constitution; and it was therefore presumed, that it could have been done with no other than a corrupt view, to draw the rich and powerful servants of the East India company into a dependance upon the crown for its protection.

Notwithstanding the weight of popular odium, which the minister was like'y to incur by this proceeding, he nevertheless persisted in supporting his measure. He declared his conviction, that the ordinary courts of justice were totally inadequate to the task of doing substantial justice upon Indian

delinquents, and that there were many crimes committed there for which the common law had provided no redress.—At the same time he did not conceive that the principle on which he proceeded was so totally unknown in the jurisprudence of this kingdom. It was recognized in the whole code of martial law. As to the influence of the crown, he trusted he had sufficiently guarded against any apprehensions, by the mode directed for the constitution of the new court of judicature.

The bill at length passed both houses, after frequent divisions, in which very large majorities followed the opinion of the minister.

On the 30th of June Mr. Pitt opened the national accounts for the present year, or what is generally termed the Budget.

After having recapitulated the supplies which had been granted by parliament, and the ways and means for raising them, he stated, that the ways and means fell just within 6,000,000 l. of the sum voted for the *supplies*; and this last sum he proposed to raise by a loan. The terms which he had come to with the subscribers were as follows; viz. for every £. 100 subscribed, the public would give

£. 100 3 per cents. valued at	—	£. 57 12 6
50 4 per cents. valued at	—	37 8 9
5 s. 6 d. by annuities, valued at		4 17 11½
Total	—	<u>99 19 2½</u>

Thus the sum to be paid by the public would be somewhat short of what would be lent: however this would be made up to the money-

lender by a *douceur* of lottery tickets, which would cost the public nothing: to a subscriber of £. 1,000 should be given six lottery tickets, and



and so on in proportion to the increased amount of each subscription.

With respect to the unfunded debt, which amounted to upwards of £.12,000,000 in navy bills, and £.1,000,000 in ordnance debentures, though he intended to fund only seven millions of this debt, still, as most of the navy bills actually bore interest, and as the interest on that part which he did not mean to fund this year, would amount to £.280,000, he proposed to lay on taxes \* this year for the interest of the whole, notwithstanding only half of it would be funded.

Agreeable to this calculation, the sum necessary for paying the interest on the loan, the part of the unfunded debt which he proposed to fund, and the four per cents. on that which he would leave unfunded till the next year, would amount to a little more than £.900,000; so that if the new taxes should produce the sums that he expected from them, there would be a surplus of somewhat more than £.30,000 in favour of the public.

The taxes which he produced, met in general but with little opposition, if we except that which proposed an additional duty on coals, and which was finally rejected, and some others substituted in its room.

He concluded with declaring, that he had studiously endeavoured to do what he held to be the indispensable duty of every person honoured with the high office he held; viz. to disguise nothing from the public that affected their real interest, but to bring every particular of that nature forward; and, how-

ever great the personal risque and inconvenience, however great the danger of incurring popular odium by proposing heavy burthens on the people might be, not to shrink from that painful part of duty, if such burthens were by the exigency of affairs required to be imposed.

The sessions closed with a motion brought forward by Mr. Dundas, for the restoration of the estates forfeited in Scotland in the rebellion of 1745.—As this measure had for its object the relief of individuals, whose unequivocal attachment and loyalty to his present majesty and his family could not be supposed, even in a less liberal and less enlightened age than the present, to be tainted or affected by the crimes of their ancestors, it met with the perfect approbation of the commons.—In the house of lords, however, it was opposed by the lord chancellor, both on the grounds of its impolicy and its partiality. It was impolitic, he said, as far as it rendered nugatory the settled maxim of the British constitution, that treason was a crime of so deep a dye, that nothing was adequate to its punishment but the total eradication of the person, the name, and the family, out of the society which he had attempted to hurt. This was the wisdom, he said, of former times. But if a more enlightened age chose to relax from the established severity, he thought it ought to be done with gravity and deliberation.

It was, he said, partial, because the estates forfeited in 1715, and which were forfeited upon the same grounds and principles as those in

\* For these taxes, and their computed amount respectively, see the Appendix to the Chronicle, page 304.

1745, were passed over in silence, whilst even a person who had forfeited in 1690 was included in the provision.—The bill nevertheless passed the lords, and received the royal assent.

The king, on the 20th Aug. 20th, of August, put an end 1784. to the session, by a speech from the throne; in which, after exprelling his approbation of their

proceedings, and his concern for the additional burthens which they had been obliged to lay upon the public, he adverted to the important objects, with respect to trade and commerce, yet to be provided for; and he trusted, that such regulations would be framed, upon a full investigation, as might be calculated to promote the wealth and prosperity of every part of the empire.

## C H A P. X.

*The second session of the parliament opened. The king's speech recommends the final adjustment of the commercial intercourse with Ireland, the further suppression of smuggling, the consideration of the reports of the commissioners of accounts, and the making regulations in different offices. Earl of Surrey's exceptions to the speech. The minister's answer. Lord North's animadversions on the mention which had been made of a parliamentary reform. Mr. Burke objects to the speech, on account of its taking no notice of India affairs, and proposes an amendment in the address. Minister replies to Lord North.—History of the celebrated Westminster election, which continued for upwards of six weeks, and was concluded only on the day previous to the return of the writ. High bailiff grants a scrutiny, which is protested against by Mr. Fox. Brought before parliament and often discussed. Arguments for and against the scrutiny. Mr. Fox's animated appeal, sarcastically attacking the minister. Mr. Pitt's reply, charging Mr. Fox with detestable conduct in politics. Various questions and divisions on the subject. The scrutiny at last quashed, and Lord Hood and Mr. Fox in consequence returned.—Provisions by Mr. Fox's India bill, for adjusting the Nabob of Arcot's debts; also by Mr. Pitt's. Court of directors pursue measures, in consequence of directions in the latter, which are superseded by the board of control. Earl of Carlisle's motion thereon—warmly debated, but negatived without a division. The same transaction agitated in the house of commons by Mr. Fox, and defended by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Smith, chairman of the company's, sentiments. Sir Thomas Rumbold's. Mr. Burke's full investigation of the subject. The motion negatived, 164 to 69. —Mr. Pitt's motion to amend the representation in parliament; particulars of his proposal. Not generally approved. Mr. Fox's objections. Arguments for and against the measure. Negatived.—General review of the national finances by the minister. Objections by the opposition. Contents of the budget.—Bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into abuses, and report observations for better conducting business, in the public offices, brought in by the minister. Objections thereto. Arguments in*

*its favour. Passes in the commons by a large majority. In the lords, receives very material amendments.—Mention of the steps taken to settle the commercial intercourse with Ireland. Close of the session.*

THE second session opened on the 25th day of January 1785. In the speech from the throne, the object particularly recommended to the attention of both houses, was the final adjustment of the *Commercial Intercourse* between Great Britain and Ireland. The success that had attended the measures taken last session, for the suppression of smuggling, was next mentioned, as an encouragement to apply, with continued assiduity, to that important object. And, finally, the reports of the commissioners of accounts, and such further regulations as might appear necessary in the different offices of the kingdom, were submitted as matters worthy of their early consideration.

The address, which, as usual, was an echo to the speech, passed in the house of lords without either comment or any sort of opposition. In the house of commons, the earl of Surrey made a few remarks, on what he looked upon as important deficiencies in the speech.

First, the form of expression, by which the annual estimates were mentioned, left the public altogether at a loss, whether any new burthens were to be imposed or not: and, in the next place, he was astonished that, among other affairs of importance, the reduction of the army had not been so much as glanced at. Such a matter was of the most essential consequence to this country, and therefore demanded the most serious attention of parliament.

With respect to his majesty's af-

surance of his hearty concurrence in every measure that could tend to secure the *true principles of the constitution*, he remarked, that expressions of so general a nature, coming from the throne, and unapplied to any particular object, required some explanation. He then sarcastically demanded, whether the rights of juries, which had lately suffered so violent an attack, was the matter alluded to? or whether the Westminster scrutiny, by which the rights of election had been violated, was the object to which the expression bore reference? or perhaps it might be the reform of the representation in parliament that was meant; and this, when he called to mind the opinions of the gentleman whom he concluded to be the framer of the speech, he could not but hope and believe to be the case; and he wished him to consider, that the spirit which had lately discovered itself both in Ireland and Scotland, as well as in many parts of England, made it necessary for the house, as well as the public, to know whether the question of a more equal representation was to be brought forward as a measure sanctioned by government.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose to answer the objections made by Lord Surrey. With regard to the first, whether there was to be a loan, and any new taxes? it was a point which he conceived that was not the proper day for discussing.—The language of his majesty to that house, on the subject of supply, was the language proper for his majesty  
to

to hold: he had told them, that he had ordered the estimates for the ensuing year to be laid before them, and that he confided in their liberality and zeal to grant the necessary supplies. In the address, they had promised to fulfil his majesty's expectations. This being the case, they must have the estimates before them, and know what the exigencies of the public services did require, before it would be possible for any man to say what quantum would be wanted.—The other matter pointed out by the noble lord, as a matter that ought to have been mentioned in the speech, viz. Whether there was to be any further reduction of the army? was a question which belonged to a separate and distinct discussion, which gentlemen well knew would be brought on at a future day, but certainly was not entitled to make any part of his majesty's speech from the throne.—With regard to the measure of a reform in the representation of the people in parliament, he was not of opinion that the most practicable mode of accomplishing that object, would have been to bring it explicitly forward in his majesty's speech. Great and wise men had entertained various conceptions of that important matter. He was willing to give it all the fair play to which the ardent desire of the people, its own momentous consequence, and his sincere inclination, entitled it to. On this business he laboured incessantly. It was that which of all others was the nearest his heart: but at this very early period of the session, to have stated it specifically, was impossible. Much was still to do. His ideas were not matured. It comprehended a great variety of considerations. It

related to the essentials and vitals of the constitution: it therefore required the most delicate attention. It was a path which he was determined to tread, but he knew with what tenderness and circumspection it became him to proceed. He should undoubtedly give sufficient previous intimation; and he must entreat and conjure every gentleman in the house to come on that day with a mind free from all prejudices, and give the subject that impartial, fair, and solid discussion, which its importance required.

Lord North declared himself a determined enemy to any alteration of the constitution in so delicate and important a point. Convinced as he was of the excellence of our constitution, he considered all attempts at innovation as highly dangerous to the very being of the constitution itself, and therefore he should uniformly oppose them. To talk of securing the true principles of the constitution by any innovation, appeared to him to be so direct a contradiction in terms, that he could by no means agree with the noble earl in the construction he wished to put on the words spoken from the throne.

He then adverted to Mr. Wyvill's circular letter on the subject, and particularly to that part of it which stated, that Mr. Pitt had promised to exert his whole power, as *a man and as a minister, honestly and boldly*, to carry a proposition of parliamentary reform. He asked, What was meant by the opposition of the word *minister* to the word *man*? He said, he presumed the meaning was, that the minister was to do something more than the man could do, and what that something was, he declared he was at a loss to imagine.

He



He asked also, What was meant by the words *honestly* and *boldly*? and enumerated the former efforts made by Mr. Pitt, to procure a parliamentary reform, in order to prove that a minister *could do no more* than a man: but by the introduction of the words *honestly* and *boldly*, it appeared, he said, as if a suspicion had been entertained, that the minister *would not do so much* as the man. He then reminded such gentlemen who had formerly voted against a reform, of the indelible disgrace they would infallibly entail on themselves, if they gave the minister that support which they had formerly refused to the man.

The total silence which the king's speech observed, relative to the affairs of India, called up Mr. Burke; who, after ridiculing the speech, on account of the contradictory meanings that had been put upon it, adverted to what he considered as an unpardonable omission therein. This silence (proceeded Mr. Burke) is indeed an alarming confession of that distress which it forbears to mention. But though the speech of the minister conveys no information, I have lately seen a king's speech, which was sufficiently explicit on the dreadful occasion: a king (alluding to Mr. Hastings) who rules even with more authority than the British monarch; who has told of distresses which were not before believed, and proved the falshood of those representations, on the faith of which the nation had been induced to grant the aids of last session. After dwelling for some time on the enormous degree of profusion and peculation prevalent in our government in the East Indies, he pledged himself, in the most solemn manner, to support his

assertions with proofs the most irrefragable; and concluded his speech, by moving an amendment to the address, to the following purport:

"Convinced, by fatal experience, that every diversion of the revenues of the East Indies, from the local establishments, or just appropriation, must ultimately tend to the ruin of that country, and to lay additional burthens upon this, your faithful commons beg leave to assure your majesty, that we will enquire minutely into the circumstances, to prevent peculation in future, and to punish the offenders, if they can possibly be discovered."

He said he would not press the house to a division upon this amendment, but content himself with putting it on the journals of the house.

The chancellor of the exchequer rose a second time to take notice of the manner in which Lord North had treated the words quoted from Mr. Wyvill's letter. The letter, he said, was not his, neither was he accountable for any particular phrases it contained: but it was to his mind very clear, from the words "as a minister and as a man," what the gentleman meant to convey; namely, that in any situation, public or private, in office, or out of office, he would give the proposition his full support. With respect to the words "boldly and honestly," upon which the noble lord had thrown so much sarcasm, he supposed the noble lord, from the experience of his own use of power when in office, was induced to think it an impossible thing for a minister to act boldly and honestly.

The question of the amendment was

was

was afterwards put, and negatived without a division; and the address passed *nem. con.*

The most prominent feature of the present session of parliament, whether we consider its real importance as a constitutional question, or the warmth and energy with which it was discussed, was the Westminster scrutiny.

At the late general election, Lord Hood, Mr. Fox, and Sir Cecil Wray, offered themselves as candidates to represent that city in parliament.

The first of these gentlemen was elected by a very large majority; the struggle betwixt the two last was long and obstinate: after continuing the contest for upwards of six weeks, it was finally concluded on the 17th day of May 1784, leaving a majority of 235 voters in favour of Mr. Fox. The high bailiff, at the requisition of Sir Cecil Wray, the unsuccessful candidate, granted a scrutiny into the poll which he had taken, on the day on which it closed, and which was the day previous to the return of his writ.

This mode of proceeding was on the spot formally protested against by Mr. Fox, and also by several of the electors\*.

Immediately on the meeting of the new parliament, the conduct of the high bailiff in granting the scrutiny, under the circumstances above-mentioned, was warmly taken up by the opposition, and as warmly defended by the minister and his friends.

After the subject had been debated, as well by counsel at the bar

of the house, as by the members themselves, in every shape, and as often as it could be brought before them, both by petitions from Mr. Fox and the electors, the proceeding of the high bailiff was justified; and it was resolved, by a very considerable majority, on a motion of Lord Mulgrave's, "That the high bailiff of Westminster do proceed in the scrutiny for the said city, with all practicable dispatch."

Agreeable to this resolution of the house, the high bailiff proceeded with the scrutiny during the remainder of the session, and during the recess. Not quite two parishes out of the seven, into which Westminster is divided, were finished, when the parliament met the second time, and yet the scrutiny had then continued for eight months. It was calculated (taking into consideration that one of the parishes already scrutinized was comparatively small) that the business already gone through was not more than an eighth of the whole. Of the votes on the side of Mr. Fox, seventy-one had been objected to in the first parish, and the objections made good only against twenty-five: in the same parish, out of thirty-two of the voters for Sir Cecil Wray, which were objected to, twenty-seven were declared *illegal*.

In the second parish, out of two hundred objected to, Mr. Fox lost eighty; Sir Cecil Wray, out of seventy-five, at that time objected to (for the examination was not closed) had sixty struck off.

In this state did the Westminster scrutiny again come before the

\* See an official copy of the high bailiff's return, and also of these protests, page 279, in the Appendix to the Chronicle.

house, upon a petition from several of the electors, the 8th of February, when the high bailiff, and his counsel, Mr. Hargrave and Mr. Murphy, underwent a long examination at the bar of the house, touching the practicability of carrying on the scrutiny, and the difficulties and delays attending the same. The high bailiff gave in evidence, that, calculating from what had been already done, it would take certainly not less, but probably a much longer time, than two years, to finish the scrutiny. The day following, Mr. Welbore Ellis moved, "That Thomas Corbett, esq; high bailiff of the city of Westminster, having finally closed the poll for members to represent the said city, do forthwith obey the said writ, and make a return of the precept directed to him for that purpose."

This motion brought the merits of the whole question again before the house, and was long and ably debated. during several days, by Lord Mulgrave, the master of the rolls, the attorney and solicitor-general, Mr. Bearcroft, Mr. Hardinge, Mr. Dundas, and Mr. Pitt, on the one side; and on the other, by Mr. Lee, Sir Thomas Davenport, Mr. Anstruther, Mr. Adam, Mr. Taylor, Mr. Powis, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Montagu, Lord North, Mr. Sheridan, and Mr. Fox.

The arguments used in this debate are reducible to two heads; first, the legality of the scrutiny, under the circumstances of the case; and secondly, its expediency.

On the first head it was argued, in support of the motion, that by statute the writ was returnable on the day specified in it; and that this appeared clearly from an act of Henry the Sixth, by which an action of debt was given to a person

aggrieved by any return, the act expressly providing that such action should be brought within three months after the meeting of parliament. The meeting of parliament and the return of the writ must therefore have been considered as co-existent in point of time, or it would have been absurd in them to give a man an action, which could be so easily defeated if the practice introduced by the present parliament should prevail; for the sheriff not making any return for three months, or, as it might happen in the present case, three years, after the meeting, no action could be brought against him, because by law it must be brought within three months after the meeting, or not at all.

The statute of the 10th and 11th of William III. was next insisted on, which requires the sheriff to make his return on or before the day of the meeting of parliament: this clause, it was said, virtually included all inferior returning officers, who, by making their returns to the sheriff, must enable him to obey his writ, and transmit it to the crown-office in due time, before the opening of the session; and this construction of the statute is further confirmed by what is directed in the case of writs for the election of members during the sitting of parliament, which are not made returnable within any limited time. The difference between the two cases is very striking; the king was supposed to know best when a new parliament ought to meet, and therefore he summons it to meet on a certain day; and it is necessary the writs should be all returned on that day, that the commons may be as fully represented as possible, before parliament



parliament proceeds to make laws. But it is different with respect to a vacancy made by death or otherwise, in a house of commons already sitting: the house cannot possibly be full; but a reasonable dispatch is requisite in filling the vacancy, and the act therefore only directs that the return shall be made within fourteen days after the election.

The ground of legal analogy was next resorted to, and it was maintained, that no sheriff, or other officer, could legally continue to act under the authority of any writ or precept after the date when the same was made returnable: on the day, therefore, that the precept issued to the high bailiff was directed to be returned to the sheriff, he was, *quoad hoc, functus officio*, and became as incompetent to continue the poll or scrutiny, as if the writ had never issued at all.

It was maintained, in the third place, that the protraction of a scrutiny beyond the exigence of the writ was contrary to the uniform and invariable practice of parliament. In the great Oxfordshire contest, the sheriff granted a scrutiny, which lasted till the day before the writ was returnable, and then closed it, contrary to the wishes and entreaties of the parties that had demanded it. He then returned all the four candidates. The house did not condemn the sheriff; on the contrary, it sat from day to day to determine who ought to have been returned. Lastly, the illegality of the proceeding was argued, on the ground of its being contrary to reason, and leading to the most absurd as well as dangerous consequences. If the power assumed by the high bailiff, of protracting the return beyond the

time specified in the writ, were once recognized, it would invest returning officers with a power of controlling one of the most arbitrary and irresistible prerogatives of the sovereign, that of assembling his parliament at such time and place as he may think proper. On the other hand, it might become the means of depriving the people of their rights, by packing a parliament, in which the members of the most inconsiderable boroughs would take their seats, whilst the representatives of counties, of Westminster, Norwich, Liverpool, Bristol, Newcastle, and every other populous place, might be engaged in attending scrutinies.

It was further observed, that if the legislature had intended to authorize a scrutiny in every case in which it might be demanded, it would doubtless have expressly provided for the same, and not have left it entirely in the discretion of the returning officer; but it was generally agreed that no such obligation existed, except in the city of London, where a provision was made for it by a special act of parliament. In the late elections, the sheriff of Bedfordshire had refused a scrutiny, though at the close of the poll there was only a majority of one vote; yet the house had not considered his conduct as in any way reprehensible. The returning officers of Southwark, Lancaster, &c. had also refused to grant a scrutiny, although it had been demanded.

But if it should be granted, that the scrutiny was within the strict line of legality, yet it was contended, that the authorizing the high bailiff to proceed therein was neither expedient nor equitable. If it had been the intention of the house



to do the most speedy and effectual justice to all the parties concerned, they would doubtless have directed the bailiff to make such a return as his judgment should dictate (the only thing required of him by his oath) and would have themselves proceeded to correct the return, if it had been vitiated by any errors in the election. The act of Mr. Grenville had established the proper tribunal, with adequate powers, for the trial of contested elections; whereas the court of scrutiny had neither power to compel the attendance of evidence, nor authority to examine them on oath, or to punish them for contempt or prevarication: it had, therefore, at least a suspicious appearance for the house to waive its own privileges, and to recur to inadequate modes of trial, by which the city might be deprived of its representatives for three years, and the house be at last obliged to revise the whole proceeding in a committee. The partiality and injustice of their proceeding was still farther marked, by their not only authorizing, but *directing*, the bailiff to proceed in the scrutiny, even after they had established his discretion, either to continue it or not, and after he had himself declared, that he was ready to make a return, if the house should permit him.

Mr. Fox, who bore a most distinguished part in the debate, concluded these arguments by a pathetic appeal to the feelings, the honour, and the justice of the house. He said, he believed no one could doubt, that the only object the minister could have in view was, to harass and persecute an individual, whom he had chosen to make the victim of his resentment. He had always wished to stand well with the right honourable gentleman; he re-

membered the day he had first congratulated the house on the acquisition of his abilities; it had been his pride to fight, side by side with him, the battles of the constitution, little thinking that he would one day desert his principles, and lend himself to be the instrument of that secret influence, which they had both combated so successfully. He might have been prepared to find a formidable rival in the right honourable gentleman; a rival that would leave him far behind in the pursuit of glory; but he never could have expected, that he would have descended so low as to be the court persecutor of any man. I fancied, said Mr. Fox, I saw in him so much generosity of soul, so much elevation of mind, that so groveling a passion as malice could not have found an asylum in his breast. If he thinks that it is merely for a seat in parliament that I am contending, he knows me not; but I was willing to take the hard task of stemming the tide of misrepresentation, that had artfully and studiously been disseminated through the kingdom. I was desirous that the citizens of Westminster, to whom my public measures were best known, who knew even my private foibles, as I had been bred, and had always lived among them, should pass judgment on my political conduct; and proud I am of the issue, which has taught the more distant parts of the kingdom that they were misled. But he declared upon his honour, that when he recollected that the greatest ornaments of this country had been sacrificed to popular prejudices; that Lord John Cavendish had been thrown out by the citizens of York; that General Conway, Mr. Coke, Mr. Baker, &c. had lost their elections, he should be sorry if, by an election

election for any other place than Westminster, he had been robbed of the glory of suffering in such company. He saw plainly, he said, that it was a pecuniary contest, and that his friends were to be tired out by the expence of the contest. The scrutiny on both sides could not cost less than £.30,000 a year. This was enough to shake the best fortunes. His own last shilling might be easily got at, as he was poor; but still, little as he had, he would spend to the last shilling. If, in the end, he should lose his election, it would not be, he well knew, for want of a legal majority, but for want of money! and thus would he, perhaps, be deprived of his right, and the electors of Westminster of the man of their choice, because he was not able to carry on a pecuniary contest with the treasury.

In answer to these arguments, it was contended, that the statutes adduced did not directly apply to the case, which they would doubtless have done, if it had been within the intention of the legislature, since the circumstances were such as might easily have been foreseen; that there is nothing so urgent and positive in what is called the exigence of the writ, as to take from the returning officer his discretion; but that, on the contrary, he is obliged by his oath to satisfy his conscience before he proceeds to make a return.

The journals of parliament, otherwise than by indirect and far-fetched analogies, were also totally silent upon the subject; and, in opposition to the cases adduced, that of Sir Rowland Wynn and others, who had petitioned against false returns on the very ground of a scrutiny being denied, was strongly insisted on. With respect to writs in the courts

below, it was maintained, that the analogy was equally in favour of the proceeding then adopted; it being well known, that upon reasonable grounds being assigned, time was frequently allowed to the sheriff beyond the period specified in the writ.

With respect to the argument drawn from the dangerous purposes to which the power granted to returning officers might be abused, this was the case with every discretionary power; and similar mischiefs, might on the other hand be apprehended, if the power of refusing a scrutiny was lodged in them.

On the ground of expediency it was remarked, that no arguments drawn from that source, however plausible, could be admitted against the positive law of the land. The committee appointed by Mr. Grenville's act was a tribunal to try an election, not to make one, and the election was certainly not completed till the return was made. And what return could the high bailiff make in the present state of the business? it must be a double return; in which case the city would remain unrepresented, probably, for as long a period as by the present mode of proceeding; nay, perhaps, for a much longer, as no one could pretend to say that their enquiries would be finished within one session; and if that should happen, the whole business must be taken up *de novo* in the next.

In reply to the address of Mr. Fox to the house, Mr. Pitt remarked, that he wondered not at that gentleman's zeal and eagerness to hold himself out to the world as the object of ministerial persecution; it was well worth his while to endeavour to appear in that light; nay, he had no doubt but he would suffer

fer martyrdom itself, if he imagined it would restore him to that rank in the esteem of the public, which he had forfeited by his detestable conduct in politics, and thereby lost every portion of popular confidence. He acknowledged, that it would have been more for the ease and convenience of administration, to have let Mr. Fox take his seat quietly for Westminster; and that measure they should certainly have adopted, had they been more inclined to consult their own accommodation than the just rights of the electors, and the true purposes of substantial justice.

An amendment was moved by Lord Mulgrave, to leave out of the original motion, all the words but *that*, and to insert the words following, "the speaker do acquaint the high bailiff—first, that he is not precluded by the resolution of this house, communicated to him on the eighth of June last, from making a return whenever he shall be satisfied in his own judgment that he can so do; and secondly, that this house is not satisfied that the scrutiny has been proceeded in as expeditiously as it might have been;—that it is his duty to adopt and enforce such just and reasonable regulations as shall appear to him most likely to prevent unnecessary delay in future; that he is not precluded from so doing by want of consent in either party; and that he may be assured of the support of this house in the discharge of his duty."

On the division there appeared, for the amendment, 174; against it, 135; and accordingly the high bailiff was called to the bar, and informed by the speaker of the foregoing resolution.

It appeared from this last division, that the prosecution of the scrutiny was not defended by any thing like so numerous a majority as during the preceding session. The novelty of the case, the fear of its being drawn into a precedent, the difficulties and delays attending it, and the appearance, whether well or ill founded, that it exhibited of a personal persecution, began to have their effect in the house. It was not therefore to be expected, that a contest, which was commenced by the opposition under the most discouraging circumstances, should be abandoned at the moment when it began to take a turn in their favour. Accordingly another petition, on the 18th of February, was presented by Colonel Fitzpatrick from the electors, praying to be heard by counsel at the bar, in defence of their just rights and privileges, and to *state new facts*, which they were not apprized of at the time of presenting their former petition. The new facts, mentioned in the petition, related to an offer which was made by Mr. Fox's counsel, whilst in the parish of St. Anne, to go next into the parishes of *Saint Margaret* and *Saint John* (wherein Mr. Fox was stated to be most vulnerable) but this proposition was refused by the counsel for Sir Cecil Wray.

On the motion made by Colonel Fitzpatrick for calling in the counsel to be heard, an amendment was moved by lord Frederick Campbell, "that the counsel be restrained from going into any other matter than such as may prove the evidence offered at this bar on Wednesday, the 9th of February, defective and incomplete; or into such other matters as may have

arisen subsequent to the order of the house on the said day."

This amendment his lordship proposed, he said, to check the counsel from arguing against the legality of the scrutiny, which ought not now to be impeached, as the house had already given judgment on that head. The amendment, after much debate, was carried by a majority of 51—the numbers being, for the amendment, 203—against it, 145.

The counsel refusing to plead under the restrictions imposed on them by the resolution, the high bailiff was called to the bar, and examined as to the offer made by Mr. Fox's counsel, to go immediately into the parishes of *Saint Margaret* and *Saint John*. The high bailiff gave in evidence, that such an offer was made, and not accepted by the other party; and after being examined to some other points, he was taken very ill, and obliged to withdraw. Colonel Fitzpatrick then moved, "That it appearing to this house, that Thomas Corbett, Esquire, high bailiff, having received a precept from the sheriff of Middlesex, for electing two citizens to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster, and having taken and finally closed the poll on the 17th of May last, being the day next before the day of return of the said writ, he be now directed forthwith to make a return of his precept of members chosen in pursuance thereof."

This motion was rejected by a majority of nine only, the numbers for it being 136, against it 145. The same motion was again brought forward on the 3d of March, by alderman Sawbridge, and the question of adjournment

was moved on it by the chancellor of the exchequer, which passed in the negative—the numbers being, for the adjournment 124, against it 162. The main question was then put, and carried without a division.

Thus, after a struggle in parliament for two sessions, terminated the Westminster scrutiny, and the high bailiff the day following made a return of Lord Hood and Mr. Fox.

Feb. 18th, We have already mentioned the resolution moved by Mr.

Dundas, relative to the debts of the nabob of Arcot in the month of April 1782, together with the suspicious nature of those debts, and their mischievous influence upon the government of the Carnatic. In the India bill, brought in by Mr. Fox, the new commissioners were directed, without delay, to examine into the origin and justice of these claims; and a cautionary clause was inserted, to forbid in future any of the company's servants to acquire mortgages, or have any pecuniary transactions with the native princes of India.

In the regulating bill of the last sessions, the cautionary clause was omitted by Mr. Pitt, but the examination into the nature and circumstances of the debt is referred to the court of directors, "*as far as the materials they are in possession of shall enable them to do;*" and it is enacted, "*that they shall give such orders to their presidencies and servants abroad, for completing the investigation thereof, as the nature of the case shall require, and for establishing, in concert with the said nabob, such funds for the discharge of those debts which shall appear to be justly due, according to their respective rights of priority.*"



*priority, as shall be consistent with the rights of the said united company, the security of the creditors, and the honour and dignity of the said nabob."*

The court of directors, in execution of the trust reposed in them, prepared orders to be sent to their council at Madras, in which, after stating the suspicious circumstances under which many of the debts appeared to them to have been contracted, they direct them, in obedience to the positive injunctions of the act, to proceed to a more complete investigation of the nature and origin thereof. These orders being communicated to the board of controul, were rejected by them, and a new letter drawn up, in which the claims of the creditors were all, with some little limitation, established, and a fund for their discharge assigned out of the revenues of the Carnatic, and the priority of payment settled amongst the several classes of creditors. At a meeting of such of the nabob's creditors as were in England, these orders were publicly read; and, on the ground of this proceeding, a motion was made in the house of lords, by the earl of Carlisle, on the 18th of February, "That there be laid before the house, copies or extracts of all letters or orders issued by the court of directors, in pursuance of the injunctions contained in the 37th and 38th clauses of the regulating act of the last session."

In support of the motion, the dangerous consequences of superseding the authority of a positive act of parliament, and the suspicious circumstance of its clandestinely interfering in an enormous money transaction, the management of

which had been expressly delegated to other persons by an act of the legislature, were strongly insisted on by the noble earl who made the motion, and by lord viscount Stormont. Lord Loughborough, in a long and eloquent speech, entered largely into the fraudulent and illegal nature of the nabob's debts, and into the state of the revenues, in order to prove, that, even allowing the board of controul not to have been guilty of an arbitrary assumption of power, directly contrary to the provisions of the statute, yet, that their orders tended to authorize and give effect to transactions of the most corrupt and atrocious nature, highly injurious to the interests of the company, and ruinous in their consequences to the whole country of the Carnatic.

On the other side, Lord Sydney declared he saw no reason why he should consent to the production of the papers called for. The noble earl had not thought proper to inform the house for what purpose he moved for them. Parliament had, for several sessions, been employed in debating upon the affairs of India, and it had not appeared that their affairs were the more prosperous on that account. A new plan had just been adopted for their better management; and would the house be so uncandid as again to interfere, and not to give credit to the persons entrusted with so important a charge for the rectitude even of their first measures? Lord Walsingham declared, that he believed the facts, upon which the motion was grounded, to be false. Lord Rawdon was apprehensive, lest the papers called for might convey dangerous information to our enemies. The lord chancellor took

the same ground, and also argued on the indecency, as well as the mischief, of disturbing the operations of government upon mere suggestions and surmises. But the motion, he said, was neither becoming their wisdom nor their convenience to adopt, since no length of session would be capable of comprehending the whole of their business, if their time was to be taken up in debating on motions for papers, not founded upon any plea of necessity, and supported only by allusions to rumours from places which it was even below their dignity to hear named. These arguments prevailed with the majority, and the motion was rejected without a division.

Feb. 28th. On the 28th, a motion to the same effect was made by Mr. Fox in the house of commons. On this occasion, Mr. Dundas himself undertook the defence of the board of controul. In the first place he maintained, that the conduct of the board had been within the strict letter of the statute, inasmuch as they are enabled, by a clause in the act, to originate orders in cases of urgent necessity, and to direct their being transmitted to India; nor had these orders been given till after a careful and sufficient examination into the subject. He contended, that the papers in the company's records at the India house contained as full information on every transaction relative to the debts as the court of directors could ever expect to receive. They had been examined and stated by the court; they had been laid before the board of controul, and the arrangement directed by them had been such as appeared the most fair and just to all the parties concerned.

He next entered into a justification of the debts themselves. The debt of 1767, he said, was incurred by the nabob, for the purpose of paying off a sum he owed the company, which was at that time in the utmost distress, and was borrowed at the rate of from 30 to 36 per cent. It was afterwards recognized by the court of directors, and the interest reduced to 10 per cent. though the creditors had themselves borrowed the money at a higher rate. The cavalry debt was not less just. It had been our policy to keep the troops of the nabob inferior to those of the company; and an intimation had been given to the nabob, that a part of his cavalry might be spared. To the reduction proposed, the nabob made no other objection than the want of money to pay the arrears, for which his men were in a state of mutiny. This the company was as little able to advance as the nabob, and the old method of borrowing was had recourse to; the company engaging its credit for the loan, and being therefore as much concerned for the payment of it as if they had borrowed the money themselves. With respect to the consolidated debt of 1777, he declared, that the board of controul had only so far authorized those claims, as to leave them still subject, first to the objections of the nabob, next to those of the company, and lastly, to those of all the other creditors. This, he conceived, would be the most likely means to bring about the detection of the fraudulent claims, since it would make it the interest of the honest creditors to bring to light those debts which will not bear an enquiry\*. He concluded,

\* In the official letter directed by the board, other reasons are assigned; first, the

concluded, with cautioning the house, if they wished to have an established government in India, not to suffer themselves to imbibe prejudices against a board that was but newly instituted, nor idly and lightly to interfere with the executive power on all frivolous occasions.

Mr. Smith, the chairman of the court of directors, rose next, and admitted, that some of the debts ordered to be paid by the board of controul were just and unexceptionable; but that others were of a very different complexion. He was followed by Sir Thomas Rumbold, who said, that the old debt of 1767 was not so free from suspicion as the learned gentleman wished the house to believe, and that the fairness of the cavalry debt was still more liable to doubt. The time at which it was contracted, and the circumstances of Lord Pigot's fate, rendered it so suspicious as to influence all good men against it. But as to the consolidated debt of 1777, it swallowed up all the others, both by its magnitude and enormity. He declared, that he had spared no pains to come at the truth, yet he never could get a satisfactory account of it, either from the nabob or his creditors. The sums were lent in direct contradiction to the standing orders of the company, which forbade their servants from lending money to the princes of the country on any account whatsoever; but this, he believed, was not the worst circumstance attending the business.

Mr. Burke, in a speech, which, notwithstanding the unpromising nature of the subject, was perhaps one

of the most eloquent that was ever made in either house of parliament, went into a full detail of the subject. He contended, that the board of controul had no right whatsoever to intermeddle in the business; that when a special authority is given to any persons by name, to do some particular act, no others, by virtue of general powers, could obtain a legal title to exercise those special functions in their place. But admitting the legality of the proceeding, they were undoubtedly subject to the same regulations, and bound to make the same enquiries, that had been prescribed to the court of directors.

After some pointed animadversions on the narrow policy of the chancellor of the exchequer, who, whilst he was attempting, by a rigid inquisition into fees of office, to squeeze the laborious ill-paid drudges of English revenue, was lavishing millions, without examination, on those who never served the public in any honest occupation at all, Mr. Burke called the attention of the house to the nature and circumstances of the pretended debts, on which this marvellous donation was founded, as well as to the persons from whom, and by whom, it was claimed.

He began with stating, that since the establishment of the British power in India, Madras and its dependencies, which, before that time, were among the most flourishing territories of Asia, had waited away under a gradual decline, inasmuch that in the year 1779, not one merchant of eminence was to be found in the whole country. During this period of decay, near a million had

the inexpediency of keeping the nabob's debts longer afloat; 2dly, the tranquillity which the final conclusion of the business would tend to promote; and lastly, because the debtor had concurred with the creditors in establishing the validity of the debts.

been drawn from it annually by English gentlemen, on their private account only.

Besides this annual accumulation of wealth, transmitted to Europe, it appeared that the nabob had contracted a debt with the company's servants to the amount of £.888,000 sterling, which, in the year 1767, was settled at an interest of ten per cent. About the same time, the court of directors were further informed, that one million sterling had been lent by British subjects to the merchants of Canton, in China; and that this sum bore an interest of 24 per cent. In the year 1777, a second debt from the nabob of Arcot, amounting to £.2,400,000, was settled at 12 per cent. interest; to this was added another, called the cavalry debt, of £.160,000, at the same interest. The whole of these four capitals amounting to £.4,440,000, produced, at their several rates, annuities amounting to £.623,000 a year, more than half of which stood chargeable on the public revenues of the Carnatic. These annuities, equal to the revenues of a kingdom, were possessed by a small number of individuals, of no consequence, situation, or profession.

As one proof, amongst many, that these sums, if lent at all (and if not lent, the transaction was not a contract, but a fraud) was not property legally acquired, but *spoils*, he quoted the following passage from a letter written by the nabob himself to the court of directors—"Your servants have no trade in this country, neither do you pay them high wages, yet in a few years they return to England with many lacks of pagodas. How can you or I account for such immense fortunes, acquired in so short a time, with-

out any visible means of getting them?" Either way, therefore; Mr. Burke contended, if light enough could not be furnished to authorize a full condemnation of those demands, they ought to be left to the parties, who best understood each other's proceedings; and that it was not necessary the authority of government should interpose in favour of claims, whose very foundation was a defiance of that authority, and whose object was its entire subversion.

But, said Mr. Burke, the gentlemen on the other side of the house know as well as I do, and they dare not contradict me, that the nabob and his creditors are not adversaries, but collusive parties; and that the whole transaction is under a false colour, and false names. The litigation is not, nor ever has been, between their rapacity and his hoarded riches. No; it is between him and them, combining and confederating on one side, and the public revenues and the miserable inhabitants of a ruined country on the other. These are the real plaintiffs and the real defendants in this suit. Refusing a shilling from his hoards for the satisfaction of any demand, the nabob of Arcot is always ready, nay he earnestly, and with eagerness and passion, contends for delivering up to these pretended creditors his territory and his subjects. It is therefore not from treasures and mines, but from the food of your unpaid armies, from the blood withheld from the veins, and whipt out of the backs of the most miserable of men, that we are to pamper extortion, usury, and peculation, under the false names of debtors and creditors of State.

After these general observations on the debt, Mr. Burke proceeded to



to examine the grounds on which Mr. Dundas had endeavoured to justify them separately. The loan of 1767, he allowed to stand the fairest of the whole, and that, whatever his suspicions might be concerning a part of it, he could *convict* it of nothing worse than the most enormous usury;—but that the loans had been made with the knowledge of the company, or had their approbation, he positively denied, and proved from their own records, that the very reverse was the fact \*. With respect to the moderate interest which it was said to bear, he stated, from the nabob's own letter, the fact to be as follows:—that the sum originally advanced bore an interest of 35 per cent.; that it was afterwards brought down to 25 per cent. and at length to 20; that there it remained, the interest being all along added to the principal, till, by a regulation of the company's, the sum consolidated was fixed at the rate of 10 per cent. On the whole, Mr. Burke expressed his doubts, whether, for this debt of £. 880,000, the nabob ever saw £. 100,000 in real money.

The cavalry debt stood next. This

debt was contracted, and the company's credit engaged for its payment, by the usurped power of the persons, who had rebelliously, in conjunction with the nabob, overturned the lawful government of Madras in the memorable year of 1777: and it is well known, that the delinquents, in order to make themselves a party to support them in power, dealt jobs about to any who were willing to receive them. Of this loan Mr. Burke also doubted whether the nabob ever received a shilling. The facts relative to it were stated to be as follow:—instead of ready money, the English money-jobbers engaged to pay the nabob's cavalry in bills payable in four months, for which they were to receive immediately at least one per cent. per menssem, but probably two, that being the rate generally paid by the nabob, and the receipt of a territorial revenue, for that purpose, was assigned to them. Instead of four months, it was upwards of two years before the arrears of the cavalry were discharged; and being, during all this time, in the constant receipt of the assigned revenue, it is not impro-

\* The following extracts, amongst many others, were read by Mr. Burke.—In a letter written upon the subject of this loan, in 1769, the court of directors tell the presidency of Madras—"to your great reproach, it has been concealed from us. We cannot but suspect this debt to have had its weight in the proposed aggrandizement of Mahomed Ali" (the nabob of Arcot) "but whether it has or has not, certain it is, you are guilty of an high breach of duty in concealing it from us." In 1770, after stating that the trustees of the private creditors had received an assignment from the nabob to the amount of £. 360,000 annually, they add, "this assignment was obtained by three of the members of your board in January 1767, yet we do not find the least trace of it upon your consultations till August 1768." As to their approbation of it, he read the following extract from the same letter,—"We had the mortification to find, that the servants of the company, who had been raised, supported, and owed their present opulence to the advantages gained in such service, have in this instance most unfaithfully betrayed their trust, abandoned the company's interest, and prostituted its influence to accomplish the purpose of individuals; whilst the interest of the company is almost wholly neglected, and payment to us rendered extremely precarious."

bable but that they paid off the nabob's troops with his own money.

With respect to the consolidated debt of 1777, Mr. Burke observed, that though it had influence enough to obtain a protector, it had not plausibility enough to find an advocate. If ever a transaction called for investigation, it was this. The amount of the demand, in different accounts, rose from £. 1,300,000 to £. 2,400,000 principal money. The proprietors had never appeared the same in any two lists handed about for their own particular purposes. One circumstance indeed respecting it was on record. In the year 1781, the agents of the creditors, in the arrangement they propose to make at Calcutta, were satisfied to have 25 per cent. at once struck off from the capital of a great part of this debt; and prayed to have a provision made for this reduced principal, without any interest at all. This was an arrangement of their own, an arrangement made by those who best knew the true constitution of their own debt; who knew how little favour it merited, and how little hopes they had to find any persons in authority abandoned enough to support it as it stood.

But, said Mr. Burke, what corrupt men, in the fond imaginations of a sanguine avarice, had not the confidence to propose, they have found a chancellor of the Exchequer in England hardy enough to undertake for them. He has cheered their drooping spirits. He has thanked the speculators for not despairing of their commonwealth. He has told them they were too modest. He has replaced the 25 per cent. which, in order to lighten themselves, they had abandoned in their conscious terror. Instead of

cutting off the interest, as they had themselves consented to do, with the fourth of the capital, he has added the whole growth of four years usury of 12 per cent. to the first over-grown principal; and has again grafted on this meliorated stock a perpetual annuity of 6 per cent. to take place from the year 1781. Let no man hereafter talk of the decaying energies of nature. All the acts and monuments of the records of speculation; the consolidated corruption of ages; the patterns of exemplary plunder in the heroic times of Roman iniquity, never equalled the gigantic corruption of this single act. Never did Nero, in all the insolent prodigality of despotism, deal out to his prætorian guards a donation fit to be named with the largesse showered down by the bounty of our chancellor of the Exchequer on the faithful band of his Indian Sepoys.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to invalidate the arguments urged by Mr. Dundas in defence of the orders of the board of controul respecting the debts. The end proposed, it had been said, was the detection of the fraudulent claims. But by whom was this detection to be made? By the nabob, who was himself accused as a collusive party. Besides, in the only complaint he ever made, that respecting the cavalry loan, how had he been attended to? It was fixed on him with interest on interest, and excepted from all power of litigation. But the other creditors! were they authorized to enter into the exchequer of the nabob, and to search his records? Without his concurrence, what evidence of the fraud of the smallest of those demands could be obtained? Had not the company

company itself struggled for a preference for years, without any deduction of the nature of the debts with which they contended?

After having thus investigated the nature and amount of the enormous load of debt, with which ministers had thought fit to load the revenues of the Carnatic, Mr. Burke called the attention of the house to the ruined condition of that country, in order to discover how much would remain, after satisfying those demands, to provide for the public debt, and the necessary establishments of government. Mr. Burke here entered into a short state of the internal politics of the Carnatic, and of the causes which produced the war with Hyder Ali. He then described the ravages of that desolating war, which raged for eighteen months, without intermission, from the gates of Madras to the gates of Tanjore, and the redoubled horrors of the famine that ensued; in so much that when the British armies traversed, as they did the central provinces of the Carnatic for hundreds of miles in all directions, through the whole line of their march they did not see one man, not one woman, not one child, not one four-footed beast of any description. He next proved, from the nature of the soil of the country, and the mode of cultivation, that it would require a long time, a serious attention, and much cost, to re-establish it in its former condition.

And what, added Mr. Burke, would a virtuous and enlightened ministry do on the view of the ruins of such works before them; on the view of such a chasm of desolation as that which yawned in the midst of those countries to the north and south, which still bore

some vestiges of cultivation? They would have reduced all their most necessary establishments; they would have suspended the justest payments; they would have employed every shilling derived from the producing to re-animate the powers of the unproductive parts. While they were performing this fundamental duty, whilst they were celebrating these mysteries of justice and humanity, they would have told the corps of fictitious creditors, whose crimes were their claims, that they must keep an awful distance; that they must silence their inauspicious tongues; that they must hold off their profane unhallowed paws from this holy work; they would have proclaimed, with a voice that should make itself heard, that on every country the first creditor is the plow; that this original indefeasible claim supercedes every other demand.

This is what a wise and virtuous ministry would have done and said. This, therefore, is what our minister could never think of saying or doing. A ministry of another kind would have first improved the country, and have thus laid a solid foundation for future opulence and future force. But on this grand point of the restoration of the country, there is not one syllable to be found in the correspondence of our ministers, from the first to the last: they felt nothing for a land desolated by fire, sword, and famine; their sympathies took another direction; they were touched with pity for bribery, so long tormented with a fruitless itching of its palms; their bowels yearned for usury, that had long missed the harvest of its returning months; they felt for speculation, which had been for so many years raking in the dust of an empty treasury; they were melted  
into



into compassion for rapine and oppression, licking their dry, parched, unbloody jaws. These were the objects of their solicitude. These were the necessities for which they were studious to provide.

He entered, lastly, into an examination of the actual state of the revenue of the Carnatic; considering, from several authentic documents, that the whole net revenue amounted, in the year 1782, to no more than £. 480,000, nearly the precise sum that the ministers had appropriated to the emolument of their creatures, the private creditors. With regard to the public debt due to the company, nothing was provided for it, but an eventual surplus, to be shared with one class of the private demands, after satisfying the two first classes. Never, he said, was a more shameful postponing a public demand, which, by the reason of the thing, and the uniform practice of all nations, supercedes every private claim.

Mr. Burke took this occasion to make some observations on the mode of settling accounts between the nabob and the company, by which, says he, the public and the private debts are made to play into each other's hands a game of utter perdition to the unhappy natives of India. The nabob falls into an arrear to the company. The presidency presses for payment. The nabob's answer is, I have no money. Good. But there are focars who will supply you on the mortgage of your territories. Then steps forward some Paul Benfield, and from his grateful compassion to the nabob, and his filial regard to the company, he unlocks the treasures of his virtuous industry; and for a consideration of twenty-four or thirty-six per cent. on a mortgage

of the territorial revenue, becomes security to the company for the nabob's arrear. In consequence of this double game, the whole Carnatic has, at one time or other, been covered by those locusts, the English focars. During these operations, what a scene has that country produced! The usurious European assignee supercedes the nabob's native farmer of the revenue—The farmer flies to the nabob, to claim his bargain; whilst his servants murmur for wages, and his soldiers mutiny for pay. The mortgage to the European assignee is then resumed, and the native farmer replaced; replaced, again to be removed on the new clamour of the European assignee. Every man of rank and landed fortune being long since extinguished, the remaining miserable last cultivator, who grows to the soil, after having his back scored by the farmer, has it again flayed by the assignee; and is thus, by a ravenous, because a short-lived succession of claimants, lashed from oppressor to oppressor, whilst a drop of blood is left, as the means of extorting a single grain of corn.—Far from painting, he added, that he did not reach the fact, nor approach it. This tyrannous exaction brought on servile concealment, and that again called forth tyrannous coercion;—till at length nothing of humanity was left in the government, no trace of integrity, spirit, or manliness in the people, who drag out a precarious and degraded existence under such a system of outrage upon human nature.

The ministers, he observed, had thought fit to renew the company's old order against contracting private debts in future. They begin by rewarding the violation of the ancient law; they then gravely re-  
enact



enact provisions, of which they had given bounties for the breach; and they conclude with positive directions for again contracting the debts they positively forbid. They order the nabob to allot £.480,000 a year, as a fund for the debts before us. For the punctual payment of this annuity, they order him to give *houcar* [bankers] security. These *houcars* are no other than the creditors themselves, who thus become creditors again on a new account, and receive an additional twenty-four per cent. for condescending to take the country in mortgage, and being security to themselves for their own claims.

Mr. Burke, after some observations on the motives to this shameful conduct, and on the person [Mr. Paul Benfield] in whose favour all these rules had been violated, concluded with declaring his opinion, that if the scene on the other side of the globe, which tempts, invites, almost compels to tyranny and rapine, be not inspected with the eye of a severe and unremitting vigilance, shame and destruction must ensue. For one, says he, the worst event of this day, though it may deject, shall not break or subdue me—The call upon us is authoritative—Let who will shrink back, I shall be found at my post—Baffled, discountenanced, subdued, discredited, as the cause of justice and humanity is, it will be only the dearer to me—Whoever, therefore, shall at any time bring before you any thing towards the relief of our distressed fellow-citizens in India, and towards a subversion of the present most corrupt and oppressive system for its government, in me shall find, a weak I am afraid, but a steady, earnest, and faithful assistant,

The house then divided, when there appeared, for the motion 69, against it 164.

The business of a reform in parliament, the consideration of which had now for a certain period annually occupied the attention of parliament, was this session brought to a final determination.

The weight and influence of government had hitherto been exerted more or less in opposition to this measure; but the present minister having pledged himself to exercise the whole weight of his official situation to attain it, the present opportunity was looked upon as the most favourable it could ever experience.

The question was accordingly brought before the house of commons on the 18th day of April, by Mr. Pitt himself, who concluded a speech of considerable length with moving, "That leave be given to bring in a bill to amend the representation of the people of England in parliament."

The plan which he proposed for this purpose, was to transfer the right of choosing representatives from 36 of such boroughs as had already, or were falling into decay, to the counties, and to such chief towns and cities as were at present unrepresented—That a fund should be provided, for the purpose of giving to the owners and holders of such boroughs disfranchised, an appreciated compensation for their property—That the taking this compensation should be a voluntary act of the proprietor, and if not taken at present, should be placed out at compound interest, until it became an *irresistible* bait to such proprietors. He also meant to extend the right of voting for knights of the shire to copyholders as well as freeholders. Such was the

the outline of his system, which was not altogether approved of by those who supported the motion in general. Mr. Fox, particularly, objected to the mode laid down, of purchasing the boroughs, though he adopted the transferring of the right of chusing representatives from them to the counties and principal towns and cities.

The chief arguments delivered in favour of a reform, were derived from what was stated to be the present defective and partial representation of the kingdom at large—That an active, reforming, and regulating principle, which kept pace with the alterations in the state, was requisite to preserve the constitution in its full force and vigour—That as any part of the constitution decayed, it had ever been the wisdom of the legislature to renovate and restore it by such means as were most likely to answer the end proposed; and that hence had arisen the frequent alterations that had taken place with respect to the rule of representation, both before and at the revolution.

On the other hand, it was objected to the motion, that it was not called for by the people, and particularly not by the unrepresented large towns and cities, which it was stated had a right to claim the benefit which would result from such a measure—That if a bill of reform was once introduced, men's minds were so unsettled and various on the subject, that there was no knowing to what extent it might be carried—That what were called rotten and decayed boroughs, were frequently represented by gentlemen who had the greatest stake in the country, and consequently were as much concerned in its welfare, and in that of the constitution, as any other species

of representatives, in whatsoever manner they might be chosen, could be;—and, finally, that whilst no necessity was shewn for such a reform, and whilst the rights and liberties of the people remained safe and secure under the present mode of representation, it was hazardous in the extreme to alter what was found to be good by experience, the only test of truth.

The motion, after much extraneous debate, and much personal allusion and animosities from both sides of the house, at length passed in the negative, the numbers against it being 248, for it 174.

Previous to the opening the budget for the present year, Mr. Pitt called the attention of the house to a general review of the national finances. The whole of the public expenditure (including the interest of the public debt, together with the probable expences of the peace establishment) he estimated at £.14,400,000 per annum; and, in order to compare this yearly expenditure with the yearly income of the state, he proposed examining the net produce of the taxes for the quarters ending the 5th of January and the 5th of April 1784, and the produce of those ending the 5th of January and the 5th of April 1785. The respective produce of these four respective quarters in progression was stated to be as follows:—the first at £.2,585,000, the second at £.2,198,000, the third at £.2,738,000, the fourth at £.3,066,000. According to the increased produce of the taxes in these quarters, he made a variety of calculations on their probable amount for the whole year; the highest of which he placed at £.12,600,000, and the lowest at near £.12,000,000 per annum.

There

There was another calculation, on which he did not lay so much stress, and that was by expecting a progressive increase in each succeeding quarter, proportionate to the superiority of the quarter ending on the 5th of April 1785, over those preceding, which would raise the yearly amount of the taxes to upwards of fourteen millions and a half. The land and malt tax (at £. 2,450,000) added to this computed product of the other taxes, he expected would leave an overplus of nearly £. 1,000,000, for the purpose of a sinking fund, to be applied to the discharge of the national debt; but the necessary measures for such an appropriation, although he wished parliament well to consider the subject, he did not intend to put in execution until the year following.

Many objections were made by the opposition to the mode of calculation pursued by Mr. Pitt; the chief of which were, that it was impossible to get at the true annual amount of taxes, by extracting particular quarters and seasons of the year in which perhaps the greatest part of the taxes were received, instead of taking the whole twelve months together; and it was particularly shewn, from a table of the amount of the customs, that whenever the spring quarters rose singularly high, the summer quarters were proportionably low: also, that the two quarters taken by Mr. Pitt, contained together 15 days more than half a year.

The aggregate amount of the supplies voted this year, was stated by Mr. Pitt at £. 9,737,868; the ways and means which had already been voted towards providing for these supplies, including the computed

growing produce of the sinking fund up to the 10th of October next, the money still remaining in the exchequer, and what had been paid in by the paymasters, left together a deficiency of £. 1,000,000: this sum he intended borrowing from the bank at 5 per cent. and he should do so, because the bank would pay the money in as government called for it, and the interest was to be calculated only from the time the sums were advanced. The interest of this loan he should state at £. 50,000.

But the most serious part of the present budget was, the funding the remainder of the navy bills and ordnance debentures, which had stood over from the last session. These together, notwithstanding they amounted to £. 10,010,000, he intended funding, he said, the present year.

He observed, that £. 6,000,000 of the navy bills had been provided for last year at an interest of 4 per cent.; that the sum required for the interest of the remainder would now be no more than £. 320,000, and which, together with the £. 50,000 for the loan from the bank, and £. 40,000 to replace the tax on calicoes, which was now repealed, would make the whole sum to be raised about £. 413,000.

With regard to what stock he should fund in, he gave a preference to the 5 per cents. because, although in the 5 per cents. there was a present loss of about 6 s. per £. 100, or about £. 30,000 in all, yet it would be amply repaid from the nature of that sort of stock affording a more easy and expeditious means of paying it off; in consequence of which, whenever that came to be done, there would be a saving of near £. 3,000,000.

The



The taxes \*, which were imposed, in order to raise the sum of £.413,000, for the interest upon this funded debt, passed with a few regulations and amendments.

That on female servants met with the most opposition.

In addition to the different bills which had passed for the purpose of regulating the public offices of the kingdom, Mr. Pitt brought one in this session "for appointing commissioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are or lately have been received in the several public offices to be therein mentioned; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same; and to report such observations as shall occur to them, for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices." The opposition to this measure encountered was considerable. The bill was stated to be needless, futile, and illegal. Needless, because the treasury board had every power necessary to make such enquiries as the bill proposed, already vested in them. Futile, because nothing substantial, or equivalent to the extensive powers granted by it, could be obtained, it being the appearance of a reform, without the effect. And illegal, inasmuch as there was a clause enabling the commissioners to send for persons, and to examine them when and where they pleased; a principle directly militating against magna charta, and the law of the land. On the other hand, it was argued, that the bill,

appointing the commissioners of public accounts, afforded a very recent precedent for granting such powers as were now complained of; and that, although the objects of the reform in question were not of equal magnitude with some others which had appeared before the house, yet, on the other hand, they became important on account of their number and extent. The question on this bill was finally put and carried, in the house of commons, on the 14th of June, the numbers for it being 74, against it 15. It afterwards passed the house of lords, where it received several amendments, and one in particular which subjected the commissioners to the controul of the board of treasury. The commissioners appointed were two of the comptrollers of the army accounts, and Mr. Francis Baring.

The arrangement of the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland took up a considerable part of this session; but as the present volume has already swelled greatly beyond its usual size, we must beg leave to defer the history of that important subject to another year.

As soon as the resolutions which were to be the basis of this arrangement had passed both houses, they adjourn-  
Aug. 2d,  
 ed, on a message from 1785.  
 the king, till the 27th of October, in order to receive the decision of the Irish parliament; and in the mean time were prorogued by proclamation to the 1st of December.

\* For a recapitulation of these several taxes, with their respective computed amounts, see Appendix to the Chronicle for 1785.



## C H R O N I C L E.

J A N U A R Y 1784.

*Constantinople, Dec. 10, 1783.*

WE have had several accidents of the plague since last post; notwithstanding which the mortality is almost entirely ceased. We now flatter ourselves, that the cold weather may put a total stop to the contagion, which has cost this city at least eighty thousand inhabitants since June last.

Gen. sir Guy Carleton, 14th. late commander in chief at New-York, arrived in town on Wednesday. He came home in the Ceres sloop of war of 16 guns, arrived at Plymouth. When he sailed, all the British and Hessian troops, with the loyalists, had left New-York, and the Americans, with Gen. Washington at their head, were in peaceable possession of that city.

Came on at the East-India house, Leadenhall street, the ballot for three directors of the said company's affairs, in the room of sir William James, bart. deceased; sir Henry Fletcher, bart. and Jacob Wilkinson, esq; resigned: upon the casting the ballot, the numbers were,

For John Woodhouse, esq; 457

George Johnstone, esq; 391

Richard Atkinson, esq; 372

Thomas Pattle, jun. esq; 262

VOL. XXVII.

John Grant, esq; 254

George M. Macaulay, esq; 161

15th. At the close of the poll for alderman of Queenhithe ward, in the room of Frederick Bull, esq; deceased, the numbers were,

For John Bates, esq; 87

Geo. M. Macaulay, esq; 49

Majority for Mr. Bates, 38

*Extract of a letter from a passenger on board the Vansittart East Indiaman; dated at sea, August 22, 1783.*

"Yesterday, about half past eleven, A. M. we were alarmed with the cry of fire; when running upon deck, we perceived a great smoke issuing from the Duke of Kingston East Indiaman, Captain Nutt; soon after which she burst out in flames from head to stern. We were then about half a mile ahead of her, and the Pigot and Earl of Oxford Indiamen about four miles ahead of us. The weather being calm, our captain immediately ordered out the engine, and all the boats, at the same time firing two guns as a signal to the ships ahead. It is impossible to conceive a more dreadful spectacle than at this moment presented itself; numbers of the poor wretches throwing themselves overboard, with oars, spars, &c. to keep them from sinking;

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ing; others crowding on the bowsprit, where they hung in clusters till received into the boats. Our jolly-boat got out first, and returned in a short time with five men; the long-boat, yawl, and cutter, were hoisted out with equal dispatch, and used every effort to save as many of the crew as they could, the fire having by this time increased to such a degree, that it was impossible to attempt saving the ship. The boats from the other two ships were now got out; soon after which our yawl returned full of people, among whom were the first mate and a midshipman, whom they had picked up drowned; we used every effort to recover them, but in vain. At three P. M. our long-boat returned with 150 people; the boats belonging to the other Indiamen were also filled; and having saved every person they could find, they left the ship, which at five in the afternoon blew up with a terrible explosion. On the whole 79 souls perished by this melancholy accident, among whom were several women and children, some soldiers, and a few passengers.

Captain Nutt, with two military officers, had paid us a visit in the morning, and was on board the *Pigot* at the time the fire broke out, which was occasioned by a sailor's drawing some spirits out of a cask in the spirit room, which catching fire, communicated to the other casks, and burnt with such fury, that it was impossible to save a single article.

John Lee was indicted for 17th. forging an order for payment of money, which order ran in the following words:

Nov. 24, 1783.

Pay to Mr. John Lee, or order,

upon demand, the sum of fifteen pounds sterling, which place to his account of office.

Pay-Office, *Townshend,*  
Ordnance-Office, *M. G.*  
Whitehall.

There were eight counts in the above indictment; one with forging it, to defraud lord Townshend, the master-general of the ordnance; the second, uttering it, knowing it to be forged, &c. and varying it as it passed different hands.

Mr. James Cusden, who keeps the *Rose* coffee-house, in Bridges-street, Covent-garden, deposed, that in December last, the prisoner came to his house, and drank two bottles of wine; that soon after a third gentleman came in, and they had a third bottle, when the prisoner sent for Mr. Cusden, who came up stairs, and the prisoner produced the above bill, wishing to get five guineas upon it; but Mr. Cusden only advanced him one guinea and a half. When he presented the note to Messrs. Cox, &c. agents at Charing-cross, the forgery was discovered, and the prisoner apprehended.

Mr. Cox proved it was not lord Townshend's writing, and Mr. Pinder produced the bill.

The evidence for the prosecution rested here. On the cross examination, it was urged by Mr. Sylvester, counsel for the prisoner, that the indictment did not correspond with the bill, for it stated M. G. to be master-general, which the prosecution had no right so to construct: that there was no such office at Whitehall as the pay-office; that it could not be to defraud lord Townshend, as lord Townshend was not then in office, and consequently not master-general of the ordnance. These and several other legal objections

jections were stated by the counsel, but over-ruled; as judge Heath was of opinion, that they were not averments, but stated in the indictment to be purports. The evidence being summed up, the jury found the prisoner guilty of uttering the bill, knowing it to be forged. The case, however, is referred to the twelve judges, on a number of exceptions stated in the indictment.

*St. James's, January 20th.* Yesterday being kept as the anniversary of the queen's birth-day, there was a very numerous and splendid appearance of the nobility, foreign ministers, and other persons of distinction, to compliment their majesties on the occasion. The guns in the park, and at the tower, were fired at one o'clock. There was a ball at court in the evening, and illuminations and other public demonstrations of joy in London and Westminster.

24th. This night's gazette contains the addresses of the mayor, sheriffs, citizens, and commonalty of the city of Norwich; of the mayor, bailiffs, and burgessees of the borough of Leicester; and of the gentlemen, clergy, merchants, and inhabitants of the borough of Great Yarmouth, Norfolk, to his majesty; expressing their firm attachment to his majesty's person and family, and offering their sincere thanks on his majesty's dismissal of the late ministry.

26th. At half past twelve o'clock, the sheriffs met at Guildhall, on the hustings, in order to declare the numbers for a representative of this city, in the room of Frederick Bull, esq; when there appeared for Brook Watson, esq; 2097; and for alderman Crosby, 1043; upon which Brook Watson, esq; was declared duly elected.

31st. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the merchants and traders of London; from the lord provost, magistrates, and council of Edinburgh; from the aldermen, burgessees, &c. of Southampton; from the manufacturers, traders, &c. of Taunton; and from the mayor and inhabitants of Plymouth, upon the removal of the late ministry, &c.

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F E B R U A R Y 1784.

3d. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the dean, steward, burgessees, &c. of Westminster; from the freemen and citizens of York; from the mayor, clergy, &c. of Exeter; from the mayor, bailiffs, &c. of Lancaster; from the inhabitants of Reading; from the inhabitants of Colchester; and from the mayor and aldermen of Evesham, in Worcestershire, on the removal of the late ministry, &c.

10th. At a court of common council, before the right honourable the lord mayor, the aldermen Alsop, Crosby, Townshend, Esdaile, Wilkes, Lewes, Plomer, Newnham, Clark, Wright, Hunt, Sainsbury, Kitchen, Burnell, Sanderson, Gill, Hopkins, Bates, the two sheriffs, and a very respectable number of commoners:

The thanks of the court were voted to the right honourable William Pitt, for his able, upright, and disinterested conduct, as first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer, on the present alarming and critical juncture of affairs.

The court also unanimously voted the freedom of the city to be presented to Mr. Pitt, in a gold box of the

the value of one hundred guineas, as a mark of gratitude for and approbation of his zeal and assiduity in supporting the legal prerogatives of the crown, and the constitutional rights of the people; and appointed a committee to wait on him therewith.

A motion was then made, to acknowledge, with the deepest gratitude, the late timely interference of the house of lords for the preservation of our excellent constitution, and the security of the rights of every branch of the legislature; which, after some debate, was carried by a great majority.

This night's gazette contains an address to his majesty from the citizens and principal inhabitants of Exeter, expressive of their attachment to his majesty's person and government, and declaring that it is not their intention to engage in any measure that may tend to embarrass his majesty's government, to foment the alarming divisions that at present prevail, and impede the progress of those conciliatory measures by which alone the public peace can be restored; they therefore hope his majesty will be graciously pleased to call to his councils men whose abilities and integrity may recommend them to his royal favour, and whose measures may entitle them to the full confidence and support of his majesty's faithful subjects. Likewise addresses from the inhabitants of New Sarum; from the mayor, aldermen, &c. of Chipping Wycombe; from the mayor, aldermen, and capital burghesses of Preston, in Lancashire; from the mayor, bailiffs, and burghesses of Berwick upon Tweed; and from the bailiff, burghesses, and

inhabitants of Chippenham; on the removal of the late ministry.

*St. James's, Feb. 11.* A messenger arrived this morning from his excellency sir Robert Ainslie, his majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, with an account of the pacification between Russia and the Ottoman Porte being happily accomplished; and that a definitive arrangement was signed by Mons. de Bulgakow, the Russian envoy, and the Ottoman ministers, on the 8th of last month.

*St. James's, Feb. 14.* The king has been pleased to approve of Don Diego de Gardoqui, to be consul and agent general for the Spanish nation in England and Ireland.

20th. The cause between Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman, was determined in the court of King's-bench, after having been outstanding nearly eleven years. The ground of the suit was this: Mr. Macklin, in September, 1773, entered upon an engagement as an actor of the Covent-garden company, for three years, at a salary of 400l. per season, with a benefit. On the 18th of November, in consequence of a quarrel that had arisen between him and some of the play-house frequenters of that day, a riot took place in the theatre, and he was driven from the stage, the managers not daring to let him appear again. The latter considered this as an incapacitation of Macklin to perform his part of the engagement, and supposed the contract necessarily dissolved. Macklin, on the contrary, having sent regularly to demand his salary, and offered to play any character the manager should appoint, commenced a suit in chancery for the recovery of his salary,



salary, and an averaged amount of profits for his benefits. After filing bills and cross bills, and various expensive and tedious proceedings in equity, he was advised to try for a remedy at common law, and accordingly brought an action on the case in the court of King's-bench, which came on for hearing last Friday. Sir Thomas Davenport, as counsel for Mr. Macklin, opened his case to the court, and called evidence to prove the substantial facts. Mr. Bearcroft then, as counsel for Mr. Colman, opened the defence, and, if he could have substantiated it, a very strong one it was: before, however, any witnesses were called in its support, lord Mansfield recommended a compromise. Mr. Macklin rose, and informed the court he had offered long since to leave it to the arbitration of any one merchant, or any one lawyer in the kingdom, and that he was then ready to abide by the decision of any one of the jury. Lord Mansfield complimented Mr. Macklin on his candour and fairness; and it rested with Mr. Colman how the matter was to terminate. Mr. Colman declared, that he had never before heard of the plaintiff's being ready to submit the case to the arbitrament of an individual, or he would have closed with him on the proposition; and that he would do so then, provided the matter could be so adjusted that he could be secure that no more than his proportion of the sum awarded to Mr. Macklin should fall upon him. Mr. Colman explained what he meant, by stating, that the engagement was for three years, in only the first of which he had an interest in Covent-garden theatre, though the action was brought against him

nominally for the whole sum claimed, as the acting manager at the time Mr. Macklin was engaged for the three years. Lord Mansfield told Mr. Colman, that being the defendant, he must pay the whole sum, be the award what it might; but that his partners were bound to pay their proportions to him, and it could not be supposed that they would hesitate to discharge what the law would oblige them to pay, if they did make any hesitation upon the subject. His lordship then said, he would settle the matter, if the parties approved. This being assented to by Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman, his lordship said, he considered a riot in a theatre, of the sort in question, as a common calamity by which the manager and performer were equal sufferers, and therefore he should halve the matter; and as Mr. Macklin had brought his action for 1000*l.* award him 500*l.* and each party to pay their own costs. This was cheerfully acceded to by Mr. Macklin and Mr. Colman, and a rule drawn to enforce the decision, and tie up the plaintiff and defendant from commencing any future suit or suits upon the subject. Some civilities passed between lord Mansfield and Mr. Macklin; and the latter, before he went out of court, assured his lordship, that he had never known what justice or equity was before.

This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the county of Berks; from the county of Cornwall; from the city of Aberdeen; from the county of Oxford; from the town of Shrewsbury; from the town of Kingston-upon-Hull; from the town and port of Folkestone; from the town

and port of Dover; from the county of Wilts; from the county of York; and from the borough of Abingdon, on the dissolution of the late ministry, &c. &c.

*Dublin Castle, Feb. 24.* The duke of Rutland, who embarked at Holyhead last night, on board his majesty's yacht, the Dorset, arrived safe in the harbour about one o'clock this afternoon. His grace was received at landing by the lord mayor and sheriffs of the city of Dublin. The regiments of foot in garrison lined the streets through which his grace passed to the Castle, attended by a squadron of horse. His grace, on his arrival at the Castle, was introduced in form to the earl of Northington, who received him, sitting under the canopy of state, in the presence chamber. A council met at five o'clock, and a procession was made from the presence chamber to the council chamber, where his grace's commission was read, and the oaths administered to him; after which, his grace having received the sword from the earl of Northington, and being invested with the collar of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick, the great guns in his majesty's park the Phoenix were fired, and answered by the regiments on duty. His grace then repaired to the presence chamber, where he received the compliments of the nobility and other persons of distinction, upon his grace's safe arrival to take upon him the government of this kingdom.

*Dublin Castle, Feb. 26.* This day about two o'clock, the earl of Northington, late lord lieutenant of this kingdom, left the castle, in order to embark on board his majesty's yacht the Dorset, on his return to England.

His grace the duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant, and the earl of Northington, went together from the castle in a coach drawn by six horses, and preceded by a leading coach and six, in which were the officers of state, to the South Wall. They were escorted by a squadron of horse, and attended by a great number of the nobility and persons of distinction, the lord mayor, sheriffs, several of the aldermen and principal citizens in their carriages, followed by a concourse of people, to the water side. The streets were lined by the regiments of infantry on Dublin duty; and the earl of Northington received every demonstration of respect as he passed through the streets, from the people, who testified their regard by repeated wishes for his welfare and safe return to England.

**DIED.** At Llan Vair y Medd, in Anglesea, Hugh Rowland Hughes, gent. aged 114 years, 11 months, and 27 days. He was born March 1, 1670, married in the year 1700, and had nine children; he was married the second time in 1734, and had five children; he was married the third time, and had two children, viz. Hugh Evan Hughes, the Welch poet, and a daughter; and in the year 1748, he married his fourth wife, whom he left a widow with seven children, all men and women now alive; 84 of his offspring were at his burying in Amlwich church, on St. David's day last.

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## MARCH 1784.

1st. The servants of the duke de Chartres arrived at the duke's house in Portland Place, and his grace is hourly expected from France.

4th. At

4th. At a general court of the governors of St. Bartholomew's Hospital, William Pitcairn, M. D. president of the College of Physicians, was unanimously elected treasurer of the said hospital, in the room of John Darker, esq. deceased.

6th. This night's gazette contains addresses to his majesty from the citizens of Bristol; from the borough of Truro; from the town of Chard; from the borough of Warwick; from the borough of Tamworth, in the counties of Warwick and Stafford; from the county of Devon; from the county of Bucks; from the borough of Bridport; from the county of Fife; from the borough of Kirkcaldy; from the shire of Linlithgow; and the ancient and loyal burgh of Ayr, on the present state of affairs, the dismissal of the late ministry, &c. &c.

9th. The following is the substance of the letter from Scilly, which gives an account to the directors of the India company of the loss of the Nancy packet.

"A person, whose business is to attend at the Scilly islands, on seeing some letters washed on shore, which, on opening, he found came from India, suspecting some vessel from that part of the world to be lost, offered a large reward for any person to go off; they accordingly discovered a wreck under water with great difficulty, and got up a packet bag, which contained several letters.

"The following are a part of the passengers known to have been on board the Nancy at the time; Mr. Percy, surgeon to Sir Edw. Hughes; Mr. Ashburner, late of the council at Bombay; Mr. Bond; Mr. Page and son; Miss A. Thomson; Capt.

Haldane; his first and second mate; Mr. M'Kenzie; Mrs. Cargill, and an infant child of twenty months old. The bodies were mostly naked, and supposed to have been in bed at the time."

10th. The entertainment at Carlton house was one of the grandest spectacles that we have had in this country for years, and was becoming the prince of a free nation. The dinner was given to the whole of that most respectable body of gentlemen who have assembled at the St. Alban's Tavern, with the laudable view of reconciling the hostile parties by which the nation has been distracted, and bringing about an union capable of conducting the strong measures necessary in so critical a moment. The ball at night exhibited a scene of beauty and magnificence unparalleled. Lady Beauchamp's groupe, consisting of herself, her sisters, the Miss Ingrams, and the Miss Talbots, were said to be the most exquisitely beautiful of any in the room. They were all five in Spanish dresses, uniform, of white crape spangled with gold, and ornamented with precious stones. They had the finest effect in the dance.

11th. At a meeting of the gentlemen interested in the island of Grenada, the Grenadines, St. Vincent, Dominica, Tobago, St. Christopher, Nevis, and Montserrat, held at the London Tavern, Sir William Young, Bart. in the chair:

Resolved unanimously, That this meeting, impressed with the deepest sense of gratitude for the humanity, justice, and generosity, so exemplarily displayed by his excellency Monsieur le Marquis de Bouille, in his several conquests and chief command over the above islands, during the

late war, beg leave to offer to his excellency this public testimony of their veneration and esteem.

Resolved, That a committee, consisting of Sir William Young, Bart. lieutenant-general Robert Melville, William Woodley, esq; Richard Neave, esq; Walter Nisbet, esq; Robert Udney, esq; John Anthony Rucker, esq; do wait upon his excellency with a copy of these proceedings, and request that he will honour this meeting with his company to dinner at this place, on such a day as may be most agreeable to him to appoint, with such of his friends and countrymen as he may please to introduce.

Resolved, That a piece of plate be presented to Monsieur le Marquis de Bouille, in the name and on behalf of this meeting, as a small, but grateful tribute due to his magnanimity and justice, and that the above committee do cause the said piece of plate to be prepared, and to have subscribed thereon the substance of the first resolution.

WILLIAM YOUNG, Chairman.

A copy of the above proceedings being presented by the committee to Monsieur le Marquis de Bouille, his excellency was pleased to make the following reply:

“Gentlemen,

“I return you my acknowledgments for the very great and distinguished honour you have done me, of which I entertain the warmest sense.

“My conduct towards the West India colonies, which fell, by the fate of war, under the dominion of France, was such, as not only flowed from the examples of magnanimity and justice given by my sovereign, but was the natural result of

that high esteem and consideration, which I have always held for a nation so respectable and renowned as that of Great Britain.—I cannot, therefore, but wholly attribute the value you are pleased to set on my actions, to the generosity of your sentiments, of which I shall preserve a constant remembrance.”

At twelve o'clock last night 16th. the lord mayor received a letter from the right hon. W. Pitt, chancellor of the Exchequer, relative to an execution for 180,000*l.* being levied on the hon. the East India company. Early this morning his lordship sent for the sword-bearer, and ordered summonses for a court of aldermen yesterday. His lordship, the sheriffs, and several aldermen, had a conference for two hours on this extraordinary occasion, as the execution was said to be not strictly regular. The officer who levied, notwithstanding the largeness of the demand, executed the writ without the knowledge of his principals, and his fees amount to 1*l.* 6*d.* in the pound, being 13,000*l.* The execution was for duties to government, and it is said to be withdrawn by consent of ministry.

The court of aldermen have suspended the secondary of the Compter for having, on his own mere motion, and without previous authority from the sheriffs, levied the above execution.

This night's gazette contains addresses from the county of Essex, from the town of Sunderland, from the corporation of Penzance, from the borough of Tregony, from the borough of Ashburton, from the borough of Ludlow, from the town of Paisley, from the town of Kirkmarnock, from the burgh of Kirkcudbright,



cudbright, and from the city of Aberdeen, humbly thanking his majesty for the appointment of his present ministers. Likewise a second address from the inhabitants of Tre-gony, expressive of their concern at the present distracted state of the British empire, and humbly imploring his majesty to call such men into his service as have the confidence of the representatives of the people.

The following affair was 17<sup>th</sup>. discovered in a court by the side of Fleet-Market. Some of the lodgers smelt something offensive up two pair of stairs, where a man and his family lodged, and calling to the children to open the door, they replied they could not: on which the people burst it open, when they found the poor woman dead upon the bed, and four children, two boys and two girls, naked, and almost starved to death, three of them so weak for want of food, that they could not stand. The eldest boy, who could just speak to be understood, said, that his mother died the 13<sup>th</sup> of February, and that their father left them soon after. The parish officers were sent for, who ordered them to be carried in chairs to the workhouse, and great care to be taken of them. The deceased was with difficulty, being in a state of putrefaction, put into a coffin, to be carried to the workhouse for interment.

*Petersburgh, Feb. 13.*

The Empress has appointed Prince Potemkin to be President of the Board of War, with the rank of Field Marshal; Count Soltskoff to be Aid de Camp General, and General Paul Potemkin to be Governor General of Astracan, and of the countries bordering upon

Mount Caucasus. Her Imperial Majesty has conferred the order of St. Andrew on the Vice Chancellor, Count Osterman, with a valuable present; the order of St. Alexander Newski, and a grant of lands, with the rank of Privy Counsellor, on Monf. Besberodko; and the same order on Monf. de Simolin, Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of London, and Prince Baratsinski, Minister Plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles; the order of St. Wolodimir, with a grant of lands, on Monf. Bakounin; and the second cross of the same order, with the rank of Counsellor d'Etat, on Monf. Markoff, Minister Plenipotentiary at Versailles. Her Imperial Majesty has also made presents of very considerable value to Prince Repnin, Prince Wafemsky, Monf. Bulgakow, and Count Cobenzel, the Imperial Minister at this Court.

24<sup>th</sup>. Early this morning some thieves broke into the back part of the house inhabited by the lord chancellor, in Great Ormond-street; having got over the wall, from the fields, into the garden, and from thence into the area, they forced two bars of the kitchen window, and entered the house. Having thus gained an entrance, they went up stairs, into a room adjoining the study, where they found the great seal of England; this they took from out the two bags in which it is always kept, carrying away with them the plain seal only, or rather the two parts, which constitute the whole; they also took a sum of money, not very considerable, and two silver-hilted swords, having first drawn them, and leaving the scabbards behind. Not one of his lordship's servants heard them during their stay, and of course they got off

off with rather more ease than they got in. These midnight robbers left behind them their implement of industry, a plain tool well tempered, and calculated as well for a weapon of defence (if opposed) as an instrument for forcing of locks.

His majesty went to the house of peers, and was pleased to prorogue the parliament with a most gracious speech from the throne.

25th. The parliament was dissolved by royal proclamation.

27th. This night's gazette contains addresses from Northumberland, Leicester, Warwick, Wenlock in Salop, Dorset, Wigtown, and two from Aberdeen, in favour of the present ministry, &c.

30th. At the close of the poll for the borough of Hertford, the numbers were

For Mr. Calvert,	365
Baron Dimsdale,	292
Mr. Baker,	223

Whereupon the two former were declared duly elected.

31st. Came on the election for the town of Kingston upon Hull, and at the close of the poll, the following day at noon, the numbers were

For W. Wilberforce, esq;	807
Samuel Thornton, esq;	751
David Hartley, esq;	337

Upon which the two former were declared duly elected.

DIED. On the 3d inst. at Romsey, the widow Poore, a native of West Wellow, aged 108 and upwards.

On Saturday se'nnight, at Chewton Mendip, near Bristol, Thomas Pope, aged 101. He could walk ten miles in a day in his 100th year.

#### A P R I L 1784.

1st. This night's gazette contains addresses from Yorkshire; from the high sheriff and grand jury of Surry; from Devonshire; from Oxfordshire; from the high sheriff and grand jury of Devonshire; from Denbighshire; from the county of Air; from Scarborough; and from Henley upon Thames, in favour of the present ministry.

5th. The election ended for the city of Norwich, when the numbers were, for

Sir Harbord Harbord,	2305
Mr. Windham,	1297
Mr. Hobart,	1233

6th. At three o'clock the poll for members to serve in parliament for the city of London finally closed. The numbers of each day's poll were as follow:

	Tu.	W.	Th.	F.	S.	M.	Tu.	Total.
Watson,	101	717	1148	1057	497	718	551	4789
Lewes,	90	637	1078	1008	483	724	537	4562
Newnham,	100	635	1066	1010	482	684	494	4471
Sawbridge,	73	435	673	573	292	420	357	2823
Atkinson,	57	362	583	614	293	471	424	2804
Smith	20	257						277
Pitt,	52							52

The poll for the city of York finally closed, when the numbers stood as follow :

For Lord Galway, 1086

R. S. Milnes, esq; 1019

Lord J. Cavendish, 911

Sir William Milner, 802

Mr. Foljambe and Mr. Weddel declined the poll for Yorkshire.

On the close of the poll for Cambridge, the numbers were,

For Mr. Pitt, 334

Lord Euston, 288

Mr. Townshend, 267

Mr. Mansfield, 181

*Extract of a letter from Bath.*

7th. Our election is this minute over, when the numbers appeared thus :

Hon. J. J. Pratt, 27

Abel Moysey, esq; 17

Right hon. W. Pitt, 12

It is remarkable, that through the whole principality of Wales there is not a single contest on the present general election.

10th. The right honourable Edmund Burke was installed in the office of lord rector of the university of Glasgow; he was attended by several persons of rank and eminence; the spectators were very numerous, and testified their satisfaction by the highest marks of approbation and applause. His lordship, after taking the oaths of office, addressed the meeting in a polite and elegant speech suited to the occasion. Having attended public worship in the college chapel, he was afterwards entertained by the gentlemen of the university.

13th. The following are the amended lists to fill up the vacancy of East India directors.

House List amended.

John Manship, esq.

Francis Baring, esq.

John Harrison, esq.

George Cumming, esq.

James Moffatt, esq.

Richard Lewin, esq.

PROPRIETORS LIST amended.

John Manship, esq.

Francis Baring, esq.

John Motteux, esq.

Edmund Boehm, esq.

Hugh Inglis, esq.

Richard Lewin, esq.

14th. The election for six directors of the East India company came on at the India-house: upon casting up of the ballot, the numbers were as follow :

John Manship, esq. 778

Francis Baring, esq. 621

Edmund Boehm, esq. 597

Hugh Inglis, esq. 567

John Motteux, esq. 470

Paul Le Mesurier, esq. 469

James Moffatt, esq. 468

John Harrison, esq. 435

George Cumming, esq. 414

James King, esq. 337

Richard Lewin, esq. 63

20th. This evening, at ten o'clock, the poll was finally closed at Bedford, when there appeared,

For Lord Ossory, 1050

Mr. St. John, 974

Lord Ongley, 973

A scrutiny was demanded by lord Ongley; but as the whole had been a strict scrutiny, and deeds fetched from a great distance, to settle the business, it was refused, as the poll had been open twelve days, and there never was an instance of its not being settled in two days before.

Vienna, March 31. The Emperor arrived in this capital yesterday in perfect health, after an absence of near four months.

Constantinople,

*Constantinople, March 23d.* The plague has broken out here with very alarming symptoms.

22d. Came on the election for the county of Middlesex, at Brentford, for two members to serve in parliament; at the close of the poll, the numbers were as follow:

For Mr. Mainwaring,	1792
Mr. Wilkes,	1518
Mr. Byng,	1504

23d. For W. Mainwaring, } 2117  
 esq. }  
 John Wilkes, esq. 1858  
 George Byng, esq. 1787

Majority for Mr. Mainwaring, 330  
 Ditto for Mr. Wilkes, 71

After which a scrutiny was demanded by Mr. Byng, and six or seven of his friends, which was allowed by the sheriff, and the county court was thereupon adjourned to Friday next, at six o'clock in the evening, at the sheriff's office, in Took's-court, Cursitor-street, Chancery-lane, then and there to proceed on the said scrutiny.

At one part of the first day's poll at Brentford, Mr. Byng was a-head of Mr. Wilkes above 230.

24th. The right hon. Charles James Fox was presented by the mayor, aldermen, and capital burgessees, with the freedom of the borough of Bridgewater, Somerset, and therewith chosen recorder for the same, in the room of Vere Poulett, brother to Anne Poulett, member for the said borough, &c.

*Extract of a Letter from Kirkwall.*

26th. This day came on the election of a member for the northern district of the boroughs in Scotland, when the delegates from the towns of Wick and Dornock voted for John Sinclair, esq; late member

for Caithness, and since returned for Lestwithiel, in Cornwall; and the delegates from Tain, Dingwall, and Kirkwall, for the right honourable Charles James Fox, upon which Mr. Fox was declared duly elected. Objections, however, were stated to the delegates from Kirkwall and Dingwall; and it was farther contended, that Mr. Fox, not being a qualified burgesse in any of the towns, was consequently ineligible; from which it is supposed, that the merits of the election will yet undergo the consideration of a committee.

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M A Y 1784.

*Constantinople, March 24.* Two Russian officers arrived here on the 15th instant, with the ratification of the late convention, and a great many very valuable presents from the Empress for the different missions who co-operated in the late negotiation; among which are a grant of lands, the Second Order of St. Vladimir, and the rank of Major General, to Monsr. Bulgakow, her Imperial Majesty's Envoy, and a magnificent gold snuff-box, enriched with diamonds, and a sable fur to the Imperial internuncio, and British and French ambassadors.

*Venice, April 16.* An express from Spalatro has brought an account that the plague had broken out there, and had begun its ravages by the death of thirty persons.

4th. Guildhall. Ateleven o'clock, the sheriffs, Mr. Sawbridge, his scrutineers, and counsel, Mr. Brook Watson, and several of the livery, attended in the new council chamber, when the books were examined, and the rejected votes cast up.



up, and the numbers finally adjusted. At twelve the sheriffs, &c. adjourned to the hustings, when Sir Barnard Turner declared the numbers following :

Brook Watson, esq;	4776
Sir Watkin Lewes, Knt.	4541
Nath. Newnham, esq;	4467
John Sawbridge, esq;	2812
Richard Atkinson, esq;	2803
Samuel Smith, esq;	286
The Hon. W. Pitt, esq;	56

Upon which the sheriffs declared, that the majority of legal votes upon the scrutiny appeared in favour of Brook Watson, esq. Sir Watkin Lewes, knt. Nathaniel Newnham, esq. and John Sawbridge, esq. The court was then adjourned to Friday next, at the same time and place, when those gentlemen will be declared duly elected, and the return signed.

Numbers at the end of the poll.

Watson,	4789
Lewes,	4554
Newnham	4479
Sawbridge	2823
Atkinson	2816
Smith	277

End of the scrutiny.

Watson	4776
Lewes	4541
Newnham	4467
Sawbridge	2812
Atkinson	2803
Smith	276

Bad votes for Watson	13
Lewes	13
Newnham	12
Sawbridge	11
Atkinson	13
Smith	1

The hon. Mr. Grenville and John Aubrey, esq; returned members for the county of Bucks.— lord Verney lost it by 24. A

scrutiny was demanded for lord Verney, but refused by the sheriff.

Came on at Holyrood House, 8th. the election of the sixteen peers to represent the nobility of Scotland. There was a very strong contest; and at the close the following noblemen were chosen, having the greatest number of votes :

Duke of Queensberry,	42 votes
Marquis of Lothian,	38
*Earl of Morton	38
Eglintown,	47
Cassilis	43
*Moray	42
Abercorn	44
Galloway	39
Dalhousie	48
*Balcarras	40
*Breadalbane	39
Aberdeen	39
Dunmore	39
*Hopetown	42
Viscount Stormont	48
*Lord Elphinstone	41

Those marked thus (\*) are new members.

The following were the unsuccessful candidates :

Earl of Glencairn	18 votes.
Kelly	17
Lauderdale	26
Dyfar	9
Selkirk	26
Dumfries	34
Marchmont	37
Roseberry	34
Lord Salton	15
Cathcart	30
Kinnaird	36
Cranston	30

*Copenhagen, April, 17th.* The king of Denmark has been pleased to make a new arrangement in his council of state, in which the Prince Royal took his seat on the 14th. That council now consists of his Royal

# 190] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

Royal Highness, with Prince Frederick, the King's brother, and the following members: Count Thott, Monf. de Rosencrantz, Monf. de Schack Rathlou, Count de Bernstoff, General Huth, and Monf. de Stampe.

*Extract of a letter from Bristol, May 8.*

"This afternoon the poll for members for this city, which had lasted exactly five weeks, was finally closed by the consent of all the candidates—the numbers were as follows :

Brickdale	3458
Cruger	3052
Daubeny	2982
Peach	373

whereupon the two first were returned by the sheriffs.—Colonel Cruger is to be chaired on Monday, in the absence of his brother, who is at New York."

Mr. Bembridge, who had been confined in the king's bench these six months past, was brought up to the bar at Westminster-hall, and on giving bail was discharged.

At three o'clock the poll for members to serve in parliament for the city of Westminster finally closed.

The numbers of each day's poll were as follows :

Hood.	Fox.	Wray.	Hood.	Fox.	Wray.	Hood.	Fox.	Wray.
April 1.			13.			23.		
264	302	238	117	142	97	52	45	49
2.			5581	4819	5092	6323	5615	5699
970	941	866	14.			24.		
1234	1243	1104	151	186	116	51	56	38
3.			5732	5005	5208	6377	5671	5737
951	680	871	15.			26.		
2185	1923	1975	143	143	113	52	79	40
5.			5875	5148	5312	6429	5750	5776
1077	955	1010	16.			27.		
3262	2868	2985	56	82	88	39	77	40
6.			5971	5230	5400	6468	5827	5806
574	545	637	17.			28.		
3936	3413	3622	81	75	65	39	56	36
7.			6052	5305	5465	6507	5883	5842
616	414	495	19.			29.		
4452	3827	4117	68	65	68	25	38	23
8.			6120	5370	5533	6532	5921	5865
345	299	303	20.			30.		
4797	4126	4420	54	73	41	16	42	12
9.			6174	5443	5574	6548	5963	5877
80	65	69	21.			May 1.		
4877	4201	4489	65	76	49	14	29	13
10.			6239	5519	5623	6562	5992	5890
341	271	299	22.			3.		
5218	4472	4788	35	51	27	12	24	12
12.			6274	5570	5650	6574	6016	5902
246	205	207						
5464	4677	4995						

Hood.	Fox.	Wray.	Hood.	Fox.	Wray.	Hood.	Fox.	Wray.
4.			8.			13.		
14	33	11	11	21	9	4	12	3
6588	6049	5913	6635	6134	5946	6672	6194	5980
5.			10.			14.		
12	35	5	23	15	19	3	7	2
6600	6084	5918	6658	6149	5965	6675	6201	5982
6.			11.			15.		
14	20	11	5	16	6	6	17	5
6614	6104	5929	6663	6165	5971	6681	6218	5987
7.			12.			16.		
10	9	8	5	11	6	13	15	11
6624	6113	5937	6668	6182	5977	6694	6233	5938

17th. This day, at twenty minutes before three, the high-bailiff came from the vestry-room, took his seat upon the hustings, and in a few minutes the candidates were seated by his side. Sir Cecil Wray, previous to the closing of the poll, delivered a paper to the following purport:

To Thomas Corbett, esq; high-bailiff of the city and liberty of Westminster.

I Sir Cecil Wray, bart. one of the candidates to serve in parliament for the city and liberty of Westminster, and we the under-written electors of the said city and liberty, do hereby demand of you a scrutiny of the votes taken at the present election of two citizens to serve in parliament for the said city and liberty, as witness our hands this 17th day of May, 1784.

CECIL WRAY.

Mountmorres, Bateman,  
R. Butler, Francis Atkinson,  
J. Meyer, William Adams,  
D. Mackenzie, Peter Paul,  
James Croft, John Jackson,  
Morris Marsault, Rev. John Lloyd,  
John Robertson.

Sir Cecil spoke a very few words in justification of the motives that induced his friends to proceed on the scrutiny; and Mr. Fox immediately informed the bailiff, that his commission must of necessity end to-morrow (this day), that he had no farther controul in the business, and that, in fact, he must be under the necessity of returning the writ, and finishing the election. Mr. Corbett said, "It is a new case, and therefore I must well consider the several circumstances of it." Mr. Fox observed, that in the most severe and hard-fought election battles that he was acquainted with, either by his own experience, or that he had learned from the Journals, he knew but of two such special returns, one of the county of Cumberland, and the other of the city of Coventry, and both made on account of the utter impossibility of the returning officer making a due return, owing to riotous proceedings; that at the great scrutiny for Oxford, the officer thought it necessary to complete the return before the enquiry was ended. rather than run the risk of disobeying the precept. The high-bailiff then adjourned to the vestry-room, when a violent altercation took place, the event of which was, that Mr.

Mr. Corbett, the bailiff, agreed to grant the scrutiny. In the mean time the populace, not being able to resist the temptation of demolishing the hustings, began their operation, and in about twenty minutes they were totally demolished, and the materials carried away.

The chair was then taken out of the church, and at five o'clock Mr. Fox was lifted into it, and a most splendid procession succeeded, in which joined the principal electors, and the committees and inhabitants of the different parishes. The whole was closed by the coaches and six of the dukes of Devonshire and Portland, with numerous attendants.

After the procession was over, Mr. Fox addressed the numerous assembly, and desired that their conduct might be marked by order and regularity, and by that means prevent their enemies from throwing the least reproach upon them or their cause. The electors immediately departed, and the procession ended.

Mr. Christ. Atkinson was a 21st. gain brought before the court of King's Bench, when, on reading the affidavit, and hearing Mr. Bearcroft and Mr. Wood in behalf of Mr. Atkinson, lord Mansfield, in a speech that did him infinite honour, declared the unanimous opinion of the court, that the record should be amended as prayed. Lord Mansfield concluded his address in words to this effect:—

“ There is a certain principle which I have laid down in this, as well as other places, which was never more properly applicable than in the present instance :

“ That no fiction of law shall ever so far prevail against the real truth of the fact, as to prevent the execution of justice.”

By consent of the attorney general, the judgment of the court against Mr. Atkinson was postponed till the next term, in order that his counsel may inspect the record when amended ; they being still entitled to take any further objection that may yet appear on the face of the record.

At a quarter before seven o'clock in the evening came on the final hearing of Mr. Morris's cause, to establish his matrimonial contract with Miss Harford. Doctor Scott recapitulated the heads of the forcible arguments derived from the laws of nature and nations which he adduced on last Tuesday se'nnight.— Doctor Wynne replied ; the doctor very ably contended, that the marriage being contracted in fraud, was void *ab origine*. To prove this position, he adverted to Mr. Morris's conduct during the time the young lady was under the care of Mrs. Latouche for education, when that lady found herself under the necessity of informing Mr. Morris, “ that his frequent visits prevented the young lady from making a progress in her education.” He then traced him to every part of the continent, and shewed the probability of a like advantage being taken at Lisle, where Miss Harford “ desired the ceremony to be performed in the English language.” He next proved from the *lex loci* of the country in which the marriage contract was celebrated, that it was illegal ; that it was likewise illegal under the Marriage Act of 1753 ; that it was void by the common law antecedent to that period ; that it was equally condemned by the principles of the Roman and the canon law. His argument, which embraced an immense scope of learning and law, both



both jurisprudential and canonical, lasted two hours. At nine o'clock Mr. Mansfield began his argument, and continued until ten, in the course of which he concluded that the marriage in question was founded in fraud and illegality; particularly with respect to the *lex loci* of the two places (French Flanders and Denmark) in which it was performed. He quoted the opinions of the ablest lawyers in those places to prove his assertions.—After a profundity of argument, he concluded with craving judgment in favour of Miss Harford.

The court was immediately cleared, and after half an hour's consideration the court was opened, and final judgment was given.—“That both pretended marriages were void—that Miss Harford, falsely in the libel called Morris, was at full liberty to marry again, and that Mr. Morris was condemned in full costs.”

29th. Last night's Gazette contains an address from the county of Kent, in favour of the present administration.

J U N E 1784.

*Extract of a Letter from Paris, June 3.*

“The king has been pleased to erase the sentence of the court-martial at l'Orient, that the affair be no longer agitated, which is ineffectual to answer the public expectation. It is said, that a second council of war will be held, solely to examine and judge the conduct of comte de Grasse, who, in his quality of admiral and captain, ought, according to the marine law, to justify himself, by explaining the motives which obliged him to give up the Ville de Paris.

VOL. XXVII.

“On the 30th ult. the Parisians resorted in crowds to Versailles, to see the ceremony of investing Mr. le Bailli de Suffren with the blue ribbon. In the procession were all the princes of the blood, and all the knights of the order of the Holy Ghost.”

16th. The recorder made his report to his majesty of the convicts under sentence of death in Newgate, viz. Thomas Randall, Robert Ganley, Daniel Beane, Archibald Burridge, James Davis, Joseph Hawes, James Hawkins, John Lynch, James Farrell, Patrick Birmingham, Samuel Hall, William Hobbs, John Taylor, Drummond Clarke, Charles Barton, Patrick Burne, William Smith, Isaac Torres, Elizabeth Vickry, Peter Haslett, alias Edward Verilly, Charles Criswell, John Moseley, Simon Young, and John Boyle; when Robert Ganley, Patrick Birmingham, Peter Haslett, Patrick Burne, Isaac Torres, Charles Barton, Thomas Randall, William Smith, Daniel Beane, Archibald Burridge, James Farrell, John Lynch, James Hawkins, Joseph Hawes, and James Davis, were ordered for execution on Wednesday next, the 23d instant.

19th. Came on to be tried before the lord chief baron of the exchequer, at the Guildhall, London, the cause captain Sutton against commodore Johnstone. The trial began at ten o'clock on Saturday morning, and continued twenty-two hours. The jury retired about seven o'clock, and at eight on Sunday morning gave a verdict of 5,000l. damages for captain Sutton.

23d. The following convicts were executed on the scaffold erected for that purpose before Newgate: William Smith, Isaac Torres, Charles Barton, Patrick Burne, Patrick

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trick Birmingham, John Lynch, James Farrell, James Davis, Daniel Beane, Archibald Burrige, Robert Ganley, and Thomas Randall, for burglary; Peter Haslett, alias Edward Verilly, for personating and assuming the name of Thomas Howard, of his majesty's ship the Pallas, with intent to receive his wages; and Joseph Hawes and James Hawkins for a street robbery. The above unhappy men came upon the scaffold a little before seven o'clock; they all seemed devout and penitent, and behaved in every respect as became their miserable situation. The platform dropped about a quarter before eight, and at the same moment they were all launched into eternity. The concourse was immense; the windows and roofs of the houses commanding a view of the fatal spot were crowded, and many thousands of people were assembled in the Old Bailey before six o'clock.

This afternoon, at four o'clock, the poll for a representative for the borough of Southwark finally closed, when the numbers stood as follow:

	22.	23.	24.
For P. Le Mesurier,	533	863	935
Sir R. Hotham,	506	842	924

Majority 11

A scrutiny was demanded in favour of Sir Richard Hotham.

This day, at four o'clock, 25th. Mr. Holder, the high bailiff of the borough, held the adjourned hustings in Mill-lane, Tooley-street. He said, that his very ill state of health obliged him to decline granting a scrutiny; the fatigue he had already gone through in the election having very much injured his health, which was before much im-

paired, he therefore made the return to the writ, declaring, that by the number of the poll Mr. Le Mesurier was elected. After this declaration, Mr. Le Mesurier came forward, and made a short speech to the electors, thanking them for the honour done him.

Sir Richard Hotham also came forward; thanked his friends for the trouble and fatigue they had undergone, and declared his intention of appealing to the house of commons, in justice to them as well as himself; as he had ample proof to found a petition against his opponent, not only of bad votes, but of other illegal practices. The hustings was then adjourned.

In the court of King's-29th. bench, several gentlemen surrendered themselves at the bar, to receive judgment for being concerned in a riot in the prison of the King's-bench some time ago, whereof they were tried and convicted; some affidavits were read in extenuation of their offence, and the court were about to send them to the New Gaol in the Borough, but the defendants begged hard to be committed to the former prison, which was granted, and they are to be confined one month in the strong room of the King's bench.

*St. James's, June 29.* One of the king's messengers arrived on Sunday last with the ratification, on the part of the States General of the United Provinces, of the definitive treaty of peace, signed at Paris on the 20th of May last, which was exchanged with Daniel Hailles, esq; his majesty's plenipotentiary, against his majesty's ratification on the 19th inst. at Paris, by the plenipotentiaries of their high mightinesses.

J U L Y 1784.

*Extract of a Letter from Hanover,  
July 1.*

“The prince bishop of Osna-  
burgh, second son of his Britannic  
majesty, set out this morning for  
Vienna. His royal highness will  
afterwards visit several other courts  
of Germany, and will not return  
hither till towards the end of Octo-  
ber next.

*Naples, July 3.* The British  
squadron under the command of  
commodore sir John Lindsey, con-  
sisting of the *Trusty*, *Thetis*, *Andro-  
mache*, *Sphynx*, and *Rattlesnake*,  
which sailed from Leghorn on the  
12th of June last, anchored in this  
bay on the 17th. On hearing of  
its arrival the king of Naples was  
pleased to command that it should be  
immediately admitted to *Pratique*,  
notwithstanding the quarantine late-  
ly laid on all ships, from whatever  
quarter they come.

The king and queen of Naples  
having previously signified to the  
commodore their intention of ho-  
nouring the squadron with a visit,  
their majesties set out on the 24th in  
the morning from the Galley Mole,  
attended by general Acton, and se-  
veral other officers of the court, and  
by the captains of the squadron in  
their respective barges. As soon as  
their majesties were at a little distance  
from the shore, all the ships manned  
their yards, except the *Sphynx* and  
*Rattlesnake*, which being dressed  
with colours, displayed them at the  
same instant the others manned; and  
after their majesties were on board  
the *Trusty*, all the rest of the squa-  
dron fired a royal salute.

Their majesties visited the ship  
above and below, and the king went

into the commodore's barge, and  
visited all the other ships of the  
squadron, returning again to the  
*Trusty*. On leaving the squadron  
their majesties were saluted by all  
the ships with 21 guns each; and  
the commodore with the captains  
had the honour of dining with their  
majesties on shore, and the follow-  
ing day on board the king's yacht,  
which, with two of the king's galleys,  
was dressed with colours after the  
English manner, the English flag  
being at the yacht's foretopmast  
head.

At dinner on board the yacht  
their Sicilian majesties drank to the  
health of the king and queen of  
Great Britain, when a royal salute  
was immediately fired from the  
yacht and the two galleys. Their  
majesties, during the dinner, were  
pleased repeatedly to express their  
satisfaction at seeing an English  
squadron in the bay of Naples; and  
appeared desirous, by every means  
in their power, to manifest their  
friendship for his Britannic ma-  
jesty.

His Sicilian majesty having fixed  
on Thursday the 1st of July to ho-  
nour the squadron again with his  
presence, and to see a few evolu-  
tions performed in the Bay, his ma-  
jesty, attended by the nobles of dis-  
tinction, and the officers of the court,  
came at the time appointed; and  
the ships being in all respects pre-  
pared, and quite ready, slipped their  
cables, and sailed in good order about  
eleven o'clock, with a very fine sea  
breeze.

The exercising of the squadron  
began immediately, and such ma-  
nœuvres as could be performed by  
so small a number of ships, were  
executed at half past two o'clock.  
His majesty was pleased to honour



the commodore with his company at dinner, when the commodore took an opportunity of drinking the queen's health, and fired a royal salute from the whole squadron.

About four o'clock the evolutions re-commenced, and were continued until half past six, when the ships resumed their former anchoring stations in the bay of Naples. The several manœuvres of the squadron were honoured with repeated expressions of applause by his Sicilian majesty, who testified a perfect knowledge in every part of that business. He was saluted on his coming on board and going on shore, by all the ships, with 21 guns each, and attended on both occasions by the captains in their respective barges.

At one o'clock, William Bishopp, common cryer of this city, attended by proper officers, read at the Royal Exchange gate two proclamations, one relative to the definitive treaty being signed at Paris between Great Britain and the States General, and the United States of America; and also a proclamation for a general thanksgiving to be observed on the 29th instant, on the peace; they were all afterwards stuck up in divers parts of the city.

This morning Mr. Linton, one of the principal musicians belonging to Covent-garden and the Haymarket theatres, was attacked somewhere (as it is imagined) about St. Martin's lane. A woman accidentally looking out of a window about one o'clock, saw a gentleman pursuing three fellows up Bedford-bury, into New-street, St. Martin's lane, where Mr. Linton was soon after found, with a wound in his belly, supposed to have been given

with a knife. He was bled, and every endeavour used to recover him, notwithstanding which he soon after expired. A piece of a watch chain was found in Mr. Linton's hand; from which circumstance it is not improbable that his watch was taken from him by force, and that his not parting with it easily was the cause of the villains stabbing him. Two persons are already in custody, on suspicion of being concerned in this horrid murder; and every step is taken to bring the offenders to justice.

A medal has lately been struck to perpetuate the memory of capt. Cook, the execution of which is equal to the subject. On one side is a bold relief of captain Cook, with this inscription, *Jac. Cook, Oceani Investigator acerrimus*; immediately under the head is expressed in lesser characters, *Reg. Soc. Lond. Socio suo*. On the reverse appears an erect figure of Britannia standing on a plain. The left arm rests upon an hieroglyphic pillar. Her spear is in her hand, and her shield placed at the foot of the pillar. Her right arm is projected over a globe, and contains a symbol expressive of the celebrated circumnavigator's enterprising genius. The inscription round the reverse is, *Nisi intentatum nostri liquere*; and under the figure of Britannia, *Auspiciis Georgii III.*

The above medal was engraved at the expence of the royal society. Six impressions were struck in gold, and two hundred and fifty in silver. The gold medals are disposed of as follow:

One to his Britannic majesty, under whose auspices capt. Cook proceeded on his discoveries.

One to the king of France, for his



his great courtesy in giving a specific charge to his naval commanders, to forbear shewing hostility to the Resolution and Discovery, the two sloops under captain Cook's command, and to afford him every succour in their power in case they fall in with him.

One to the empress of Russia, for her great hospitality to capt. Cook when he touched at Kamtschatka.

One to Mrs. Cook, the captain's relict.

One to be deposited in the British Museum; and

One to remain in the college of the Royal Society.

The silver medals were distributed among the members of the Royal Society, some particular lords of the admiralty, and a few other distinguished persons.

13th. We are happy at having an opportunity of informing the public, that the two murderers of Mr. Linton are now in custody; one of the parties was seized on Saturday evening by Mr. Smith, the keeper of Tothill-fields, to which place he went up in a visit to Dixon, one of the men committed by Mr. Addington upon suspicion. The man taken on Saturday is named Morgan, and is well known to the officers of the police; he has made a confession of the whole melancholy transaction, acquitting Smith, one of the two first taken in custody, acknowledging that Dixon and himself were the only persons concerned in the murder and robbery. We cannot too much applaud the activity of Mr. Bond and Mr. Smith, in pursuit of the perpetrators of the murder of Mr. Linton, and the address with which Morgan was got to confess the particulars.

14th. A cause was tried before Mr. justice Buller, and a special jury, in which Mr. Edmund Burke was plaintiff, and the printer of the Public Advertiser defendant. The action was brought for a libel against Mr. Burke, and the damages laid at 5000l. The jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with 100l. damages.

*Extract of a letter from Dublin, July 15.*

"Early yesterday morning a number of people armed, seized on Mr. Plowman, woollen-draper, the corner of John's-lane, and hurried him to the Weaver's-square, where in a few minutes they stripped and tarred him. Sheriff Kirkpatrick, having received intelligence, passed off to the Liberty, and imprudently threw himself among the crowd, without guards, or any other assistance. The sheriff rescued the unhappy man; but on attempting to seize some of the ringleaders, he was most violently opposed. Swords were drawn, and the sheriff received two most severe cuts on the head. At this moment alderman Hart appeared, with a strong military force, and came up most opportunely, as sheriff Kirkpatrick was knocked down, and lay in the utmost danger of his life. Mr. Plowman had, it seems, made some very considerable importation of English goods the day before he was waited upon, directly infringing the non-importation agreement, and which, it is alledged, drew upon him the resentment of the populace.

The following convicts  
27th. were executed this morning before Newgate, pursuant to their sentence, viz. William Thompson, alias Peter Smith, John Branion, Thomas

Thomas White, George Dane, and John Richards.

*Extract of a letter from L'Orient, July 30.*

“ Monf. le comte de Grasse is gone home to the place of his exile. The captains of de Suffrein's fleet have not yet received sentence for their conduct in the East Indies; they are yet on board l'Amphion of 50 guns, where they have been already imprisoned near twelve months.”

Friday night arrived in 30th. town his excellency the duc de Chartres, and the prince de Leury, from France. They set out on Saturday for Brighthelmston, accompanied by the duke de Lauzun, on a visit to the prince of Wales.

His Royal Highness the 31st. duke of Gloucester arrived in town with his dukes from the continent.

**DIED.** Lately at Brook-hill in Ireland, Lovelace Love, esq; This gentleman was noted for his extraordinary bulk; he weighed upwards of forty stone; his coffin measured seven feet in length, four across, and three and a half deep. His death was occasioned by his immense corpulence.

## AUGUST 1784.

*Extract of a letter from Arras, dated 4th instant.*

“ Yesterday morning Mr. Charles Clutterbuck, who has been confined at St. Omer's, and at this place, for two years past, was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of spectators, from the royal prison to the council-chamber, in order to pass his last

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interrogation touching the offence he has committed against the bank of England; the examination lasted about an hour: the judge demanded his defence, which he delivered in French, in these words: “ Si mon “ procès avoit été instruit en Angleterre sous le faux titre royale, “ il auroit été rejeté, et il n'auroit pas été reconnu.” I understand that he has also presented to the bench of judges a very ingenious memorial, shewing the nature of his crime, and the nature and institution of the different banks in Europe. The judges are puzzled to make a decision upon this unprecedented suit, which affords much argument and profit to the lawyers here; the prosecution has already cost the bank more than 20,000 l. and as the whole of these proceedings are transmitted to the king's council chamber at Paris, it may probably cost them as much more.”

*Dublin, August 4.* Last Monday night, between the hours of eleven and twelve, a number of officers in the army, entered the shop of Mr. Flattery, a publican on Ormond-quay, near Essex-bridge, and by their intemperate behaviour (arising, it is supposed, from their being somewhat in liquor) occasioned a considerable riot, which took place betwixt them and some of the volunteers.—We are happy to add, that although several persons were wounded on both sides, no lives were lost in the affray.

*Extract of a letter from Dublin, August 5.*

“ Yesterday, about two o'clock, the duke of Rutland arrived at the castle, from the county of Westmeath, supposed to be in consequence of an express dispatched for his

his grace the day before, relative to the military outrage on Monday night."

7th. At the assizes for the county of Kent, the cause between earl Stanhope and the Mess. Adam of the Adelphi, was tried a third time, when the plaintiff, earl Stanhope, obtained a verdict of 1,500*l.* damages, besides costs of suit.

10th. Some of the prisoners in the King's bench attempted their escape in the following manner: despairing of being liberated by the insolvent bill, which has slept so long in the house of lords, one D——s with a number of associates, assembled, and in a peremptory manner demanded the key of the prison from the door-keeper, who, fearing the consequences of a refusal, gave up the same. D. thus in possession of the key, in the height of his joy ran back into the prison to give notice thereof; when the door-keeper immediately clapped too the door, which having a spring lock, and there being no key-hole within side, the insurgents were in a moment as close prisoners as if they had not the key. A guard was immediately sent for, which has done duty at the prison ever since; where things remain in a state of tranquillity.

*Dublin, August 13.*

At a general meeting of the corps of Upper-Cross and Coolock volunteers, at the Centaur in Fishamble-street, Tuesday the 10th of August, 1784.

Major M'Cormick, in the chair.

"Resolved, That we view with the utmost abhorrence the cruel and unprovoked outrage committed on the person of Mr. Neal Flattery, a

member of this corps, and a citizen, with other persons of his family, by certain officers of the army, on Monday the 2d instant; and that we consider this as one of the evil effects of the unnecessary augmentation of the military establishment.

"Resolved, That we pledge ourselves in the most sacred manner to each other, and to our fellow-citizens, to hold ourselves always prepared to assist the magistrates to repel any such violence in future."

Major M'Cormick reported his having received the following letter from col. lord Harrington, containing a message to be communicated to this corps.

*Dublin Barracks, Aug. 6, 1784.*

SIR,

Having learned, with much concern, that an affray which happened some nights ago (wherein my name has appeared) has been imputed to an intention on my part, and that of the officers of the army, of offering an insult to the corps of volunteers of this city, I took the earliest opportunity of endeavouring to remove so ill-founded an impression, by a message, which I begged an officer of my regiment to deliver to you, of which the following is a copy, viz.

I am desired by lord Harrington to wait on you, in consequence of his "having been informed that the unfortunate affray, which happened on Monday night on the Quay, is considered in the light of an intentional insult on the volunteer corps; his lordship desires me to assure you, sir, and through you the corps to which, you belong, that he is persuaded, that there was not the

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remotest

remotest intention of that kind;— and that in regard to himself (whose name has been mentioned in it) he never had an idea of treating with disrespect, much less of offering an insult, to you, or any other corps of volunteers.”

Understanding that you have expressed a wish, that the above message should be conveyed by letter, previous to its being communicated by you to the corps, I trouble you with this repetition of it.

I am, Sir,

Your very humble  
and obedient servant,

HARRINGTON.

To the commanding officer  
of the Upper-Cross, and  
Coolock volunteers.

14th. The duc de Chartres set off for France, being sent for by order of the French king.

17th. Henry Morgan was committed to Newgate by William Addington, esq; charged, on his own confession, with feloniously assaulting Charles Linton on the highway, in the Parish of St. Martin in the Fields, in the county of Middlesex, and taking from his person a gold watch, two guineas and a half, and one shilling, his property. He also stands further charged, on his own confession, with the willful murder of the said Charles Linton.

*Dublin, Aug. 27th.* This morning Mr. Dowling, printer of the *Volunteers Journal*, Dublin, was apprehended by justice Graham, and carried before judge Robinson, who committed him to Newgate, on a charge of high treason, at the suit of the crown.

DIED. *Aug. 5th,* at Matlock in Derbyshire, Ann Clowes, aged 103.

She measured 3 feet 9 inches in height, and weighed about 48 lb.— The house she resided in was as diminutive (in proportion) as herself, containing only one room, about eight feet square.

## SEPTEMBER 1784.

### *City of York.*

At the Guildhall of the said city, the first day of September, in the year of our Lord 1784, it was resolved by the mayor and commonalty of the said city,

“ That the thanks of this corporation here assembled be given to the right honourable Charles James Fox, the right honourable William Eden, William Joliffe, esq; George Dempster, esq; and John Courtenay, esq; for their wise, strenuous, and patriotic opposition to the bill brought into parliament during the last session, imposing an additional duty on windows in lieu of part of the late duties on tea, which bill had been declared by the inhabitants of this city, at a general meeting, to be extremely impolitic, partial, compulsory, oppressive, and unjust, and which now appears to this corporation to lay a heavy and peculiar burthen upon the people of this kingdom.

“ Resolved also, That the thanks of this corporation be given to the forty members of parliament who divided against the third reading of the said bill in the house of commons on the 10th of August last.

“ Resolved, That these resolutions be entered into the corporation books; that copies thereof be made and signed by the common clerk,



clerk, and transmitted by him to the several gentlemen named in the first resolution, and that the same be published in both the York Papers.

By order,

GEO. TOWNEND,

Common clerk of the said city."

*Extract of a letter from Plymouth,*  
Sept 7.

" Last Thursday morning, at ten o'clock, the remains of Sir Eyre Coote, K. B. were landed at the Jetty Head, in the dock-yard, the Bombay-castle firing 21 minute guns. The corps of marines forming a line to the dock-gates. Drums beating a point of war, colours flying, music playing a solemn dirge. The officers saluted the hearse as it passed them. In Fore-street, two companies of royal artillery, the 39th and 40th regiments of foot, received the body, forming themselves into divisions of six abreast; the grenadiers and light infantry taking the lead. They then proceeded through the towns of Dock, Storehouse, and Plymouth, through the Glacis, to the gates of the citadel, where the lieutenant-governor, Campbell, received the body with every mark of respect. The two battalions and artillery formed on the parade, before the governor's house; the grenadiers and light infantry, in four divisions, escorted the hearse to the chapel, the troops presenting their arms; the drums beating, and music playing, 19 minute guns were fired during this ceremony, and the body was deposited in the chapel with great solemnity and respect. The numerous crowds of spectators which attended, testified their regard to the memory of so great a man."

*Constantinople, August 9.* On the 3d instant the Porte received certain intelligence, that a terrible earthquake had happened on the 23d of July, in the mountainous parts in the province of Ekilis, towards the frontiers of Armenia, by which the town of Ezerghen, or Arslingham, about fifty miles on the side of Erzerum, had been nearly destroyed, with the loss of about six thousand inhabitants. Amongst other sufferers by this dreadful calamity, was Suleiman, Bashaw of Erzerum, lately promoted to that government from the post of Chiaus Bashi, chief of the Pursuivants. This gentleman had proceeded as far as Ezerghen, with a suite of five hundred people, of whom twelve only escaped.

At mid-day on the 5th instant, the north wind being remarkably high, a fire broke out in the quarter of Constantinople called the Chiremit Mahalefi, situated towards the bottom of the harbours, which, for want of timely assistance, soon communicated to different houses, and, in less than two hours, extended to the town walk towards Fanar, and to the quarters of Cara Ghiumrak, Jeni Bakzé, and Sara Gheriz. It continued burning twenty-six hours, and about ten thousand houses (most of which had been rebuilt since the fire in 1782) were entirely consumed.

The populace took the horses from the coach of the right hon. Charles James Fox, in Old-street, and substituted themselves in their places.

Henry Morgan, convicted last Friday for the wilful murder of Mr. Linton, on the 7th of July, near St. Martin's-lane, by stabbing him in the belly with a large  
cane.

case-knife, was executed on a scaffold erected before Newgate. At half past six the convict came upon the scaffold with a book in his hand, and prayed in an audible voice, and with every appearance of fervent devotion. In about a quarter of an hour the ordinary quitted the scaffold, when the malefactor, in an impassioned tone of voice, continued to repeat—"Oh, my God, forgive all my sins! Lord, have mercy upon me! Christ Jesus, receive my soul!" and while uttering these ejaculations, the platform dropped, and after a few convulsive struggles, he became motionless. A woman and a child now came upon the scaffold, and had the hand of the malefactor stroked several times upon their necks, under a notion of its removing wens. After hanging the usual time, the body was put into a shell, and carried to Surgeons hall, in order for dissection.

28th. The house of the right hon. Edm. Burke, of Beaconsfield, was broke open, and robbed of a variety of plate, and other articles to a considerable value. The robbers came down from London in a phaeton, which they had hired in Oxford-road. They broke open a field-gate at the side of the road, opposite the avenue which leads up through the lawn to the back of the house, and there the horses and phaeton were left in a corner of the field; as appeared by the marks of the wheels, the horses, and the men. At about one, it is supposed, they came up to the house, and having passed the left wing on the rear, they took their stand under a pear-tree, in the corner, where by the grass being much trodden, it may

be conjectured they stood about an hour.

DIED. At his house in 30th. Bermondsey, in Surrey, Richard Russell, esq; in the commission of the peace for that county. He died a bachelor, and has left, among other legacies, 3000*l.* to the Magdalen hospital; 3000*l.* to the Small-pox hospital; 3000*l.* to the Lying-in hospital near Westminster-bridge; 500*l.* to the Surrey Dispensary; 2000*l.* for a monument to be erected in St. John's church, Southwark; 50*l.* each to six young women to attend as pall-bearers on the night of his interment; 20*l.* each to four other young women, who are to precede his corpse, and strew flowers, whilst the Dead March in Saul is to be played by the organist of St. John's; 100*l.* to the reverend Mr. Grose to write his epitaph. This sum had been first left to Dr. Samuel Johnson, but altered by a codicil in favour of the reverend Mr. Grose. All the rest of his property, after sale of his estates, to the Asylum for young girls in Lambeth parish, which, it is supposed, will amount to 15 or 16,000*l.* after all the legacies and funeral charges are defrayed. Eight of the acting magistrates in Surrey are requested in his will to attend his funeral; and his executors are Sir Joseph Mawbey, bart. Samuel Gillam, Thomas Bell, and William Leavis, esqrs.

DIED. Monday last at Biggleswade, in Bedfordshire, Mr. George Alexander Stevens, author of the celebrated *Lecture on Heads*, and many other humorous pieces.

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OCTOBER 1784.

*St. James's, Oct. 1.* This day the Marquis

Marquis de Cordon, Envoy Extraordinary from the King of Sardinia, had his audience of leave of his Majesty.

And afterwards the Chevalier de Pollon, his successor in the same character, had his first private audience of his Majesty, to deliver his credentials.

To which they were introduced by the Marquis of Carmarthen, his Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for foreign affairs.

2d. A few days ago two very fine young Arabs, a horse and a mare, were presented to his Majesty from Mr. Hastings. They were brought from Bengal in the Atlas and Besborough East-Indiamen.

7th. This evening, about six o'clock, as some boys were diverting themselves with throwing squibs round a small bonfire in Duke's Place, it being a kind of holiday among the Jews, a person who keeps a coffee-house near the place being much exasperated at their behaviour, took a loaded blunderbuss, and fired among them from a one pair of stairs window, whereby one boy was instantly shot dead, two others mortally wounded, besides three more; after which he came down with a drawn cutlass, but being overpowered, was secured and lodged in the Poultry-compter.—He was brought before the sitting magistrates yesterday, and re-committed for examination on Wednesday next.

10th. This morning another of the boys which was shot on Thursday night in Duke's Place, died in Bartholomew's hospital.

21st. At the sessions at the Old Bailey, which began yesterday,

William Morrow was indicted for stealing a bag, containing 1000*l.* and sundry other sums of money, the property of Messrs. Drummond and Co. bankers. He was convicted on his own confession, and other corroborating circumstances, for it did not come out by what means he got at the bag, which it appeared was kept in an iron chest in the strong room, to the keys of which every clerk in the office had free access in the way of business. His salary, with the perquisites, did not exceed 90*l.* a year, and of this he had only been in possession since 1782; previous to that period he had only 60*l.* a year; yet Mr. Pygot, the stockbroker, had purchased for him 50*l.* stock in August 1783, in the 3 per cents. consols; on the 3d of October 1783, purchased 50*l.*; on the 27th of April 1784, purchased 250*l.*; on the 23d of July purchased 70*l.* Mr. Wright had purchased for him 525*l.* 4 per cents. on the 3d of June 1784; 264*l.* 10*s.* 4 per cents. on the 3d of July 1784; 262*l.* 10*s.* on the 7th of September 1784. When the prisoner bought the first 400*l.* he said he had received 200*l.* from a friend in the country, the other 200*l.* he had saved from his salary. When he bought the next 200*l.* he said he had part from a lady at Lancaster, the other part he had raised by selling part out of the 3 per cents. The third sum, he said, from the sale of all his 3 per cent. stock.—His counsel did not deny the fact; but endeavoured to prove him at times insane; but lord Loughborough, before whom he was tried, observed, that if a man was deprived of his reason, he was certainly an object of compassion, not of punishment; but here was a regular plan, a habit



a habit with too much method to be compatible with the plea set up. Singularity of conduct gives no protection. The jury found him guilty, but recommended him to mercy.

23d. Lord Loughborough, lord chief justice of the common-pleas, in conjunction with the Recorder of London, who do the Old Bailey business this sessions, were on Saturday moved by Mr. counsellor Chetwood, in behalf of captain Kenneth Mackenzie, who stands charged with the wilful murder of a private man at Cape Coast, on the coast of Africa, in order to his being tried, bailed, or discharged. The application to the court was on the ground of the hardships the captain sustained by the prosecution, not having brought over his witnesses when they brought over the witnesses for the crown. The nature of the persons the captain had to deal with, whom he took to Cape Coast, viz. capital felon convicts who had received his majesty's mercy on condition of transportation for life, among whom was that well-known desperado, Patrick Madan, and the deceased, who had three times received his majesty's mercy. That they had bored a hole in the hull of the ship in order to sink her, with other acts of desperation, and that the act of the prisoner was an act of necessity. That the vessel sent out for the captain's witnesses was not returned, and in all human probability never might; and therefore he prayed he might be tried, bailed, or discharged.

The court in answer said, that it certainly was a peculiar misfortune to the prisoner to labour under such difficulties. With regard to the facts, this was not the time to inves-

tigate them, and with respect to the ship having been sent out for the captain's witnesses, it was done by an order of government at the captain's request. That he was at liberty to go to trial if he pleased, and would venture it without the witnesses he had sent for, but with regard to discharging, the court could not do that. With respect to bailing; the attorney-general, who was out of town, had not been served with any notice, and it would be highly indecent to do it either without his consent, or without his knowledge, if the court was competent to it; but they were of opinion the court of King's-bench must be applied to, as was done in the case of captain David Roache, who had killed a man at the Cape of Good Hope, and who had applied to the sessions of Oyer and Terminer to be tried, bailed, or discharged, but who was referred to the court of King's-bench, where he was afterwards bailed. The motion therefore fell of course, and captain Mackenzie ordered to remain still in Newgate.

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#### NOVEMBER 1784.

*Brussels, Nov. 8.* Accounts have been received here, that last night the Dutch broke one of their dikes near Lillo, by which several persons were drowned. They attempted to break a second, but were prevented by the Imperial troops. This event has spread an alarm at Ostend, and has occasioned an extraordinary diligence in completing the works on the ramparts there.

Yesterday afternoon a Dutch mail arrived,



arrived, which brought the following intelligence :

*Antwerp, Nov. 8.* There was a real and serious cannonade this day from the Dutch fort of Cruyschans; it was directed against the inhabitants, subjects to the emperor, occupied in repairing a breach, from which they feared the farther progress of the inundation already begun, and their entire ruin; a shot even entered a farm house at some distance, in which was a piquet of Imperial infantry. The night before was a prelude to what is to happen this day; for the Dutch have already fired some musket-shot on the patrol of the Imperial troops, which, as usual, surrounded the territory of his Imperial majesty.

*Naples, Nov. 16.* There is at this moment a slight eruption of lava from Mount Vesuvius, which, so far from alarming, gives universal satisfaction here, as a few days ago a shock of an earthquake was felt at Naples. The earthquakes still continue with some force in Calabria, sometimes towards Catanzaro, and at other times in the neighbourhood of Reggio.

The long-contested cause 20th. between John Gallini, esq; and the trustees of the king's theatre, was finally determined by the lord chancellor, in favour of the latter; the temporary receivers were discharged, and the said trustees confirmed in their right of managing the property for the benefit of the creditors. Counsel for the trustees, Mr. solicitor-general, Mr. Selwyn, and Mr. Evance; solicitors, Mess. Harbone and Seton of the Adelphi.

The following extraordinary 22d. affair came before the Bow-

street magistrates: Count Duroure, who has made so much noise about town, some little time since got acquainted with a gentleman of the law, who lent him his assistance to extricate him from difficulties he was involved in: having access to his friend's table, who was married to a young lady of some accomplishments, the Count, by his attentions, insinuated himself so far into her affections, as to prevail upon her to elope with him to France. He sent off his baggage to Dover, whither he was to follow in a day or two. The husband, by a laconic letter from the lady, received the first intimation of her infidelity. After a very minute enquiry, he discovered, that the lady and her paramour were at a bagnio in Leicester-fields, whither he went on Sunday night, accompanied with some friends, and being guided to the room, desired admittance, which was refused; upon this he forced open the door, and the moment he entered the Count fired upon him; the ball went through his hat without doing him any mischief. The Count's conduct appeared in so extraordinary a light to the magistrates, that for the purpose of more security he was committed to Newgate.

King against Wooldridge.

4th. This day the long-depending cause was again argued in the court of King's-Bench, before lord Mansfield and Mr. Justice Buller. Mr. Garrow, as junior counsel, after a very handsome apology for his youth and inexperience, craved the indulgence of the court. His first argument went to the informality of the return to the mandamus, which, although by no means the ground that he meant to set his foot upon, yet

was

was in itself sufficient to insure success to his client. He then, by a chain of very clear deductions and apposite cases, a great variety of which he quoted, stated his objections to the words of the return; but the court declining to enter directly into the merits, Mr. Garrow judiciously (as Mr. Justice Buller afterwards said) abandoned his intentions, and went boldly to the general questions.

The first charge was a pretended embezzlement of a part of Sir James Langham's charity to soldiers and sailors, the alderman having drawn on the chamberlain for the sum of four pounds, payable to James Aspell, from whom he took a receipt, whereas in fact it was alledged that he paid Aspell only one guinea, and appropriated the remainder to his own use. Mr. Garrow denied the fact—his client had *bona fide* distributed the money according to the true intent of the donor's will, and there was no averment in the petition of the inhabitants of Bridgeward to the contrary—but it was meritoriously distributed to several persons instead of one person—Admitting the fact, it was at most but a misapplication, which, according to the doctrine held by Holt, chief justice, in the King against Chalk, in the borough of Wilton, 1 Raymond, fo. 225, “a misapplication of corporation money was no cause of a motion, because an action will lie against the party.”—He quoted an infinite number of other cases, together with lord Mansfield's former opinions, corroborating this position in many points of view. He then made some striking observations upon the nature of charitable donations vested

in the hands of corporations, and furnished the court with much entertainment at the expence of Mr. Chamberlain Wilkes, in his late correspondence with Mr. Josiah Dornford.

The second charge was extorting 15 l. from William Parry, nine guineas of which he received under pretence of raising two substitutes, the said Parry having been discharged by the alderman from a criminal prosecution, on condition of serving his majesty. He averred that it did not appear, either from the petition or the return of the mandamus, that the alderman had not actually raised the substitutes. But suppose it was not so, this was no crime in his client's corporate capacity. The alderman should have been indicted, and the record of conviction might have operated. If an alderman was thus to be ousted of his freehold, contrary to the great charter, where the same parties were accusers, judges, witnesses, and jurymen, then a member of a corporation was in such a miserable state as no other citizen could possibly be placed. If every circumstance which was “*contra bonas mores*” was to be punished in this summary way, perhaps *gluttony* and *drunkenness* (of which crimes he did not presume the corporation in question were guilty) might be made grounds of a motion. He here likewise quoted a variety of precedents analogous to his purpose, particularly King and corporation Gloucester, 5 Bulstrode, —and Bag's case in lord Coke.

His client's crimes had formerly been held up in the form of an Hydra, but they were now shrunk into a Cerberus; there being only a third charge, viz. that of imprisonment

sonment for debt upon escape warrants. The liberality of the present day held bankruptcy to be no cause of disfranchisement; how then should imprisonment? and this was clear in the determination of the Liverpool case, reported 2d Burrows, folio 723. He here, with great force and feeling, painted the mischiefs that might arise from such a power being vested in corporations, as to disfranchise for involuntary absence. What opinions had the citizens hitherto held? had they been always so scrupulously exact? Alderman Lee was four years absent an agent for congress, then in open arms against this country; alderman Peckham abroad four or five years to recover his health; the late alderman Bridgen had not attended duty for nine years, only in the last act of his political life he had expiated all his offences arising from neglect, by giving a casting vote for the present worthy recorder (a general laugh.) Where were the disfranchisements at that time? On the contrary, his unhappy client, after being ruined by the American war, stripped of his property by a second commission of bankruptcy (since proved to have been issued illegally) had all the power and the vengeance of the corporation poured forth upon him. Was not the present chamberlain elected an alderman when under a more severe predicament? Mr. Garrow then, in a very animated manner, drew his conclusion, and craved judgment of the court, to restore Mr. Wooldridge to his seat amongst the elders of the city.

Mr. Gibbs answered, in a very ingenious speech, in which he adduced two cases, that claimed the attention of the court, in support of

the third charge—first case, King and Truebody, a capital burghers of Lestwithel, in Cornwall, 2 Raymond, fol. 1275—and King and Glyde, a member of the corporation of Exeter, reported in 4th Modern, fol. 33. Both of these cases went to this point, that a corporator being removed out of the jurisdiction, and being *incapable* of performing his duty, it was held good ground to remove him. Mr. Gibbs used several other forcible arguments, and was replied to by Mr. Garrow.

Lord Mansfield.—The case has been well argued. He was always desirous, that corporation questions might be defined with as much accuracy as possible. The first charge, respecting Sir John Langham's charity, does not seem to be a sufficient ground, it is not charged to be done corruptly. The second, if true, was an offence as a justice of the peace, and therefore against the general law of the land—must be a previous conviction. The last head is of great consequence. The two cases, adduced by Mr. Gibbs, must be well considered. A man is not a corporator for his own sake—when he ceases to be in a condition to perform the duty, the question is, whether he ought to remain. His lordship therefore desired to have a further hearing on the third head, in the course of next term.

Mr. Justice Buller.—The first charge, clearly no offence against the corporation. The second, merely a subject for common law, and therefore there must be a previous conviction. The third, he desired a farther argument, to be treated under two heads; namely, first, how far it may affect the public administration



stration of justice: secondly, to what extent it may militate with the welfare of the city and corporation.

Lord Mansfield assented. And thus Mr. Wooldridge has completely succeeded in the two most important points, and has only to wait until next term for a solemn adjudication of the third.

30th. The high sheriff of the county of Dublin, in Ireland, received his sentence from the court of King's-Bench, to be imprisoned for one week, and to pay a fine of five marks.

necessity of a parliamentary reform, and to elect delegates to meet in national congress.

8th. On casting up the scrutiny at the East India house in Leadenhall-street, for the election of a director in the room of Charles Boddam, esq; deceased (exclusive of five double ballots, which were of course thrown out as illegal) the numbers stood—

For James Moffatt, esq;	373
Thomas Pattle, jun. esq;	285
Majority	88

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## DECEMBER, 1784.

1st. A most remarkable murder was perpetrated in the following manner, by a journeyman barber that lives near Hyde Park Corner, who had been for a long time past jealous of his wife, but could no way bring it home to her: a young gentleman by chance coming into his master's shop to be shaved and dressed; and, being in liquor, mentioned his having seen a fine girl home to Hamilton-street, from whom he had certain favours the night before, at the same time describing her person; the barber, concluding it to be his wife, in the height of his frenzy cut the gentleman's throat from ear to ear, and absconded.

*Extract of a letter from Dublin, Dec. 4.*

4th. Saturday last three attachments were granted (unless cause to the contrary is shewn) by the court of King's-Bench, against the three magistrates who convened the freeholders of the county of Mayo, agreeably to a requisition, for the purpose of considering of the

11th. At eleven o'clock came on before lord chief baron Skynner and a special jury, at Guildhall, the new trial directed by the court of Exchequer, in an action of damages brought by captain Sutton, of the Isis, against commodore Johnstone, who commanded a fleet bound to the East-Indies. The latter had put the former under arrest at Port Praya, alledging, that the captain had not done his duty in the action which took place with Monsieur Suffrein's Squadron in that port. The new trial was granted at the instance of the commodore, to relieve himself from a former verdict obtained by the captain on the same action, for five thousand pounds. There being a greater number of witnesses than were, perhaps, ever examined in any cause, the trial lasted all the day on Saturday, the whole night, and yesterday until two o'clock, when the jury gave a verdict in favour of captain Sutton, for six thousand pounds.—There never was an instance in this kingdom, before this, of a trial for damages that occupied the attention of a court for twenty-six hours without intermission.

The



20th. The remains of the much-lamented Dr. Samuel Johnson were interred in Westminster-abbey. The procession, consisting of a hearse and six with the corpse, and ten mourning coaches and four, set out from Bolt-court, Fleet-street, a few minutes after twelve o'clock, being followed by several gentlemen's carriages, most of the company in which were in mourning. At one o'clock the corpse arrived at the abbey, where it was met by Dr. Taylor, (who read the funeral service) and several prebends, conducted to the Poet's corner, and laid close to the remains of David Garrick, esq. The principal mourners on this solemn occasion were Sir Joshua Reynolds, Mr. Edmund Burke, Sir John Hawkins, Mr. Colman, and the deceased's faithful black servant. There were present besides, Doctor Horsley, General Paoli, Mr. Steevens, Mr. Malone, Rev. Mr. Strahan, Mr. Hoole, Mr. Nichols, and other distinguished persons. A great concourse of people were assembled, who behaved with a degree of decency suitable to the solemn occasion.

28th. J. Mackintosh, jun. esq; shot himself in his lodgings at one of the hotels in Covent-Garden. He was a young man of character and distinction, lately returned from the East-Indies, where he had acquired a genteel competency; but from the extravagancies of youth, had expended his fortune, and found himself in very embarrassed circumstances. He had ruminated on his fate with the greatest deliberation for several days, and had conciliated his mind to that awful and horrible destiny, to which his proud spirit and precipitation hurried him. Having written several letters to his

friends, and one to a pastry-cook under the Piazzas, to whom he was indebted about 2l. and whom he ordered to call on a certain gentleman on Thursday next for payment, mentioning at the same time, that *the pistol was at his head*, he, with the greatest composure, seized the fatal instrument, and put a period to his existence. He was a young gentleman of about nineteen years, upwards of six feet high, and of a handsome and agreeable aspect.

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BIRTHS for the year 1784.

- Dec. 24. 1783. Her serene highness the princess of Wirtemberg, of a princess.
- Feb. 2. The right hon. the countess of Westmoreland, of a son.
4. The right hon. lady Algernon Percy, of two sons.
12. The right hon. viscountess Maitland, of a son.
14. The right hon. lady Louisa Macdonald, of a son.
- March 23. The right hon. lady St. John, of a son and heir.
- April 12. The lady of the hon. col. Rodney, of a son.
- May 2. Her royal highness princess Sophia Frederica, consort to prince Frederic of Denmark, of a daughter.
7. The lady of Philip Yorke, esq; of a son and heir.
- June 13. The right hon. lady viscountess Chewton, of a son and heir.
- Sunday last, of a son, viscountess Tournour.

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July

# 210] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

- July 45. The right hon. the countess Traquair, of a son.  
 21. Lady Frances Alicia Benyon, of a son.
- Aug. 6. Viscountess Stormont, of a son.  
 10. Lady of his grace the lord archbishop of Cashel, of a son.  
 Countess of Leicester, of a daughter.  
 24. Lady of the right. hon. William Eden, of a daughter.  
 Lady Page, of a daughter.
- Sept. 2. Duchess of Beaufort, of a son.  
 13. Hereditary princess of Baden, of a prince.
- Oct. 9. Lady of the hon Francis Talbot, brother to the earl of Shrewsbury, of a daughter.  
 14. The princess of Asturias, of a son.  
 Lady of lord George Cavendish, of a son.  
 16. Right hon. lady Deerhurst, of a son and heir.  
 22. Archduchess of Milan, of a princess.  
 28. Lady of the Grand Signior, of a princess.
- Nov. 22. Lady viscountess Galway, of a daughter.  
 7. Lady of the hon. John Byng, of a son.  
 29. Lady Lewisham of a son.
- Dec: 2. Right hon. lady Frances Morgan, of a daughter.  
 Lately, the grand duchess of Russia, of a princess.  
 14. Queen of Naples, of a princess.
- Fingask, to lady Elizabeth Eleonora Home, eldest daughter of the earl of Home.
- Feb. 5. The hon. and rev. Edward Venables Vernon, to lady Anne Leveson Gower.  
 26. John Boyd, esq; son of Sir John Boyd, bart. to Miss Harley, daughter to the right hon. Thomas Harley.
- April 13. The right hon. lord Napier, to Miss Clavering, eldest daughter of Sir Thomas Clavering, bart.
- May 5. — Byron, esq; to the hon. Miss Talbot, niece to the earl of Shrewsbury.  
 7. The right hon. lord Clive, to the right hon. lady Henrietta Herbert, sister to the earl of Powis.  
 14. Captain Hervey, of the royal navy, to the right hon. lady Louisa Nugent, daughter to earl Nugent, of the kingdom of Ireland.
- June 9. The right hon. lord Saltoun, to Miss Fraser, daughter to Simon Fraser, esq.  
 18. The right hon. lord Llandaff, to lady Catherine Skeffington, sister to the earl of Massarene.  
 23. John Bridgeman, esq; second son of Sir H. Bridgeman, bart. to Miss Worsley, daughter of the right hon. lady Eliz. Worsley.  
 28. The hon. George Ferdinand Fitzroy, eldest son of lord Southampton, to Miss Keppel, daughter to the late bishop of Exeter.

Evan

## MARRIAGES for the year 1784.

Jan. 9. Col. Thomas Dundas, of

- Evan Law, esq; son of the Bishop of Carlisle, to Miss Markham, daughter of the archbishop of York.
29. The right hon. lord viscount Falmouth, to Miss Crewe, daughter of John Crewe, esq; of Belesworth-Castle, in Cheshire.
- July 14. — Cumberland, esq; to Miss Hobart, daughter of the hon. Mr. Hobart.
21. The right hon. William Wnydham, brother to the earl of Egremont, to Miss Harford, natural daughter of lord Baltimore, and late Mrs. Morris.
31. James Trail, esq; to the right hon. lady Janet Sinclair, sister to the earl of Caithness.
- Aug. 6. Thomas Ord, esq; to Mrs. Broderick, widow of Edward Broderick, esq;
11. Right hon. lord Balgonie, eldest son of the earl of Leven and Melville, to Miss Thornton, daughter of John Thornton, esq; of Clapham.
17. The hon. admiral Digby, to Mrs. Jauncy, eldest daughter of Andrew Elliott, late governor of New York.
21. The hon. John Cranfield Berkeley, one of the representatives in parliament for the county of Gloucester, to the hon. Miss Charlotte Lenox, daughter of lord George Lenox, brother to the duke of Richmond.
28. Lord St. Asaph, son to the earl of Ashburnham, to the hon. Miss Thynne, third daughter of lord viscount Weymouth.
- Sept. 9. Richard Pepper Arden, esq; his majesty's attorney-general, to Miss Wilbraham Bootle, eldest daughter of Richard Wilbraham Bootle, esq.
23. Montagu Wilson, esq; to Miss Hobart, eldest daughter of the hon. Henry Hobart, brother to the earl of Buckingham.
28. Prince Charles of Mecklenburgh Strelitz, second brother to her majesty, to princess Charlotte, of Hesse-Cassel.
- Oct. 4. Honourable capt. Douglas, of the first regiment of foot-guards, to Miss Lascelles.
- Nov. 10. Richard Langley, esq; to the hon. Miss Willoughby, daughter of the right hon. Henry lord Middleton.
16. Earl of Euston, eldest son of the duke of Grafton, to lady Horatio Waldegrave, second daughter of the duchess of Gloucester, and sister to the present countess of Waldegrave.
18. Reginald Pole Carew, esq; to Miss Jemima Yorke, only daughter of the hon. John Yorke.
29. Thomas Bovet, esq; to the hon. Miss Seymour, daughter of the right hon. and rev. lord Francis Seymour, and niece to the duke of Somerset.



*Principal PROMOTIONS for the Year 1784; from the London Gazette, &c.*

Dec. 26, 1783. The right hon. James Grenville, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 30. Thomas Pitt, esq; the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Camelford, baron of Boconnoc, in the county of Cornwall.

— 31. Heneage, earl of Aylesford, Thomas, lord Walsingham, and the right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Thomas, earl of Clarendon, to be chancellor of the duchy and county palatine of Lancaster.

Jan. 1, 1784. Philip, earl of Chesterfield, to be his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the king of Spain.

— 2. Arthur Stanhope, esq; to be his majesty's secretary of embassy to the king of Spain.

Heneage, earl of Aylesford, to be captain of the yeomen of his majesty's guard.

George, lord de Ferrars, to be captain of his majesty's band of gentlemen pensioners.

John, earl of Galloway, to be one of the gentlemen of his majesty's bed-chamber.

— 6. Charles, earl of Tankerville, and Henry Frederic, lord Carteret, to the office of post-master general.

The right hon. sir George Yonge, bart. to be his majesty's secretary at war.

— 7. Philip, earl of Chesterfield, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 13. The right hon. Thomas Kelly, to be one of the justices of the court of Common Pleas in the kingdom of Ireland, *vice* Godfrey Pitt, esq; deceased.

Sir Samuel Bradstreet, bart. Alexander Crookshank, esq; and Peter Merge, esq; to be justices of the court of King's-Bench and Common Pleas, and a baron of the court of Exchequer, in the kingdom of Ireland, respectively, in addition to the number of justices heretofore appointed for the said courts.

— 31. Hugh, duke of Northumberland, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Lovaine, baron of Alnwick in the county of Northumberland, during his natural life, with remainder to his second son, lord Algernon Percy.

The right hon. Henry Frederic Carteret, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Carteret of Hawnes in the county of Bedford, with remainder to the second and other sons of lord viscount Weymouth.

Edward Eliot, esq; to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Eliot, of St. Germain's, in the county of Cornwall.

Richard Gamon, esq; to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the management of the duties on salt.

Thomas Astle, esq; to the office of keeper of the rolls and records of the court of chancery in the tower of London.

Lately, the right hon. Isaac Barré, to be clerk of the pells in the court of Exchequer.

Feb.



Feb. 9. Lord George Henry Lenox, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 10. The earl of Effingham, to the office of master and worker of his majesty's mint.

Lord George Henry Lenox, to be constable of the tower of London, and his majesty's lieutenant and custos rotularum of the tower hamlets.

The honourable John Thomas Townshend, to be one of his majesty's under-secretaries of state for the home department.

Sir Edmund Affleck, bart. to be rear admiral of the blue.

— 11. Charles, duke of Rutland, to be lieutenant-general and general governor of his majesty's kingdom of Ireland.

— 13. The prince of Wales has been pleased to make the following appointments in his royal highness's household, viz.

Colonel Hulse, to be comptroller of the household.

Colonel Stevens and lieutenant-colonel St. Leger, to be grooms of the bed-chamber.

Major Churchill, and the honourable captain Ludlow, to be equerries.

— 21. The reverend William Buller, D. D. to the dignity of dean of the cathedral church of Exeter, *vice* Dr. Jeremiah Milles.

The reverend George Prettyman, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of the collegiate church of Westminster, *vice* the rev. William Stockwood.

The reverend Edward Wilson, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of his majesty's free chapel of Windsor, *vice* Dr. William Buller.

Lieutenant-general William Au-

gustus Pitt, to be commander in chief of his majesty's land forces in Ireland.

— 24. Richard, earl of Mornington, and Thomas Orde, esq; to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council for the kingdom of Ireland.

Thomas Orde, esq; appointed by the lord lieutenant of Ireland to be his chief secretary.

— 28. Richard, earl of Shannon, George, viscount Mount Edgumbe, and Thomas, lord Walsingham, to the office of vice-treasurer of the kingdom of Ireland.

David Reid, esq; to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the receipt and management of the customs and other duties in Scotland.

March 5. Joshua John, lord Carysfort, invested a knight of the most illustrious order of St. Patrick.

— 8. William Fraser, Stephen Cottrel, and Evan Nepean, esquires, to be commissioners for executing the office of keeper of the privy seal.

George, earl of Orford, to the office of ranger and keeper of St. James's park.

— 27. Ralph Heathcote, esq; his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the elector of Cologne, to be also his minister plenipotentiary to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel.

The reverend Claudius Crigan, A. B. nominated by the duchess dowager of Athol, to be bishop of the isle of Man and Sodor, *vice* Dr. George Malon, and confirmed by his majesty.

Robert, lord viscount Galway, to be comptroller of his majesty's household.

The right honourable William Wyndham Grenville, and Constantine John, lord Mulgrave, to the office of receiver and pay-master general of his majesty's forces.

Lloyd Kenyon, esq; to the office of master or keeper of the rolls or records in chancery, *vice* sir Thomas Sewel.

— 28. Richard Hopkins, esq; to be one of his majesty's commissioners for executing the office of high admiral, *vice* John Modyford Heywood, esq.

— 29. The honourable Richard Howard, appointed by the queen to be secretary and comptroller of her majesty's household.

— 30. Richard Pepper Arden, esq; to be his majesty's attorney-general, *vice* Lloyd Kenyon, esq.

Richard Pepper Arden, esq; to the several offices of chief justice of the counties of Denbigh and Montgomery, and justice of the counties of Chester and Flint, *vice* Lloyd Kenyon, esq.

The hon. James Luttrell, to the office of master surveyor of his majesty's ordnance.

April 2. Lloyd Kenyon, esq; to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 3. Sir Richard Reynel, bart. to be one of his majesty's commissioners for the management of the duties on salt.

— 7. Archibald Macdonald, esq; to be his majesty's solicitor-general, *vice* Richard Pepper Arden, esq.

— 10. The reverend Folliot Herbert Walker Cornwal, M. A. to the dignity of a prebendary of his majesty's free chapel of Windsor, *vice* Dr. Thomas Hurd.

— 16. Robert, lord viscount

Galway, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 23. Constantine John, lord Mulgrave, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 26. The right honourable John Foster, to the office of chancellor of the exchequer of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 27. The reverend William Cleaver, to the dignity of a prebendary of his majesty's collegiate church of Westminster, *vice* doctor Thomas Wilson.

Isaac Heard, esq; to be garter principal king of arms, *vice* Ralph Bigland, esq.

— 28. Daniel Hales, esq; to be his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Versailles, in the absence of the duke of Dorset.

— 30. The hon. lieutenant col. Henry Fitzroy Stanhope, appointed by the prince of Wales to be a groom of his royal highness's bed-chamber.

May 11. George, lord Abergavenny, to the dignities of viscount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viscount Nevil, of Birling, in the county of Kent, and earl of Abergavenny, in the county of Monmouth.

George, lord de Ferrars, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl of the county of Leicester.

Henry, lord Paget, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl of Uxbridge, in the county of Middlesex.

Sir James Lowther, bart. to the dignities of baron, viscount, and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Lowther,

of Lowther in the county of Westmoreland, baron of Kendal in the said county, and baron of Burgh in the county of Cumberland, viscount Lonsdale and viscount Lowther, and earl of Lonsdale.

Thomas, lord viscount Bulkeley, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Bulkeley, baron of Beaumaris in the county of Anglesea.

Sir Thomas Egerton, baronet, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Grey de Wilton in the county of Hereford.

Sir Charles Cocks, baronet, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Sommers, baron of Evesham in the county of Worcester.

John Parker, esq; to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Boringdon, of Boringdon in the county of Devon.

Noel Hill, esq; to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Berwick, of Attingham in the county of Salop.

James Dutton, esq; to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of lord Sherborne, baron of Sherborne in the county of Gloucester.

David, earl of Leven, to be his majesty's high commissioner to the general assembly of the church of Scotland.

The rev. William Cecil Pery, D. D. to the bishopric of Limerick, in the kingdom of Ireland, *vice* Dr. William Gore.

The rev. Christopher Butson, M. A. to the dignity of dean of the

cathedral church of Waterford, *vice* the rev. Cutts Harman.

The right hon. John Scot to be his majesty's chief justice of the court of king's-bench in the kingdom of Ireland.

The right hon. John Scot, to the dignity of a baron of the kingdom of Ireland, by the title of baron Earlsfort, of Liffon-earl, in the county of Tipperary.

— 18. Henry Reveley, esq; to be one of the commissioners for his majesty's revenue of excise, *vice* Charles Garth, esq.

— 20. The rev. Philip Williams, A. B. to be chaplain to the honourable the house of commons, *vice* Folliot Herbert Walker Cornewal.

June 2. Commodore Richard King, to the honour of knighthood.

— 19. George, lord viscount St. Asaph, appointed by the prince of Wales, to be one of the gentlemen of his royal highness's bed-chamber.

— 29. Alexander Gordon, of Rockville, esq; to be one of the lords of his majesty's court of session for the kingdom of Scotland, *vice* David Dalrymple, of West-hall, esq.

July 3. Sir James Harris, K. B. to be his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the States General of the United Provinces.

Alexander, duke of Gordon, to the dignities of baron and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of baron Gordon, of Huntley, in the county of Gloucester, and earl of Norwich, in the county of Norfolk.

John, lord Talbot, to the dignities of viscount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viscount of Ingestrie, in the

[P] 4

county



county of Stafford, and earl Talbot of Henfol, in the county of Glamorgan.

Richard, lord Grosvenor, to the dignities of viscount and earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of viscount Belgrave, in the county palatine of Chester, and earl Grosvenor.

Edward, lord Beaulieu, to the dignity of an earl of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the title of earl Beaulieu, of Beaulieu, in the county of Southampton.

The rev. Hugh Blair, D. D. and William Greenfield, to be joint professors of rhetoric and belles lettres in the university of Edinburgh.

— 6. Charles Logie, esq; to be his majesty's consul and agent general at Algiers.

— 17. The right hon. sir John Blaquiere, K. B. and Robert Warren, of Crookstown, in the county of Cork, esq; to the dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 19. James, lord viscount Clifden, and William Brabazon Ponsonby, esq; to be his majesty's post-masters general of the kingdom of Ireland.

— 24. The right. hon. Lloyd Kenyon, to the dignity of a baronet of the kingdom of Great Britain.

— 28. The honourable William Wesley Pole, appointed by the lord lieutenant of Ireland, to be governor of the Queen's county.

Colonel Thomas Carleton, to be captain-general and governor in chief of the province of New Brunswick.

August 2. Sir John Griffin Griffin, K. B. called up, by writ of

summons, to the house of peers, by the title of lord Howard of Walden.

— 7. Countess of Harcourt, appointed by the queen to be one of the ladies of her majesty's bed-chamber, *vice* duchess of Argyle.

— 20. James, earl of Courtown, to be treasurer of his majesty's household, and of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 21. Robert Waller, esq; to be one of the grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber, *vice* major-gen. St. John.

Major-general Adeane, to be one of the grooms of his majesty's bed-chamber.

Hon. Keith Stewart, to be receiver-general of his majesty's land rents and casualties in Scotland.

September 3. Sir James Harris, K. B. to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Thomas, lord Sydney, the right hon. William Pitt, the right hon. Henry Dundas, Thomas, lord Walsingham, the right hon. William Wyndham Grenville, and Constantine John, Lord Mulgrave, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be his majesty's commissioners for the affairs of India.

George Crauford, esq; to be commissary, to treat with the commissaries of the most christian king, pursuant to the late treaty of peace.

Henry Hew Dalrymple, esq; to be secretary.

— 18. Joseph Frederic Wallat Desbarres, esq; to be governor of the island of Cape Breton.

October 1. Augustus Rogers, esq;



esq; to be secretary to his majesty's board of ordnance, *vice* John Bodington, esq.

— 27. His royal highness prince Frederic bishop of Osnaburg, to be colonel of the Coldstream regiment of foot guards, *vice* general John, earl of Waldegrave, and to be a lieutenant-general in the army.

November 4. George earl Waldegrave, to be master of the horse to her majesty, *vice* the late earl Waldegrave.

— 13. The rev. William Preston, A. M. to the bishopric of Kilgala and Achonry, *vice* Dr. William Cecil Pery.

John, lord Howard de Walden, to be lieutenant and custos rotulorum of the county of Essex, *vice* John earl Waldegrave.

— 16. Charles, earl Cornwallis, to be constable of the tower of London, *vice* lord George Henry Lenox.

— 17. George, lord Herbert, to be of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 20. George, lord Herbert, to be vice-chamberlain of his majesty's household, *vice* George, lord viscount Chewton, now earl Waldegrave.

— 24. Granville, earl Gower, to be keeper of the privy seal.

— 27. Prince Frederic, bishop of Osnaburg, to the dignities of a duke of the kingdom of Great Britain, and an earl of the kingdom of Ireland, by the titles of duke of York and of Albany, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and earl of Ulster, in the kingdom of Ireland.

— 30. George Grenville Nugent Temple, earl Temple, to the dignity of a marquis of the king-

dom of Great Britain, by the title of marquis of Buckingham, in the county of Buckingham.

William, earl of Shelburne, in the kingdom of Ireland, and lord Wycombe, baron of Chipping Wycombe, in the kingdom of Great Britain, and K. G. to the dignities of a viscount, earl, and marquis of the kingdom of Great Britain, by the titles of viscount Calne and Causton, in the county of Wilts, earl Wycombe, of Chipping Wycombe, in the county of Buckingham, and marquis of Lansdown in the county of Somerset.

December 1. Charles, lord Camden, to be president of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

— 18. Vere Hunt, jun. esq; and Joseph Hoare, esq; to the dignity of baronets of the kingdom of Ireland.

SHERIFFS appointed by his majesty in council, for 1784.

*Berkshire.* Charles Dalbiac, of Hungerford Park, esq.

*Bucks.* Richard Scrimshire, of Amer sham, esq.

*Cumberland.* John Christian, of Unerig, esq.

*Cheshire.* Thomas Willis, of Sweetenham, esq.

*Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire.* Thomas Shephard, of March, esq.

*Cornwall.* Joseph Beauchamp, of Pengreep, esq.

*Devonshire.* Thomas Lane, of Cossleet, esq.

*Derbyshire.* Isaac Sage, of Thornhill, esq.

*Derbyshire.* John Radford, of Smalley, esq.

*Essex.*

## 218] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

*Essex.* Robert Preston, of Woodford, esq.

*Gloucestershire.* Giles Greenaway, of Barrington, esq.

*Hertfordshire.* John Thomas Ellis, of Widfal Hall, esq.

*Herefordshire.* James Walwyn, of Longworth, esq.

*Kent.* Charles Booth, of Steed Hill, esq.

*Leicestershire.* Charles Grave Hudson, of Wanlip, esq.

*Lincolnshire.* George William Johnson, of Witham on the Hill, esq.

*Monmouthshire.* Christoph. Chambré, of Llangfoist, esq.

*Northumberland.* Sir Francis Blake, of Fowbray, esq.

*Northamptonshire.* Richard Kirby, of Floore, esq.

*Norfolk.* Sir Thomas Durrant, of Scottow, bart.

*Nottinghamshire.* Pendock Neale, of Tollerton, esq.

*Oxfordshire.* Arthur Annesley, of Bletchington, esq.

*Rutlandshire.* John Hawkins, of Brook, esq.

*Shropshire.* William Child, of Kinlett, esq.

*Somersetshire.* Andrew Guy, of Enmore, esq.

*Staffordshire.* John Edenfor Heathcote, of Longton, esq.

*Suffolk.* John Wenyeve, of Brettenham, esq.

*Southampton.* Sir John Carter, of Portsmouth, knt.

*Surrey.* William Alderley, of Stoke, near Guildford, esq.

*Sussex.* Thomas Dennett, of Ashhurst, esq.

*Warwickshire.* Joseph Boulton, of Baxterley, esq.

*Worcestershire.* Thomas Bund, of Wicks, esq.

*Wiltshire.* Wm. Chafin Grove, of Zeals, esq.

*Yorkshire.* William Danby, of Swinton, esq.

### SOUTH WALES.

*Brecon.* Edmund Williams, of Tymaur, esq.

*Carmarthen.* Robt. Banks Hodgkinson, of Edwinsford, esq.

*Cardigan.* William Williams, of Cardigan, esq.

*Glamorgan.* John Richards, of Energlyn, esq.

*Pembroke.* John Protheroe, of Egermont, esq.

*Radnor.* Bushe Shelley, of Michaelchurch, esq.

### NORTH WALES.

*Anglesey.* Thomas Ashton Smith, of Trefarthyn, esq.

*Carnarvon.* Robert Wynne, of Llanerch, esq.

*Denbigh.* John Ellis, of Eyton, esq.

*Flint.* Thomas Patton, of Flint, esq.

*Merioneth.* David Roberts, of Blaenyddol, esq.

*Montgomeryshire.* Bell Lloyd, of Bodfach, esq.

February 13, 1784.

*His Majesty in Council was pleased to appoint the following Sheriffs, viz.*

*Bedfordshire.* William Goldsmith, of Streatly, esq.

*Warwickshire.* Francis Burdett, of Bramcote, esq. in the room of Joseph Boulton, of Baxterley, esq.

DEATHS.

DEATHS. 1784.

*Dec. 5, 1783.* In the eighth year of her age, her royal highness, mademoiselle of France, daughter of the count d'Artois.

Lately, the right hon. John earl and baron of Wandesford in Ireland, baron of Castlecomer, and a baronet. The title is extinct.

In the 70th year of her age, her royal highness Frederica Louisa, margravine dowager of Brandenburg Anspach, mother to the reigning margrave, and sister to the king of Prussia.

*Jan. 8.* The hon. John Damer, only brother to Joseph lord Milton.

Lord Charles Montague, brother to the duke of Manchester.

9. In the 58th year of his age, sir George Savile, baronet, descended from the Saviles, marquises of Halifax. The title is extinct.

10. The hon. Letitia Sandys, daughter to Samuel, first lord Sandys.

11. The right hon. sir Edward Walpole, second son of Robert, first earl of Orford, knight of the Bath, and a privy counsellor in Ireland. He was, first, secretary to the lord lieutenant of Ireland; then joint secretary to the treasury; and, lastly, clerk of the pells in his majesty's exchequer. Sir Edward was never married, but has left three illegitimate daughters: 1. The relict of bishop Keppel; 2. Maria, married, first, to James earl Waldegrave, and, secondly, to his royal highness the duke of Gloucester; 3. The countess of Dysart.

15. In the 80th year of her age, the right hon. the countess dowager of Home, relict of William earl of Home.

23. At Florence, in the 61st year

of his age, Charles Edward Louis Stewart, eldest son of James Francis Edward Stewart, the only surviving son of king James II. He died without issue, and has left behind him an only brother, Henry Benedict, born Feb. 23 1725, bishop of Corinth, and cardinal of York.

26. In the 30th year of her age, the right hon. Amelia, baroness Conniers, only surviving child of the late earl of Holderness. She was first married to Francis Godolphin Osborne, marquis of Carmarthen, by whom she had two sons and a daughter; and being divorced, she married, secondly, the hon. capt. Byron, only son of admiral Byron. She is succeeded in her title by George William Frederic Osborne, her eldest son by the marquis of Carmarthen.

30. The right hon. Henry Liddel, lord Ravensworth. He has left issue one daughter, married, first, to the duke of Grafton, and, being divorced, she married, secondly, to the earl of Upper Ossory.

Lately, at Halifax, in Nova Scotia, the right hon. lord Charles Greville Montague, son to the late and brother to the present duke of Manchester.

*Feb. 13.* In the 71st year of his age, the rev. Jeremiah Mills, D. D. dean of Exeter, and president of the society of antiquaries.

21. Sir Robert Harland, baronet, admiral of the blue.

25. The right hon. Caroline, baroness Forrester, of the kingdom of Scotland, relict of the late George Cockburne, esq; comptroller of the navy. She is succeeded in her title by her only daughter Anne Mary Cockburne.

*March 6.* The right hon. sir Thomas Sewel, knight, master of the rolls,



rolls, and member of his majesty's most honourable privy council.

Sir Robert Gerard, baronet.

8. The right hon. Catharine, countess dowager of Litchfield, relict of Robert, last earl of Litchfield.

*April 2.* The right hon. lady Anne Purves, sister to Hugh, earl of Marchmont.

3. The right hon. Cadwallader Davis, lord Blayney, of the kingdom of Ireland. The title is extinct.

The right hon. John, lord Anally, of the kingdom of Ireland, lord chief justice of the court of king's bench, and one of his majesty's most honourable privy councillors in that kingdom.

10. In the 77th year of her age, the right hon. Elizabeth, countess of Mansfield, daughter to Daniel, sixth earl of Winchelsea.

13. Sir Bouchier Wray, bart.

14. The right hon. James lord Rollo, of the kingdom of Scotland.

15. The rev. Thomas Wilson, D.D. prebendary of Westminster, and rector of St. Stephen's, Walbrook. He was the only surviving son of Dr. Thomas Wilson, lord bishop of Sodor and Man.

In the 76th year of his age, his serene highness Maximilian Frederic, count of Konigsfegg Rothenfells, archbishop and elector of Cologne, and bishop of Munster.

16. On board the Sandwich packet, in his passage from Nevis, Richard Oliver, esq; formerly an alderman, and member of parliament for the city of London.

21. The princess of Tour and Taxis, consort of the prince of Oettingen.

26. Prince Francis Adolphus, of Anhalt-Bernbourg-Schambourg.

27. The right hon. David Dalrymple.

28. The right hon. the countess of Waldegrave, sister to earl Gower.

30. The prince bishop of Liege.

*May 2.* The honourable miss Burrel, only daughter of sir Peter Burrel and lady Willoughby of Eresby.

Lately, the right hon. the countess of Kingston, lady to the present earl, and mother to lord Kingsborough.

24. Catharine, dowager lady viscountess Netterville, mother to the present lord viscount Netterville.

*June 3.* The right hon. Wilhelmina Catharina, dowager lady King, daughter of John Troy, esq; of Brabant.

4. Hon. Mrs. Needham, sister to the present lord viscount Kilmorey.

8. The right hon. the countess dowager of Essex, mother of the present earl of Essex, and youngest daughter of the second duke of Bedford.

11. Right. hon. Catharine, countess dowager of Egmont, sister to the earl of Northampton. The Irish barony of Arden, enjoyed by her ladyship in her own right, descends to her eldest son, the hon. George Perceval, now lord Arden.

15. Sir Barnard Turner, knight, alderman of Cordwainer's ward, and one of the representatives in parliament for the borough of Southwark.

17. The hon. David Stuart, son of the late, and brother to the present earl of Moray.

Sir George Vandeput, so noted for his opposition, in 1749, to the present earl Gower, as a candidate for Westminster.

28. The right hon. the countess dowager Harrington.

Lately, hon. Redmond Morris, brother



brother to the late lord Mountmorres, and member of parliament for the city of Dublin.

*July 6.* Sir Robert Kent, bart.

9. Matthew Buckle, esq; admiral of the blue.

18. Lord Guernsey, only son of the earl of Aylesford.

24. The hon. Mrs. Walpole, wife to the hon. Robert Walpole, his majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary at the court of Portugal.

*Aug. 7.* Sir H. Paulet St. John, baronet.

Lately, prince Frederic, eldest son of the hereditary prince of Hesse.

His serene highness prince Charles Augustus Frederic, only son of the duke of Deuxponts.

Sir Charlton Leighton, baronet, one of the members of parliament for Shrewsbury.

*Sept. 2.* Lady Campbell, relict of lord William Campbell.

9. Hon. J. Smith Barry, uncle to the earl of Barrymore.

16. Gen. William Haviland, colonel of the 45th regiment.

17. John earl Tylney, of the kingdom of Ireland. The title is extinct.

29. Lady Catharine Gordon, eldest daughter of the earl of Aberdeen.

Lately, honourable Mr. H. Legge, a younger son of the earl of Dartmouth.

*Oct. 9.* Lady Anne Aston, lady of Sir Richard Aston, and daughter of the earl of Stamford.

15. The right hon. John earl of Waldegrave, viscount Chewton,

master of the horse to her majesty, col. of the Coldstream regiment of foot-guards, governor of Plymouth, a general of his majesty's forces, and lord lieutenant of the county of Essex.

27. The right hon. countess dowager Delawar.

28. Princess Juliana Maria, daughter of Prince Frederic, brother to his Danish majesty.

Lately, the right hon. sir Henry Aylmer, baron of Balrath.

Capt. James King, the companion and friend of the celebrated captain Cook.

*Nov. 6.* Richard Oswald, esq; lately his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at Paris, to settle a treaty of peace with the commissioners of the United States of America.

11. The infant don Carlos, eldest son of the prince of Asturias.

12. The hon. miss Louisa Chetwynd, daughter of lord viscount Chetwynd.

15. Anne, countess of Dundo-nald.

21. The most noble Catherine, duchess of Norfolk, consort to the present duke.

Sir Thomas Frankland, bart. admiral of the white.

25. The right hon. Anne, countess of Drogheda.

Lately, the lady of lord Maffey.

The marchioness of Accorambani, sister to sir William Murray.

*Dec. 13.* In the 76th year of his age, Dr. Samuel Johnson.

29. In the 89th year of his age, the right hon. sir Thomas Parker, formerly lord chief baron of his majesty's court of exchequer.

## C H R O N I C L E.

1785.

JANUARY 1785.

*Kingston, Dec. 18, 1784.*

SUNDAY evening the following shocking accident happened in this harbour: about ten at night one Richard Page, a cooper, belonging to the ship *Highfield*, with several of his comrades, went down King-street to the water-side, where a boat lay ready to carry them to the ship. On their getting down to the wharf, Page swore he would not get into the boat, but would swim off: and after struggling with his companions some time, who endeavoured to force him into the boat, actually leaped off the end of the wharf into the water, and swam towards the ship. The people instantly put off in the boat; but, before they had got ten yards from the wharf, heard the unhappy man call out for help, and presently they took his mangled, mutilated, bleeding carcase into the boat. He only lived to tell them that a shark had torn him all to pieces. His bowels were cut out, his back broke, and one of his arms was stripped of the flesh from the shoulder down to the elbow. A large Newfoundland dog, which followed the unhappy man

into the water, was devoured by the same monster.

*Caserta, Dec. 14.* On Thursday last Count Scabrouski, the new minister plenipotentiary from the court of Russia, had a private audience of his Sicilian majesty, to present his credential letters.

The lava continues to run gently from an opening near the crater of Mount Vesuvius, without descending low enough to do any damage to the fertile and cultivated country at the foot of the mountain.

*Paris, Jan. 4.* Letters from Briancçon mention, that a shock of an earthquake was felt there the 9th ult. at ten minutes after nine o'clock in the morning. The concussion was pretty strong, but of short duration, attended with a rumbling noise, which resembled the report of a cannon. There was no perceptible vibration; but, during several nights previous to the shock, fiery vapours were observed to issue from the earth in various parts near the coal mines.

At St. James's, Clerkenwell, a remarkable wedding 7th. was solemnized. A woman about 40, who has been totally blind many years, heard a young man, whose apprenticeship

apprenticeship to a shoemaker had lately expired, at work in her neighbourhood from early in the morning till late every night. Conceiving a favourable opinion of him from these proofs of an industrious disposition, she made him a present of a silver watch, and a suit of clothes; and besides lent him ten pounds, the better to enable him to carry on his business. Last week he waited upon his benefactress, informing her, that having received offers of great encouragement, he was preparing to set out for Leicestershire, to settle there among his friends; adding, that he would exert his utmost endeavours speedily to discharge the unsolicited favours she had heaped upon him. She commended his resolution; but next day sued out a writ, which being served upon him, he was taken to a lock-up house. She visited him in his confinement, and informed him that he must immediately pay the money, go to prison, or marry her. He agreed to the latter offer, and a licence was procured; but he was detained in custody till yesterday morning, when the parties proceeded from the lock-up house to church, where the officer who had executed the writ upon the bridegroom acted as father to the bride, who is possessed of about a thousand pounds.

The following facts relative to the seizing and burning of the smugglers boats may be depended on: advice was sent to Mr. Pitt, that the severity of the season had occasioned the smugglers to lay up their craft, and that a fine opportunity offered for the destroying them, if sufficient force could be procured to intimidate the smugglers from attempting a rescue. Mr. Pitt sent to the War Office, and re-

quired a regiment of soldiers to be at Deal on a certain day. He was told it could not well be complied with. His answer was, it must; and a regiment was immediately marched. But the commanding officer found, on his arrival, that the people of the town having some intimation of the business, had advised the publicans to pull down their signs, in order that the soldiers might have no quarters. They took the advice, and no quarters were to be had. A large barn at a small distance presented itself as an eligible place, and the quarter-master rode off to the landlord, who refused to let it on any other terms than for two years certain. The officer took it, marched the men in, and then, with very much difficulty, procured them some provisions. The next day Lieut. Bray received orders to prepare some cutters to hover off the beach, and the soldiers were all drawn out. The inhabitants, not imagining what was going to be done, thought the cutters were to embark the soldiers in; but to their surprise, orders were given to the men to burn the boats; and the force being so great, the inhabitants were obliged to remain silent spectators, and dared not attempt a rescue.

*Paris, Jan. 1st.* The introduction of the English news-papers is just prohibited here. For some time past, for want of political matter, these papers were filled with nothing but absurd and ridiculous stories and satirical pictures of the principal, and even of the most august personages of Europe.

*Dublin, Jan. 20th.* Yesterday, before eleven o'clock in the forenoon, upwards of 40,000 persons were collected at Ranelagh and the adjacent fields, in anxious expectation



tion of beholding their ingenious and aspiring countryman ascend the air. On account of the heavy rain which fell the preceding night, and part of that morning, the inflation of the balloon was considerably retarded, and about one o'clock Mr. Crosbie having entered the carriage, found to his mortification that it would not rise. The business of inflation was continued, and at half past two our brave adventurer found every thing ready to complete his wishes—he accordingly again resumed his car, and the cord being cut, he mounted awfully majestic, while the air resounded with the shouts—the prayers—the admiration of the delighted multitude. In three minutes and a half an envious cloud secluded him from mortal sight, and all was solemn silence—fear for the safety of the gallant youth beat high in every breast, till in about twelve minutes he appeared descending at the northward.—The lateness of the hour preventing the aeronautic charioteer from taking any further journey, he alighted in perfect safety on the North-strand, where he was instantly surrounded by the populace, who testified their approbation and regard for the triumphant hero, who made the air subservient to his wishes, by carrying him in procession to Earl Charlemont's, amid unbounded bursts of congratulation and applause. The balloon and chariot were beautifully painted, and the arms of Ireland emblazoned on them in superior elegance of taste. Mr. Crosbie's figure is genteel; his aerial dress consisted in a robe of oiled silk, lined with white fur, his waistcoat and breeches in one, of white satin quilted, and Morocco boots, and a Montero cap of leopard-skin. The Duke of Lein-

ster, Lord Charlemont, Right Hon. George Ogle, Counsellors Calbeck, Downes, and Whitestone, attended with white staves, as regulators of the business of the day.

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## FEBRUARY 1785.

At twelve o'clock, the committee appointed to wait on Mr. Pitt with the freedom of the city of London, proceeded from Guildhall to Mr. Pitt's house, in Downing-street, Westminster, in the following order:

Sir Watkin Lewes, as Chairman of the Committee.

Mr. Alderman Pickett.

Mr. Alderman Sanderson.

Mr. Wilkes, as Chamberlain.

Mr. Deputy Young and Mr. Deputy Hilton.

Mr. Deputy Percy and Mr. Merry.

Mr. Dornford and Mr. Anderson.

Mr. Withers and Mr. Dowling.

Mr. Birch and Mr. Toulmin.

Mr. Rix, Town Clerk.

When the committee arrived at Mr. Pitt's, they were immediately introduced to that gentleman, when Sir Watkin Lewes addressed him in the following speech:

“SIR,

“We, the committee appointed by the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of London, in common-council assembled, to present you with the freedom of the city of London, voted unanimously in one of the fullest courts ever remembered, cheerfully embrace this opportunity, of repeating our sentiments of satisfaction and confidence, which we entertain respecting your principles and perseverance for the good of your country.

“We repose in your abilities and firmness



firmness for permanent security and extension of our commerce as citizens, and our happiness as Britons.

“The committee feel with satisfaction the honour conferred upon them, in being thus delegated to so pleasing and distinguished a commission.

“Be assured, Sir, that the city of London will ever stand foremost to support the measures of government, whilst they continue to be so manifestly founded in wisdom and integrity.”

Mr. Pitt returned an answer, the substance of which was as follows :

“He must first,” he said, “thank Sir Watkin Lewes for the very flattering manner in which he had conveyed the sentiments of the committee. He trusted the city of London would do him the justice to believe, that the security and extension of their commerce, and the maintenance of the true principles of the constitution, would continue to be the first objects of his attention.”

Monday night, about eight 7th. o'clock, a man knocked at the door of Mrs. Abercrombie, in Charlotte-street, Rathbone-place, calling out *post*, at the same time, with a very loud voice ; the maid-servant immediately opened it, and the man, accompanied by six others, armed with swords and pistols, rushed into the house, and threatened the girl with the most horrid punishment, if she spoke a word. They then went into the parlour, where her mistress was sitting alone, and took from her all her jewels, to a very considerable amount, between fifty and sixty guineas in money, and all the clothes and linen they could get. While they were thus employed, the girl got out of the house by a back

VOL. XXVII.

door, and gave the alarm to the neighbourhood, which prevented their taking the plate also, which they had begun to pack up. A great crowd immediately assembled about the house, and the ruffians sallied forth, with dreadful menaces, waving their swords, and directing their pistols at the mob, who tamely suffered them to escape without making the least resistance. Mrs. Abercrombie is wife to the captain of one of the East India Company's ships, now on its voyage to China.

8th. Counsel on the part of Lord Peterborough moved the Court of King's Bench to change the venue, in the action brought against his Lordship by Mr. Foley, for *crim. con.* The cause assigned was Mr. Foley's interest and influence in the county where he resides. A rule to shew cause was granted.

Yesterday the Countess of Strathmore appeared in the King's Bench, and exhibited articles of the peace against Mr. Bowes her husband, on the score of mal-treatment ; but whether the charge be well or ill founded, the writer of this article does not presume to know.

9th. Wednesday the Ilchester election ended, when after five whole days polling, John Harcourt esq; was declared duly elected. The numbers on the poll were :

For Mr. Harcourt, 118  
Commodore Johnstone, 101

Majority for Mr. Harcourt, 17

11th. In the Court of King's Bench, the great question was decided respecting the Insurance Offices having a right to recover of the inhabitants of this city about 22,000*l.* which they paid to Mr. Langdale, and other sufferers, during the late riots. The Court

[ 2 ]

determined

## 226] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

determined in favour of the city of London.

27th. Three separate bills in chancery have been filed by the relations of the late Richard Russell, esq; of Bermondsey-street, Southwark, against the executors of the last will of that gentleman, in order to set aside the bequest relative to his personal estate.

12th. DIED. At Upper Yeldham Hall, in Essex, Mr. Hurrell, farmer and maltster, aged 95. He ordered in his will, that his body should be interred in one of his woods; be covered with one of the hair-cloths he used to dry his malt on; and that six hedgers and ditchers should carry his corpse, six others be pall-bearers, and six more follow as mourners, all with their bills and hedging gloves; and likewise ordered a hog'shead of old beer to be drank.

### MARCH 1785.

2d. This day the right honourable earl Mansfield completed his *eightieth* year, and presided on the bench at Guildhall at nine o'clock, in perfect health and spirits. As soon as his lordship entered the court, Thomas Gorman, esq; a gentleman as well known for his integrity as a merchant, as for his legal and constitutional knowledge as a juror, presented his lordship with his annual offering of a bouquet, which the chief received with his usual politeness and affability.

7th. Monday evening about eight o'clock, the same atrocious expedient, which was lately so successfully practised at the house of Mrs. Abercrombie, in Charlotte-street,

was repeated at col. Arabin's, in Gresse-street, in the same neighbourhood. A man knocked at the colonel's door, which the footman did not open, but asked who it was, and was told it was the taylor, upon which the man opened the door, and five men immediately entered, whose faces were disguised, and who were armed with the usual instruments of violence. They threw a cloth over the face of the footman, pinioned him, two female servants, and the colonel's lady; after which they proceeded to rifle the house, from whence they took plate, jewels, money, and linen, it is supposed to the value of near two thousand pounds. How noble and well conducted is the police of this happy country, and with what gratitude and affection must the inhabitants of this metropolis look up to the magistracy, by whose zeal and activity their property is so laudably secured!

10th. One of the men who so daringly entered and rifled the house of colonel Arabin, on Monday evening, in Gresse-street, Rathbone-place, it is supposed is taken, as a man is in custody, to whose voice, and the lower part of his face, which is peculiarly formed, the maid-servant can swear; the same man was pointed out amidst many people, by one of the colonel's children, who was present during the whole of the transaction, as one of the ruffians. This man is suspected on account of many mysterious circumstances, which plainly shew that his subsistence depends upon *secret ingenuity*. An urn was luckily overlooked in the plate-box, by these villains, which was worth an hundred pounds.

30th. The son of a tradesman of eminence in Chandos-street,

is said to be among the gang who lately committed the desperate robbery in Gress-street, Rathbone-place.

February the 24th came on at the sittings at Guildhall, London, before the right honourable the earl of Mansfield, the trial of an indictment against a person residing in Hertfordshire, for contracting with, enticing, soliciting, and endeavouring to seduce several artificers and workmen in the art of a currier, to leave this kingdom, in order to carry on that trade at a manufactory at Pontaudemer in Normandy; when, upon hearing the testimony of only one witness on behalf of the prosecution, the fact appeared so plain and clear, that the jury, without hesitation, found the defendant guilty, who will receive the judgment of the court of King's Bench in the next term for his said offence, pursuant to the statute upon which he was indicted.

Some time since two convictions for offences of the same nature were obtained in Surrey; and it is hoped that the conviction of these offenders will be a means of preventing the seducing artificers in the different manufactures of Great Britain in future.

The same day was tried before lord Loughborough, in the court of Common Pleas, Guildhall, London, a cause wherein Huxley Sandon, esq; was plaintiff, and count Durore defendant, for *crim con.* with the plaintiff's wife; when, after a hearing of near three hours, the jury brought in a verdict for the plaintiff, with near 500*l.* damages.

*Hague, March 19.* The comte de Maillebois, who is to command the army of the republic in the expected contest with the emperor of Germa-

ny, is at length arrived; he made a private entrance into this place last night, as there were many reasons for avoiding the pomp of a triumphal entrance, there being many persons highly incensed against the admission of this Frenchman to a post of such high trust and respect; some resignations have already taken place in consequence, and others are to be expected. The question of peace or war is not finally determined; and if our friends continue sincere, it may yet be avoided. The English ambassador set off this morning for London, leaving his affairs in the hands of his secretary; his return will, however, as we expect, be very speedy. The marquis Verac, French plenipotentiary, has exchanged with the grand council of the states the treaty of alliance, so that the much wished-for business is fully completed. An alliance with the court of Great Britain is also on the tapis, nor is it at all unlikely but that business has carried the British ambassador to London. A courier from Utrecht brings the concession of the states of that province to the proposed military arrangements. Those of Groningen and Friesland are not arrived.

23d. A very numerous concourse of people assembled in the vicinity of Tottenham court road, to be witnesses of the ascension of count Zambeccari and sir Edward Vernon in the balloon, which had been exhibited at the Lyceum in the Strand for some time back. Notwithstanding the proprietors had taken every precaution to keep the place of ascension a secret, there was not an avenue for a considerable distance from the place in which the balloon was lodged, but which was crowded by twelve o'clock. The spectators seemed insensible of the cold, nor

did the falling snow occasion the departure of many, but the principal part of them seemed to bid defiance to the weather until near four o'clock, when the two hardy adventurers bid adieu to earth, and took their aerial excursion—just on the eve of their departure, a miss Grice, of Holborn, offered to accompany the aeronauts, which offer was readily accepted, and she entered the car; but notwithstanding they threw out a great quantity of ballast, after making three or four attempts, the heroine was obliged to give up the pleasure of an ascension, the balloon being incapable of taking more than the two gentlemen, which, on the lady's quitting her seat, ascended with amazing velocity, took a south-west direction, and was out of sight in a few minutes.

Count Zambeccari and sir Edward Vernon descended safe in King's Fields, near Horsham, in Suffex, about five o'clock the same day, and returned in the evening to the Lyceum, without receiving any other damage than a sprain in the wrist, which the count received in managing the balloon, which required rather extraordinary exertion, on account of the briskness of the wind. Horsham is 37 miles from London, and the journey was performed in rather more than an hour.

Admiral Vernon is the first admiral who has ever navigated the atmosphere. The globe was not sufficiently inflated till half past three o'clock in the afternoon, at which time the two gentlemen, with a very elegant young lady, took their seats in the car; but the machine not having sufficient capacity for three voyagers, they made three experiments

to ascend without effect. The lady manifested great spirit, and yielded her place with apparent reluctance, after trying her eloquence on the old admiral in vain. She burst into tears with disappointment, and retired from the boat amidst the acclamations of the multitude. The machine, thus lightened, rose with small grandeur into the upper regions; and though a shower of snow had just fallen, the sky became clear, and the spectacle was uncommonly brilliant. The globe was carried by the wind, which was very high, to the west, and made a rapid progress.

By letters from the Hague 29th. we learn, that five peasants, who, under pretence of attachment to the Prince of Orange, had been guilty of a riot, suffered the punishment to which they were sentenced on the 19th instant; three of them whipped, and the other two stood by with papers on their breasts, on which were written, in large letters, the words SEDITION and REBELLION. Several more are to undergo the like punishment at Delft.

DIED. General Honeywood, who received no less than twenty-three broadsword wounds at the battle of Dettingen, in which he so much distinguished himself by his personal valour; he likewise, on the same day, received two musquet shots, which were never extracted to the day of his death. The general died possessed of a fine estate of near 6000*l.* per annum, which, together with a considerable sum of ready money, he has bequeathed to his cousin, Filmer Honeywood, esq; one of the members for the county of Kent.



A P R I L 1785.

*Hague, March 25.* The compte de Maillebois has taken the oaths in the assembly of their High Mightinesses, in quality of general of infantry in the service of the republic.

*Vienna, March 19.* The new regulations of his imperial majesty, respecting the interior government of the kingdom of Hungary, have been published in the gazette of this city.

Instead of the fifty-six counties, into which that kingdom and its dependent provinces were hitherto divided, ten circles are now formed, and committed to the charge of the following Hungarian gentlemen, with the titles of counsellors and royal commissaries.

Le Comte Glory,  
Le Baron Mailath,  
Le Baron d'Urmeny,  
Le Comte Jankowitz,  
Le Comte Szeafony,  
Le Comte de Teekly,  
Le Baron Peonay,  
Le Baron Reva,  
Le Baron Szent Ivany,  
Le Baron Detzer,

The supreme courts retain their former titles, and the privileges which belong to their order, and a general diet of the nation, but their jurisdiction in their respective counties is entirely suppressed.

*Lisbon, March 26.* The treaty for the marriage between the infanta of Portugal and the infant don Gabriel of Spain is signed.

*Vienna, March 30.* Prince Joseph Lobkowitz is appointed captain of the noble German guard, vacant by the death of the late marshal Colledaro; lieutenant general Nostitz is raised to the rank of general of ca-

valry, and is made captain of the guard (called les archers) formerly commanded by marshal Thierheim; and general Clairfait is appointed vice commandant of the city of Vienna, in the room of general Nostitz.

13th. William Higson, who was executed on Monday morning in the Old Bailey, for the murder of his own son Joseph, a child of nine years old, denied to the ordinary, the Rev. Mr. Villette, his having any intention to destroy the infant; though he acknowledged giving him the fatal blow, which fractured his skull, and caused his death.

He also confessed, that he treated the poor child with great barbarity for a considerable time, from an antipathy he took to it, from its wetting the bed in the night time; in consequence of which he made it, during the course of last winter, sit up all night without either fire or candle, and frequently beat it unmercifully.

It is not unworthy of remark, that the above cruel wretch seemed more shocked at the idea of being dissected at Surgeons Hall than with death itself. The horrid spectacles he had seen there of several murderers, from time to time, made a deep impression upon his mind, and engrossed part of his conversation after his sentence.

16th. The purser of the Northumberland, for Bombay, received his dispatches from the India house. This ship may be termed the last of the season, the Earl of Talbot being taken up for the express purpose of conveying governor Campbell to Madras.

The intelligence received from India by the late advices is, that  
[ 2 ] 3 Mr.

Mr. Wheler, senior member of the supreme council, died on the 12th of October, 1784. Mr. Hastings, the governor-general, arrived at Calcutta on the 7th of November, in good health, and had taken his passage in the Barrington Indiaman, and meant to leave Bengal in February, if he heard a successor had been appointed. Mr. Macpherson had been very ill, but was much recovered. A duel had been fought between lord Macartney and Mr. Sadler, in which his lordship had the misfortune to be wounded, but not dangerously, and was perfectly recovered. The duel had its rise in an altercation at the council-board, which was carried to so great a length, that lord Macartney in plain terms accused Mr. Sadler of uttering a direct falsehood.

*Extract of a letter from Bristol,*  
*April 9.*

"This day, about half past one, the long-expected ascension (which the dampness of the weather prevented yesterday) of Mr. Decker's balloon, on somewhat a new construction, took place. The country of Somerset, and all the parts adjacent, seemed to be emptied of their inhabitants, like true sons and daughters of Adam, into the city of Bristol, which perhaps never exhibited so incredible a concourse of people. The novelty and the hazard, and with these, assuredly, great part of the honour, of those air-blown enterprises are past; the rage of curiosity seemed rather augmented than diminished on the present occasion, as you will easily suppose, when informed that two guineas an horse, and three for a chaise, were offered at Bath for 12 miles conveyance: but the best of the joke is, that the thousands who marched hither from

Bath to see the balloon ascend, marched back again with like rapidity, as it bent its way towards Lansdown, and from thence travelled on towards Devizes: Decker himself did not ascend, but his son, an intrepid youth, scarcely seventeen years of age. The streets, coffee-houses, and private assemblies, are now talking over this twice-told tale, with a vehemence of zeal which might do honour to a worthier occasion; though, if you will suffer a pun, I might say, the lovers of balloons doubtless set their affections on things above. It is past nine as I write this, and young Decker is yet failing "betwixt earth and heaven." Twelve o'clock, and I can now add the information of the adventurer's having safely regained Terra Firma, three miles on the other side Chippenham, a circuit of about thirty miles, which he performed in an hour and seven minutes; and it is thought has, by the excursion, established a very good bank in air, the Bristolites contributing very liberally."

*Extract of a letter from New York,*  
*April 27.*

"John Adams, esq; is, by the honourable congress of the United States, appointed to be ambassador from this empire to the court of London; and colonel William Smith, late aid-de-camp to his excellency general Washington, is appointed to be secretary to the embassy."

Tuesday the court martial appointed to try general Ross, met agreeable to their adjournment, to receive the opinion of the twelve judges of England on the point submitted to them, viz. whether general Ross, as an officer on half pay, was subject to the tribunal of a court martial. The judges gave an unanimous opinion, that he was not,

not, as a half-pay officer, subject to military law. They stated their answer on two points, and in both declared it as their opinion, that neither his warrant as a general officer, nor his annuity of half-pay, rendered him obnoxious to military trial. In consequence of this the general was discharged from the custody of the martial, and the court broke up.

No man ever gave a greater 29th. proof of attention to his friends, than Mr. Fox did to poor Sam. House; for as soon as he heard that the honest publican was ill, and wished to see him, he went, and endeavoured to put his old friend into spirits; on finding he was in danger, he pressed every assiduity that might be used to give assistance, and was particularly affected when he was informed it had been in vain, and that his worthy supporter was no more.—Austin, who has done himself so much honour by the prints he has published, however, was resolved, that though the original was gone, to preserve Sam.'s semblance as an instance of integrity, for which purpose he has taken his likeness in wax as he lay in his coffin; but as many others would doubtless be equally glad to keep so worthy a character in remembrance, we think that gentleman could not do his friends a greater favour, than by putting the bust into the hands of an engraver, and giving them an opportunity to obtain it.

This evening about six o'clock the remains of poor Sam. House are to be interred: his numerous friends, we understand, requested it might be so early in the evening, that they might have an opportunity of shewing their last testimony of regard, by attending his funeral.

M A Y 1785.

*Extract of a letter, dated Paris, April 22.*

“ The long-expected arret or proclamation for creating a new company of merchants to trade to the East Indies, is at last made public. It contains fifty-seven heads or articles; I shall content myself to enumerate the principal ones. The privilege is granted for seven years of peace; if war should break out during that space, the time it may last shall not be reckoned in diminution of the seven years. It shall be lawful for his majesty's subjects, settled in the various parts of his dominions, to send all kinds of provisions to the Isles of France or Bourbon, which are not excluded by the company's privilege from trading coast-ways, or what is termed in the proclamation from India to India. His majesty is pleased to grant to the shipping already in their way to the East Indies a delay of twenty-four months to complete their voyage, and return to the sole port of L'Orient, where the new company is to settle its mart. The king gives them a free use of that port, its halls, warehouses, dock-yards, rope-walks, working-tools, &c. which will be made over to them, when properly repaired, at the expence of the king, who likewise engages to keep them in tenantable repairs. The stock of this new company is fixed at twenty millions of livres, six of which are to be furnished by the twelve administrators or directors, at the rate of 500,000 livres each: the other fourteen millions are to be divided into shares of 1,000 livres, for which sums the directors

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restors shall enter into proper recognizances, &c."

2d. Such, in France, is the rage for English carriages, that upwards of eight hundred sets of London-made springs, as many coach wheels of the Soho manufacture, together with large quantities of plated furniture from Sheffield, are now shipping to France, for the purpose of manufacturing carriages there a-la-mode d'Anglois.

4th. On Sunday morning a well-dressed young man and woman were found in a field near Hammer-smith, joining to the main road, the woman with her throat cut, and the man stabbed in the breast; both bodies were dead when found, and cold. The man had five guineas and a watch in his pocket.

9th. The Thames in many parts is as low as ever remembered. The passage of boats from Kew towards Richmond has been once or twice obstructed. The drought in England, however, is not comparable with that at present in France, which threatens the most alarming consequences.

*Extract of a letter from Newcastle upon Tyne, May 9.*

"Early this morning our town was greatly alarmed by the 12th regiment, now quartered here, beating to arms. By what we can learn, there is a very numerous mob assembled at Shields, to the great terror of the town and its neighbourhood; and if report be true, the 12th regiment, though one of the completest regiments in England, will find it a very difficult task to quell the riots existing in Shields and Sunderland, where we understand upwards of four thousand principally concerned are collected, which makes

us fear there will be a deal of bloodshed previous to the 12th regiment returning here; they were accompanied by our mayor and sheriffs; and by accounts just received from Shields, we hear, that immediately upon the regiment's marching into town the riot act was read, which was paid very little or no attention to; and we are sorry to add, that there is little doubt, but before this reaches you, many lives will be lost.

"Four companies of dragoons are hourly expected here from York, but since the sealing of this, we have received advice that above sixty of the rioters at Shields are killed, and many more wounded."

The Americans who were 10th. of the episcopal church, having been extremely desirous of a bishop to reside among them, the rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury has been consecrated to that office, by three bishops of the church of Scotland, at Aberdeen. The English bishops refused to grant to America the blessings of episcopacy; and thereby drove Dr. Seabury to seek it in Scotland.—Thus we see exhibited an extraordinary phenomenon in the ecclesiastical system; an English missionary, an Oxford doctor, consecrated by Scotch prelates a bishop of the protestant church of New-England.

The last ships from Ame- 11th. rica have brought so few remittances, and so many pleas of inability to make good their payments from the merchants in that country, that several of our capital dealers have refused sending over more goods, without drafts on approved houses in London.

Saturday morning, between two and three o'clock, a most dreadful fire broke out at Mess. Webster and Stevens'



Stevens' turpentine warehouses, in Potter's-fields, Horsleydown, and which was not entirely got under till the afternoon. It is impossible to form any opinion of the damage which has been sustained by this dreadful conflagration, which had on Saturday at noon destroyed as many houses, warehouses, &c. with all their contents, as covered between three and four acres of ground, together with an Irish brig, and several hoys belonging to the East-India company, which were lying near their tea warehouses in that neighbourhood, and which also are destroyed. Very fortunately, however, there was only a part of a ship's cargo of tea in the warehouses that were consumed by the fire, and a great quantity thereof was saved. It is a most fortunate circumstance that no wind was stirring in the morning, or the whole tier of shipping which lay opposite the premises destroyed must have probably shared a similar fate.

In the late dreadful fire at Horsleydown, the loss of individuals has been very considerable. The tea, it is true, belonged to the India company, and was some of that inferior commodity they had bought at Ostend—but the tar and the hemp were the property of individual traders, and having been landed but a day or two before, were not insured.

12th. Thursday was held the anniversary meeting of the Sons of the Clergy, at which were present the right honourable the lord mayor, his grace the archbishop of York, the right honourable the lord chancellor, the right honourable the earl of Uxbridge, the bishops of Rochester, Ely, Worcester, Bangor, Lincoln, Litchfield and Coventry,

and Gloucester; aldermen Pickett, and Boydell; sheriffs Hopkins and Bates; the rev. Dr. Harley, dean of Windsor, sir George Baker, sir Joshua Reynolds, Jonas Hanway, esq; John Crewe, esq; with many of the clergy and gentry.

The sermon was preached by the rev. Thomas Jackson, D.D. from the sixth chapter of St. Paul's epistle to the Galatians, the 6th, 7th, and 8th verses.

Collection at St. L. s. d.			
Paul's, on Tuesday the 10th instant	-	187	4 0
Ditto on Thursday the 12th	-	205	13 6
Ditto at Merchant Taylors Hall	-	527	14 7
		<hr/>	
		920	12 1

On Saturday the Prince of Wales was admitted a 14th. member of the beef-steak club. His royal highness having signified his wish of belonging to that society, and there not being a vacancy, it was proposed to make him an honorary member; but that being declined, it was agreed to increase the number from twenty-four to twenty-five, in consequence of which his royal highness was unanimously elected.—The beef-steak club has been instituted just fifty years, and consists of some of the most classical and sprightly wits in the kingdom.

DIED. At his house in Russell-street, Covent-garden, Mr. Thomas Davies, bookseller, formerly of Drury-lane theatre, and author of the life of Garrick, dramatic miscellanies, &c.

A man, named Froome, lately at Holmes-chapel, in Cheshire, at the wonderful age of 125 years, eight months. This patriarchal rarity was

was guardian to the late John Smith Barry, esq; who, in consideration of his great age, and long services, left him an annuity of 50*l.* a year, which he enjoyed with unusual health till about two years before his death. He has a son now living turned of 90, who works at a manufactory in Lancashire, and promises fair to arrive at as great an age as his late father.

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## J U N E 1785.

*Vienna, June 1.* Our last letters from Inspruck give a melancholy account of a plænomœnon, lately perceived in the country about that town, and which is equally strange and alarming. A kind of pestilential dew, or rather mist, has lately fallen on the seeds, which have by its pernicious effects been entirely destroyed. In the beginning of the spring all the cultivated parts of the country presented the most promising prospect of a plentiful harvest, but all hopes are now vanished, not only have the seeds all at once been stopt in their growth, but are so completely rotten in the ground, that the fields appear as if they had never been sown. What increases the apprehensions of the husbandman is, that this kind of plague extends daily from place to place, and occasions the like damages in every part of the neighbouring fields.

There are now living in the same house, at Ketton, in Rutlandshire, a great-great grandfather, a great grandfather, two grandfathers, a grandmother, and six great grandchildren, consisting of nine persons in all, and about two years ago the

great grandfather buried his mother and his wife in the same coffin.

On Wednesday arrived from the United States of America, 2*d.* col. Smith (late aid-de-camp to general Washington, during the American war) as secretary to an ambassador from that country, and on the day following his excellency John Adams (with his lady and daughter) as plenipotentiary from the United States of America to the court of Great Britain; and we hear he has delivered his credentials to the marquis of Carmarthen. Yesterday his excellency John Adams was introduced to his majesty, and most graciously received.

Mr. Richard Atkinson has left by his will 30,000*l.* to lady A. Lindsey—800*l.* a year to lady Margaret Fordyce—5000*l.* each to nine nephews and nieces—and the eldest nephew 5000*l.* a year, together with the residue of his estate and effects, which is supposed to be immense.

*Extract of a letter from Dunkirk, June 7.*

“An American ship, the Virginia packet, Steane, from Maryland, is seized here for a contraband trade; and, as is customary, all the crew sent to prison. The American minister will probably be favoured with a release of the people, but ship and cargo are forfeited.”

*Oxford, June 14.* Early on Friday morning, June 14, and during the whole of the forenoon, company were incessantly pouring into Oxford, Mr. Sadler having announced his intention on that day of once more ascending in his balloon.—Pursuant to this promise, the necessary preparations were made behind  
Corpus

Corpus Christi college, where the ground had been previously fenced off; and about half past one o'clock the balloon was judged sufficiently inflated, and the car for accommodating two passengers began to be attached, by fixing it to the cords of the netting. This operation was greatly impeded by the pressure of the crowd. At two o'clock, however, every thing having been adjusted, colonel Fitzpatrick and Mr. Sadler seated themselves in the car, when the balloon was found incapable of ascending with both the passengers, and the colonel being resolved not to quit his seat, a due proportion of ballast was added, and after receiving the flag, and proper instructions from Mr. Sadler, he ascended alone. The day being perfectly serene, the balloon rose with slow majestic grandeur, bearing to the South-west, and continued perceptible, though at a great distance, for about 47 minutes, at which time it seemed to sink gradually into the horizon.

The colonel manifested a cool intrepidity, both before and after the balloon had been launched, and continued waving his flag as long as he could possibly retain sight of the spectators below.

In his passage the colonel had not expended any of his ballast, but descended in consequence of a rent near the bottom of the balloon, occasioned by the expansion of the internal air, which was not discovered by Mr. Fitzpatrick till after he had reached the ground.

He descended near Kingston Lisle, opposite the White Horse hills, Berks, without the least injury; where he was assisted by the country people in securing the balloon.

26th. Last Sunday afternoon, a murder, attended with the most uncommon circumstances of barbarity, was perpetrated in Charlotte-street, Rathbone Place. Mr. Orell, an attorney in that street, and his wife, went out at three o'clock, leaving their servant maid in the house. They returned within the hour, when the servant not answering the door, they concluded that she had stepped out; and they went away again for a short time. Upon their second return, the same difficulty occurring, it was determined to enter the back part of the house, by getting over a wall; when the girl was discovered upon the kitchen floor, weltering in blood, a most horrid spectacle. From the various marks of violence, she must have made a strong resistance. Her head appeared to have been struck at with a poker; her throat effectually cut through the wind-pipe; two fingers nearly cut off; a deep wound on one breast, and otherways dreadfully mangled. She was yet alive, and made signs, but was unable to speak; and was conveyed to the Middlesex hospital, where she expired about one in the morning. The house was found to be robbed of spoons, and some other plate that lay about.

The mulatto, who was suspected of having committed the aforementioned murder and robbery, was apprehended on the morning of the 28th, and after a long examination, at the public office, Bow-street, nothing appearing to confirm the suspicion against him, he was discharged; another person, however, who had visited the girl as a sweetheart, was brought to the same place in the afternoon, and some circumstances arising, by no means



in his favour, he was committed for further examination.

DIED, At Somerton, in Somersetshire, Jonathan Randolph, gent. aged 107 years.

At his house in Charlotte-street, Rathbone Place, William Langdon, esq; rear admiral of the white; his reputation as an officer will flourish, and his name be held dear by his country, whilst the various services in which he bore a distinguished part, are remembered, particularly the celebrated action off Cape François, in 1757, fought by Forrest, Suckling, and Langdon.

Lately at Braemar, in the shire of Inverness, one Mary Cameron, aged 139 years. She retained her senses to the last, and was a member of the episcopal church. She remembered the rejoicings at the restoration of Charles II. Her house was an asylum to the exiled episcopal clergy at the revolution, and to the gentlemen who were proscribed in the year 1715, and 1745.—Upon hearing that the forfeited estates were restored, she exclaimed, “ Let me now die in peace, I want to see no more in this world.”

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### J U L Y 1785.

1st. A servant girl of farmer Pitkin's, of Mursley, Bucks, committed suicide in a very extraordinary manner: while her master and his men were weeding in the field, she took a cord, and tied it tight round the upper part of her left thigh, and with a fleam and stick used in bleeding cattle, made a deep incision through the artery, and bled to death before any assist-

ance could be procured. The inquest brought in their verdict lunacy.

5th. The commissioners appointed for putting the tax on shopkeepers into execution, met at Guildhall, and refused to qualify themselves according to the act, or have any concern in that unpopular impost.

A gold medal of exquisite workmanship has lately been struck to commemorate the gallant defence made by the garrison of Gibraltar. On one side is a Latin inscription, encircling some emblematic objects, and on the reverse a motto in German. One of these medals is given to governor Elliott, and one sent to each of the three German generals, who assisted during the siege.

Paris, July 8. A young woman lately forsaken by a libertine husband, carried her infant to the borders of the Seine, cut its throat, then stabbed herself, and plunged with her infant into the Seine.

Suicide seems of late to have become very common in France. On the evening of the 1st of this month, a young man walking under the trees in the Elysian Fields, near the hotel d'Evreux, he knelt down behind an elm, raised his eyes to heaven, and putting a pistol to his mouth, shot himself in presence of 200 spectators. In his pockets were found four balls and two *großsous* in money. He was tolerably dressed, and his linen remarkably clean. It is not yet known who he was.

On Tuesday last Dr. Macginnis, who was convicted of stabbing Mr. Hardy, the hatter in Newgate-street, two years ago, was discharged from his confinement the



the King's-Bench, and set off for the continent.

They write from Petersburg, that the Empress, with the Grand Dukes, in a train of 11 coaches, and upwards of 400 horsemen, set out on the 8th ult. on a grand tour, in which they were to be absent two months or more. The Czarina is going to shew herself in her new-acquired dominions. Caravans of provisions, &c. have been sent forward, and every possible pains taken to accommodate the illustrious travellers.

*Extract of a letter received from Major Money, dated Norwich, July 25.*

"On Saturday last, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I ascended from this place with a balloon, and was driven out to sea, not being able to let myself down, from the valve being too small. After blowing about for near two hours, I dropped into the sea. My situation, you may easily conceive, was very unpleasant: the difficulties I had to encounter to keep the balloon up, (that was torn, and only as an umbrella over my head) were astonishing. A Dutch vessel was within a mile of me; but whether from want of humanity, or by mistaking the balloon for a sea monster, I knew not, sheered off, and left me to my fate; a boat chased me for two hours, till just dark, then bore away. I began to give up all hopes, and even wished Providence had given me the fate of Pilatre de Rozier, rather than such a lingering death. I exerted myself, however, to preserve life as long as possible, by keeping the balloon floating over my head, sinking inch by inch, as it lost its power to keep me out of the water. I was breast high when

taken up by a revenue cutter, at half past eleven at night, and so weak, I was obliged to be lifted out of the car into the ship. I was put to bed, and having drank two or three glasses of grog (which was by far more delicious than Champagne) I fell asleep, and did not wake till six the next morning. We landed at Lowestoffe at eight, from thence I immediately sent an express to Norwich, where every one concluded I was inevitably lost. Any man with less strength than myself must have perished."

28th. The following is perhaps an unheard-of instance in natural history; as such we give it to our readers, and can vouch for its truth. Lately died, at Middleton Cheney, in Northamptonshire, a chesnut stone-horse, in the thirty-ninth year of his age. He was well known in many hunts more than thirty years ago. The gentleman in whose possession he died, bought him at two years old; at which time of life he took him to house, broke him, and afterwards constantly rode him, winter and summer, for between twenty and thirty years, without ever turning him out again on any account. The latter part of his life he ran loose in an open stable, but was never turned out. Notwithstanding all this, he was perfectly sound and free from blemishes till within a month of his death, when he got a strain in the stable, of which he did not recover; so that at last he may be truly said rather to have died of an accident, than of old age: as a proof that he did, he got several foals last year, and had covered this season, not long before his death.

DIED. At his house in 1st. Cranham Hall, Essex, general James

James Oglethorpe, aged 102 years. He was the oldest general in England. In the year 1706 he marched with a party of guards as ensign at the proclamation of peace.

The late general Oglethorpe was foremost amongst those spirited gentlemen who founded the colony of Georgia in North America, in the year 1732. He watched its infancy with solicitude, and observed its increasing spirit with pleasure. He founded Savannah, and when the Spaniards attempted to invade that settlement, he beat them from the fort they took possession of, and rescued the province.

## AUGUST 1785.

2d. Letters from New York, brought over in the *Druid*, Captain Heath, arrived at Southampton, for the purpose of carrying Dr. Franklin to America, advise, that trade was very dull in that city; that great jealousies and discontents reigned throughout the colonies; and that there was not a single merchantman in the port of New-York, at the time the *Druid* sailed from thence.

4th. The East India company have given leave to a company of private adventurers to fit out two ships on a trading voyage to Cook's River, and other parts adjacent, which, from the quantity of furs these places abound with, it is thought will be a very advantageous undertaking.

On Tuesday his grace the duke of Dorset arrived in town from Paris, and on Wednesday waited on the king at St. James's. Mr. Hailes acts as *chargé des affaires* at Paris during his grace's absence,

he being the duke's secretary to the embassy, is hourly expected in England.

Count d'Adhemar, the French ambassador, in consequence of letters of recall left his house on Tuesday afternoon, at three o'clock, and set off for Dover on his way to France. His departure was so sudden, that even the other foreign ambassadors were not acquainted with it, and ministers, it is said, are ignorant of the cause.

*Leghorn, August 5.* Their Sicilian majesties arrived here this evening from Genoa, on board the Saint Joachimo line of battle ship, accompanied by the Neapolitan fleet, with his Britannic majesty's frigates, the *Thetis* and *Orpheus*, and a Dutch frigate and cutter. Their majesties landed privately after sunset, went to the French comedy, and the same evening set out for Florence.

*Berlin, August 16.* The king of Prussia passed through this city from Potsdam very early this morning, in his way to Silesia. The manœuvres at the camp of Grossen-Tintz, four German miles from Breslaw, are intended to be performed on the 21st, 22d, 23d, and 24th inst. The prince of Prussia accompanies the king.

13th. The advices from Aleppo say, that the disorder there had carried off above 30,000 inhabitants, chiefly those of the new city. The old town, from being thinly inhabited, had, in a great measure, escaped the contagion, which had been increased in a violent degree by the heat of the season. The *Kalish*, or canal, which conveyed the waters of the Nile into the metropolis, and Joseph's Well, were both dried up, and not only

only cattle, but numbers of the lower ranks of people, had actually perished from thirst.

27th. The victualling business is entirely removed from Tower-hill; the clerks offices being at Somerset-house, and the killing, curing, &c. of provisions, at the new victualling-office, lately built near to the king's yard at Deptford; where, with the addition of a bakehouse for making biscuit, it is the most convenient that can be imagined for victualling men of war in the river.

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SEPTEMBER 1785.

*Dublin, Sept. 1.* Tuesday, a considerable number of the working manufacturers of this city went in a body, armed, to the house of Mr. Tobin, in the earl of Meath's Liberty, from whence they took a piece of French manufactured cloth, which, though of an inferior quality, was sent there to be pressed, and done up in the same manner as Irish, with an intention, in that state, of retailing it as the manufacture of this kingdom. Having made a fire, they burnt it, amidst the huzzas, groans, and hisses of the surrounding multitude, and then proceeded to search after a large importation of English woollens, but without effect, the goods having been timely conveyed out of their reach.

We have authority to inform the public, that Charles Clutterbuck, who was capitally convicted in France for a fraud and forgery on the bank of England, and whose sentence of death was, through the clemency of his most christian majesty, changed for that of being sent to the galleys for life, set out from

Arras the 31st of last month, chained, together with several other felons, for the place of his destination.

3d. An extraordinary robbery was committed last Saturday morning, at Mrs. Bennet's, the sign of the Three Rabbits, on the Rumsford road. Mr. W—— of Goffield in Essex, who is agent for the Scots and Lincolnshire salemen, came to the above house on the evening before, in order to proceed to Smithfield market, with upwards of eleven hundred pounds, in drafts and bank notes, besides a purse, containing 162 guineas and a half, in his pocket. He went to bed early that night, and placed the above property in his breeches beneath his head. A youth, genteelly dressed, lay in the same room, and found means to convey the notes and money from under Mr. W——'s pillow, and departed with the whole before break of day. At seven o'clock Mr. W—— discovered the theft; and sent immediately to the different public offices in London. After a long search, a woman was taken into custody yesterday morning, at an obscure lodging in the Mint, Southwark, who, upon examination, was discovered to be the identical person who had taken up her quarters at Mrs. Bennet's inn on Friday night. Eight hundred pounds in notes and cash were found concealed in her cloaths. She was soon after carried to the public office in Bow-street, where the notes were sworn to by Mr. W——, and her person ascertained by the chamber-maid of the inn. Her boy's apparel was also produced. She denied any knowledge of the transaction with great composure, and was committed to Tothill-fields Bridewell. It appeared, in the course

course of the evidence, that on her coming to town she had changed some of the notes at different shops, and had on Saturday last visited a female convict in Newgate, to whom she had made a present of a pair of silver buckles, and other trifling articles. The name of the above offender is Davis; she is extremely handsome, and not more than eighteen years of age. It is said she is connected with a numerous gang, and has long been employed in robberies similar to the above iniquitous transaction.

*Extract of a letter from Portsmouth, Sept. 6.*

“ At ten o'clock last night there came on at this place a most violent hurricane as ever was known at this season, within the memory of the oldest person present; which has continued, and still continues, without intermission, with the same degree of violence: at this present moment the waves break over the platform and fort-house, and force their way against the governor's house; the parade appears a perfect head of water, likewise the greatest part of South Sea Common. A small vessel was drove from the buoy at Spit-head, with great violence, into the innermost part of the pier of the gun-wharf, but no material damage has happened to her; nor do I hear of any at present, excepting a number of boats being stove to pieces. From the excessive height of the tide, and the turbulence of the weather, it has the appearance of an inundation round both town and common.”

*Extract of a letter from Dover, Sept. 6.*

“ This morning has been a shocking scene of distress, from the conse-

quence of the high wind, which blew quite a tempest. I never saw the sea so much agitated. Several vessels attempted the harbour without effect; at last, an English cutter came in quite under water, but safe. A few minutes after, seeing the cutter safe, a French vessel with six men on board, made the same attempt, and here a most dreadful scene appeared. After being in an instant buried by the waves, she rose again, with the loss of a man washed overboard. In a short time another swell quite swallowed her up. Her unfortunate crew did not appear for some time, but at last were perceived floating on a part of the wreck. In this situation they floated from the pier-head, till they came opposite York-house, sometimes in view, and at others buried by the rising waves. Though the sea rolled mountains high, four English sailors had the temerity to strip themselves, and ventured their lives to save two of them, who still continued on the rafters of the vessel, and picked them up safe. In doing this, they overset the boat, which turned them bottom upwards; but fortunately a violent sea drove them all on shore together, so that only four of the crew perished.”

*Extract of a letter from Plymouth, Sept. 6.*

Last night and this day our usual storm at this season of the year commenced, with a violent gale at S. W. and has blown with incredible fury, accompanied with a most tremendous pitching sea. A boat with three men was overset in Hamoaze, and all perished. There are but two men of war in the Sound, which ride it out very well.

“ One of the king's cutters is lost between Margate and Ramsgate, in the



the late high winds; the crew got safe on shore at Kinggate.

*Extract of a letter from Harwich, Sept. 8.*

“ We had one of the most violent gales here that we have experienced since the 1st of January, 1779. It began on Tuesday morning about one o’clock, and continued sixteen hours with all the fury of a hurricane, insomuch that the packet was detained, and did not sail till yesterday. A new ship, the Excellent, of 74 guns, is on the point of launching from the king’s yard here.”

*Extract of a letter from Brighthelmstone, Sept. 14.*

“ The fishermen on the coast have lately caught in their nets some young ravenous fish, about two feet in length, which with great difficulty and danger they have disengaged from their nets, to the great detriment thereof, and to the injury of their business. The ignorant people here supposed them to be what is called dog-fish, whose eyes and teeth resemble those of the common shark; but some gentlemen who have been desired to examine into the matter, have, to the unspeakable horror of the bathers, pronounced this fierce species of fish to be that of the squalus or true tyger shark, uncommon on our coasts, but well known to our seamen in the West Indies. What puts the matter beyond all doubt is, that the fisherinen informed the gentlemen that they have lately had some very large ones entangled in their nets, of six and eight feet in length, which have torn their nets to pieces in pursuit of their prey; whereas the dog-fish, or tuberone of Josselyn, never exceeds three feet and a half in length. We are happy to find there has been no mischief

done to any person by them hitherto.”

19th. The marine society is established at Bristol, and many poor lads are already clothed, and admitted into this excellent seminary for maritime knowledge. The boys so educated will be fit for the royal navy or merchants’ service. A more excellent charity has not for many years past been reared to add honour to the character of England. The excellent design of this society has more intrinsic merit than all the eloquence of a century can equal. Struggles to do good, and not emotions to gratify ambition, should fix the voice of popularity; it then would become—*Vox populi vox Dei*.

Dublin, Sept. 15. Last night the following most atrocious murder was perpetrated, and which, indeed, for the honour of human nature, should ever rest in oblivion:—Near eight o’clock James Ennis, a lad about nineteen years of age, son to a barber who lives in Angel-alley, High-street, returning home somewhat intoxicated with liquor, and having some trifling dispute with his father, who was in his shirt, pulled out a razor, and gave him four deep wounds in the arms, thighs, and body; on his mother’s interfering, and endeavouring to protect the life of her aged husband from the bloody and ferocious attack of her unnatural son, the inhuman villain, drawing a second razor, cut the arteries and sinews of her arm across, and, still unsated, wounded her in two other places; luckily she had sufficient strength and presence of mind left to alarm the neighbours, who arrived time enough to prevent the completion of his bloody purposes; but the hapless woman, from the ex-

traordinary effusion of blood from her wounds, soon became motionless, having first made signs for a clergyman, who opportunely arrived some little time before she expired, which was in the most excruciating agony; and the ill-doomed maimed survivor was sent to the infirmary, with small hopes of recovery. On the alarm being given, the young diabolical monster attempted to escape, but fortunately without effect.

When examined last night, and seemingly in perfect sobriety, he solemnly averred that he had been visited by a ghost or spectre, for seven nights before, which had prompted him to the perpetration of the above infernal and unparalleled acts of barbarity.

*Hague, Sept. 30.* On Saturday last a courier arrived here from Paris, with the news that a preliminary convention was signed there the 20th instant, between the imperial ambassador and the ambassadors of the republic, the principal articles of which are, that their High Mightinesses shall pay the sum of nine million five hundred thousand florins, as a compensation for Maestricht, &c. and five hundred thousand for the damage occasioned by the inundations. Dalem is to be ceded to the emperor, with its dependencies (except Oost and Cadier) for an adequate exchange in the district of Outreh Meuse. The limits of Flanders to remain as in 1664. The sovereignty of the emperor upon the Scheld is acknowledged from Antwerp to the extent of the territory of Saltingen, according to the line of 1664. The forts of Kruischans and Frederick Henry to be evacuated and demolished, and the soil ceded to his imperial majesty. Lillo and

Liefkenshoek are also to be evacuated and delivered up to the emperor in their present state, who renounces his claims to the villages of Bladel and Reussel; and all pecuniary pretensions on either side are reciprocally annulled.

**DIED.** At Folehill, a village about three miles from Coventry, a woman of the name of Neale, at the amazing age of 122 (being born in the reign of Charles the Second) who till within a few years of her death walked to and from Coventry every market-day. This good woman scarcely ever experienced an hour's illness, and never used spectacles. She had eleven children, one only of whom is living, and is upwards of 100, and the youngest of them was 84 when he died. There is a grandson of the same woman now living in London, and who is near 70, though his appearance does not bespeak him much more than 40; from which, and from his activity, and his chearful and apparent happy disposition, it should seem that he will not be outdone in longevity by any of his ancestors.

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#### OCTOBER 1785.

14th. A desperate affray happened at Stepney, between some Chinese Tartars and a body of Lascars, many of whom were armed with swords, long knives, and other offensive weapons; several were badly wounded on both sides, particularly one of the Tartars, who was left for dead; which so enraged the rest of his countrymen, that they collected a large reinforcement from Cock-hill, Limehouse, Blackwall, &c. and went armed with bludgeons to the house at Stepney, where

where the Lascars were, and dared them to come out; a great riot ensued, and the matter became so serious as to call for the interference of the peace-officers to put a stop to it, which with much trouble they did. The Tartars seized a poor Lascar coming out of Stepney church-yard, tied his hands behind him, and were going to have blood for blood, as they termed it, in revenge for their countryman, who it is supposed cannot recover. But luckily for the poor fellow, some of the peace-officers hearing of it, interposed and saved him, and with much entreaty prevailed on the Tartars to disperse. Great numbers of them took their abode at the Green Dragon, in the neighbourhood.

Two poor blacks perished for want early on Saturday morning the 15th. It seems they had crept under the new stone-buildings in Lincoln's-inn, behind the Six Clerks Office, and as the watchman was going his walk, and calling the hour of four, he heard the groan of a man, and on his searching under the building, found the two poor distressed objects; one of them was just dead, and the other was so far exhausted that he died before the least assistance could be given him; indeed, no other comfort could have been had at that hour, than a little spirits and water which the watchman had by him to drink during the night, and which was accordingly administered, but without effect.

It is a fact not less alarming than true, that the amount of that national bane, the poor rates, has increased, within this year or two, above a hundred thousand pounds a year.

*Poland, Oct. 20.* The Prussian agents who arrived some time since

in this kingdom, have purchased a great number of horses for military service, and likewise great quantities of rye and wheat. They still remain here in expectation of receiving new commissions.

24th. The treaty of an alliance offensive and defensive being signed between Russia, Austria, and Venice, is no longer kept secret. The intent of this alliance is to check any hostile measures of the Porte, and to force it to comply with the emperor's desires relative to the boundaries. The weak state of the Ottoman empire, notwithstanding its military preparations, and the divisions among its ministers, seem to presage the approaching ruin of that once formidable power.

The London packet, captain Truxton, is arrived at Philadelphia, after a fine passage, and landed Dr. Franklin in good health; upon which occasion the city was illuminated, with other demonstrations of joy.

27th. The Pennsylvania packet mentioned, that the celebrated democratic historian, Mrs. Catharine M'Aulay Graham, sailed for Europe the middle of July last.

Yesterday's post brought accounts of the greatest discontents which have shewn themselves for some years in Scotland, having broken out into acts of public outrage at Aberdeen. When the express left Aberdeen, the prisoners who had been committed by the provost were liberated by force;—the council chamber was nearly destroyed, and the magistrates obliged to fly for safety;—the military were called in, but being too few in number to encounter the vast multitude of the dis-

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affected,



affected, no use could be made of them—They are supposed to be encouraged and stimulated by the Jacobite and republican parties, who are both very numerous in Aberdeenshire.

**DIED.** On Saturday morning last, in Berry-street, in the 29th year of her age, Mrs. Kelly, the noted *Irish Fairy*, who was only 34 inches high; she was that morning delivered of a child 22 inches long, by Messrs. Mortgage, Donne, and Rigby; the child lived about two hours after its birth. Mrs. Kelly had been shewn in Norwich some time previous to her death; the smallness of her figure, and the circumstance of her being pregnant, caused a vast number of people to see her, and she was reckoned the greatest curiosity ever seen.

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## NOVEMBER 1785.

We are informed that Arabia has again produced a prophet and a warrior, who is beginning with success the career of the impostor Mahomet. This man has already collected a large body of disciples and followers from the various tribes of Arabs. He forbids his disciples from pilgrimage to or at the tomb of Mahomet, asserting that the power of that prophet is now superseded by his mission. He has framed several new laws in addition to his predecessor's, which he says the depravity of mankind has rendered necessary, and that he has long since been appointed by the Supreme Power to work a reformation. He keeps his troops in the most exact discipline, and has already seized on several strong posts. It is suspected

that his first step will be to fall on the caravan from the Porte to Mecca. The event of this pretender is uncertain, but he bids fair for success. The Arabs, naturally of a fiery and turbulent disposition, wanted only a chief to unite, and lead them from their desarts. When we reflect, that from these people have sprung conquerors who have subdued the east, we may reasonably suppose it is not improbable that another uncommon revolution may take place.

*Madrid, Nov. 1.* Letters from Carthagena, in South America, give an account of an earthquake which was felt in the city of Santa Fe, on the 12th of July last, at eight o'clock in the morning. Two churches were entirely destroyed, and many public and private buildings greatly damaged. The shock was felt in the neighbouring towns and villages of Yugativa, Caxica, and others, where the churches also have been left in ruins. Fortunately the number of lives lost appears to have been small. In Santa Fe the persons killed amounted only to fourteen.

The archbishop, who is also vicaroy of Santa Fe, has made over the whole revenues of his diocese for the relief of the sufferers, and had received on this occasion the thanks of his catholic majesty, with liberty to draw from the royal treasury what further assistance he may judge necessary.

*Fontainebleau, Nov. 10.* On the 8th of this month the definitive treaty of peace between the Emperor and the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, was signed here by their respective Ambassadors, under the mediation and guarantee of the King.

*Berlin, Nov. 5.* "By a printed list of the military establishment for this year, it is made to amount to



192,337 men, 152,829 infantry; and the remaining 39,548 cavalry. The corps of artillery consists of 11,582 men. These troops are cantoned in the following manner: 39,184 infantry, and 4,930 cavalry, in Magdebourg; 10,582 infantry, and 7,669 cavalry in Prussia; 11,909 infantry in Westphalia; 35,322 infantry, and 12,143 cavalry, in Silesia. This army is in complete order, and well equipped, and our monarch relies on being able by its means to repel the attack of any enemy whatever."

Earl Cornwallis and the Marquis de la Fayette met at the late review of the Prussian troops at Potsdam, and had the honour of being introduced to each other by the veteran Frederick himself.

17th. One Wood, a serjeant in the Coldstream regiment, who had been wounded in America, died in Chelsea college; on the same morning his brother being run over by a brewer's dray, in Paradise-row, was killed; a third brother died while he sat at table to dinner, at a house at Clapham; and a sister, who was the only one remaining of the family, was so overcome with the melancholy shock, that she hanged herself.

*Escorial, Nov. 24.* On the 18th instant the King of Spain published an edict, prohibiting, under severe penalties, the use of more than two horses or mules in gentlemen's carriages, within the different towns in this country. A circular letter has been sent to the foreign ministers residing at this court, with a copy of the edict, expressing his Catholic Majesty's hopes that they will set the example to the public, by complying with the new regulation.

The same edict also abolishes the

celebrated Bull Feasts (so long the favourite diversion of the Spaniards) except in particular cases, where the profits arising from that exhibition have been appropriated to pious or patriotic uses, and where no fund has yet been set aside to supply the deficiency that would be the consequence of the suppression.

The motive assigned for these prohibitions, in the preamble of the edict, is the great destruction of cattle, which might be better employed in agriculture, and other useful occupations.

*Extract of a letter from Vienna, Nov. 20.*

"The Emperor had a hair-breadth escape for his life lately. Having from motives of curiosity got on a scaffold erected before some houses, which are building in the Faux-bourgs, the scaffolding suddenly gave way, and his Majesty must inevitably have been killed, had he not been saved by a bricklayer's labourer catching hold of him. The Emperor gave him twenty-four ducats, and has settled a pension of three hundred florins on him."

*Extract of a letter from Rheims.*

"A few weeks past, a man was executed in this city, whose fate is really singular. — About fourteen years ago he was deputy-keeper of one of the prisons in this town, from whence he assisted a prisoner of eminence in making his escape. For this service he received a reward of 1500 louis-d'ors, with which sum he returned into his own country (at the foot of the Alps) where he remained perfectly secure; but being no longer able to resist an earnest desire he had to revisit this city, to which his long residence had given him a particular attachment, and thinking the number of years which

had elapsed, rendered him secure from a discovery, he set out, and arrived about eight weeks ago. But the second night after, going into a small *cabaret*, he was immediately recognized by a person sitting there, who went and informed an officer, by whom he was apprehended, and being condemned to die, the sentence was instantly put in execution."

Captain Mackenzie has received his Majesty's pardon, for the murder of the soldier at Fort Mörce, by shooting him from a cannon; but is now detained in Newgate, and it is expected he will be tried at the next Admiralty sessions for piracy, in cutting out (with a detachment of his men) from under the guns of a Dutch fort on the coast of Africa, a Portuguese ship, with Dutch colours; in consequence of which a complaint has been laid against him by the Portuguese ambassador. Government detains 11,000 pounds worth of his gold dust, till he gives an account of the King's stores which were entrusted to his care. His father has died since his confinement, and left him an estate of 500*l.* a year; but it is thought he will not be able to make any thing of it, it being mortgaged for a considerable sum. He is in a very poor state of health.

28th. An edict has been issued out at Paris by the sovereign, and registered at the Royal Mint, ordering a new coinage, and a general recal of all the gold specie. The louis d'ors of 24 livres currency, brought to the said mint, shall be taken at the rate of 25 livres each, if offered at any time during the space of four months, after which the said louis will pass current at the rate of 22 livres only. It is hence

presumed, that the new coin will be assayed at the sterling current, at all events it may prove no bad speculation for those who, having a great deal of cash in their hands, will be expeditious in disposing of it at the above advanced price. It is thought, however, that the innovation will hurt trade in general, as it was experienced in the year 1726, when such a reform took place; for which reason the state of the current coin never underwent any alteration since the above period.

DIED. At his house in Buckingham-street, York-buildings, Mr. John Henderson, of Covent-garden theatre; a gentleman whose loss will be severely felt by all admirers of dramatic exhibition, and sincerely regretted by a large and most respectable circle of acquaintance; Mr. Henderson having been in as high estimation for his private virtues, as his professional talents. Mr. Henderson left a will behind him in his own hand-writing, which, though not sealed or signed, is sufficient in law to direct the disposition of his personal effects, which amount to upwards of 6000*l.*

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#### DECEMBER 1785.

*Paris, Dec. 2.* By an ordinance of the King's Council of State of the 13th ult. a duty is imposed upon all foreign carriages brought into this country. Four-wheeled carriages are to pay 800 livres each. Travellers are to pay the duty only by way of form, as the sum is to be reimbursed if they quit the kingdom with the same vehicles. The same allowance is made in favour of natives and others taking carriages out  
of

of the kingdom for the purpose of travelling into foreign countries.

*Sentence of Mr. Aylette, Attorney, for Perjury.*

Judge Willes addressed himself to the prisoner nearly as follows:

Edward Aylette, you stand before the court, convicted on full and ample testimony of the crime of *Perjury*—You have moved an arrest of judgment, and have been heard by your counsel, who have exerted themselves much on the occasion. But the court have considered your plea not sufficient to set aside the indictment.—You have not denied the fact of perjury—you have not moved for a new trial—you have not brought your clerks to disprove a single circumstance alledged against you; and there is not, therefore, a doubt remaining in our breasts of your having committed the crime. The fact is notorious to every body; and as the indictment was preferred against you to the end that justice might be done, so it is necessary to pass the sentence of the law upon you. You have been long an attorney of this court, and in your extensive practice you must have discovered, that of all crimes, perjury is the most dangerous to society. It perverts justice,—it unhinges the law,—it destroys liberty and property,—and, in the practice of the court, is a most dangerous evil. You have seen by a late determination, that neither rank nor fortune can save a man from the ignominious punishment attendant on this crime; and therefore, I must inform you, the sentence of this court is:

“That you, Edward Aylette, do pay unto the King the sum of five hundred pounds, and that you be held in execution until the same

“is paid. That you be imprisoned “in the gaol of Newgate for twelve “months, and that once within that “time, between the hours of twelve “at noon and two in the afternoon, “you stand in and upon the pillory “in Palace-yard, Westminster.”

Mr. Aylette was then conveyed to Newgate by Mr. Akerman.

The execution on Thursday last, made up no less a number than ninety-six persons executed in the Old Bailey since the beginning of February last.

The unfortunate Francis Storer, who was executed on Thursday, Dec. 1st. in the Old Bailey, had twice before been capitally convicted, and received mercy on condition of working seven years upon the hulks; but he behaved with so much propriety, that he obtained a discharge in consequence of a fit of sickness, at the end of four years bondage. He solemnly declared, the evidence against him tempted him to follow his old courses, and acknowledged being concerned in robbing the Right Hon. Wm. Pitt’s house of a large quantity of plate some time since, which offence he asserted was planned by one of the journeymen employed in working the metal, who was since dead. He also, on some questions being put to him by a gentleman just before he mounted the scaffold, owned his having been privy to the stealing of the Great Seal; but obstinately refused telling who the robbers were, saying they were alive, and he trusted would be admonished by his misfortune, and seriously repent of their crimes.

The Right Hon. Wm. Eden 9th. kissed hands at St. James’s, as Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary to the court of France, for the purpose of negotiating  
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ciating certain commercial arrangements with that kingdom.

*Extract of a letter from Salisbury,*  
Dec. 12.

"Monday last Col. Joseph Brandt, the celebrated King of the Mohawks, arrived in this city from America, and after dining with Col. de Peister at the head quarters here, proceeded immediately on his journey to London. This extraordinary personage is said to have presided at the late grand Congress of confederate chiefs of the Indian nations in America, and to be by them appointed to the conduct and chief command in the war which they now meditate against the United States of America. He took his departure for England immediately as that assembly broke up; and it is conjectured that his embassy to the British court is of great importance. This country owes much to the services of Col. Brandt during the late war in America. He was educated at Philadelphia, is a very shrewd intelligent person, possesses great courage and abilities as a warrior, and is inviolably attached to the English nation.

24th. The East India Company's dividend from Midsummer last to Christmas, was declared at the General Court on Wednesday to be four per cent.

DIED. At Twickenham, after a very short illness, in the 73d year of her age, Mrs. Catherine Clive. The original genius of this excellent actress made her as incomparable as inimitable, and maintained her without a rival on the stage during her performance there. She retired with a small fortune, and contentedly enjoyed what she had acquired by her own labour.—Mrs. Clive was the daughter of Mr. William

Rastor, a gentleman who was a native of the city of Kilkenny, in Ireland, and bred to the law. Miss Rastor was born in 1711, and shewed a very early inclination and genius for the stage. Her first appearance was in boy's clothes, in the tragedy of Mithridates, king of Pontus, in which she was introduced only to sing a song. In 1731 she appeared in the part of Nell, in the Devil to Pay: this was the first character which afforded her an opportunity of displaying her comic powers, which afterwards ripened into so much perfection.

15th. It is with extreme concern we inform the public of the death of Mr. Cipriani, who expired at his house near the King's Mews, yesterday morning. His indisposition was a violent rheumatic fever, which confined him to his room for some weeks previous to his dissolution.—The classical elegance of his pencil will be a lasting memorial of his scientific skill, and do honour to his name as long as the polite arts are in estimation. From his correct outline and tender colouring, the taste of the nation has received its best improvement, and the Royal Academy considered him as the truest model of grace. Of his private virtues, all who knew him will subscribe a ready testimony; and to those who knew him not, it is impossible to convey an idea of his friendly heart and affable manners.

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#### BIRTHS for the year 1785.

Jan. 28. Petersburg. A few days since her serene highness the princess of Wirtemberg was safely



safely delivered of a princefs.

31. The countefs of Aylesford, of a daughter.

Feb. 2. The lady of lord Gallo-way, of a daughter.

6. The lady of the hon. Wafhington Shirley was delivered of a daughter.

16. The lady of Sir Henry Dafhwood, bart. of a daughter.

28. The countefs dowager of Weftmoreland, of a fon.

March 10. The lady of John Blackburne, efq, (member of parliament for the county of Lancafter) of a daughter.

13. Her grace the duchefs of Athol, of a fon.

16. Lady Hinton, of a daughter.

April 27. Laft week the hon. Mrs. Stewart, of a daughter.

30. The lady of the hon. colonel Rodney, of a fon.

May 5. The lady of Sir Hugh Dalrymple, of a fon.

Lady Eleanor Dundas, of a daughter.

The lady of the hon. William Grimfton, of Oxhey, in Hertfordfhire, of a fon.

6. Vifcountefs Hereford, of a daughter.

17. The lady of lord vifcount Falmouth, of a daughter.

23. This morning lady Neville, of a fon.

25. The countefs of Tankerville, of a daughter.

June 4. Lady Mahon, of a fon.

22. Lady Balgonie, of a fon.

28. The right hon. lady Elizabeth Fane, of a daughter.

July 2. The lady of the hon. and right rev. the bifhop of Winchefter, of a fon.

31. The countefs of Waldegrave, of a daughter,

Aug. 1. The countefs of Caven, of a daughter.

29. At her houfe in Piccadilly, her grace the duchefs of Devonfhire, of a daughter.

The lady of lord Brownlow, of a fon, at his lordship's houfe in Hill-ftreet, Berkeley-square.

Sept. 1. The lady of lord Monfon, of a fon and heir, at his lordship's feat, near Lincoln.

On Thursday the 8th inft. her grace the duchefs of Marlborough of a daughter, at Blenheim.

11. Lady Deerhurft, of a daughter, at Streatham.

13. Lady Townfend, of a fon, at his lordship's houfe, in Mortimer-ftreet.

30. The lady of the right hon. lord Algernon Percy, of a fon.

Oct. 25. The duchefs of Grafton, of a fon, at his grace's houfe, in Piccadilly.

31. The lady of the right hon. lord St. John, of a daughter.

Nov. 8. The lady of lord St. Afaph, of a fon and heir.

13. Lady Duncannon, of a daughter.

14. The right hon. lady Bagot, of a daughter.

16. At Edinburgh, her grace the duchefs of Gordon, of a fon.

The countefs of Radnor, of a fon.

17. The

# 250] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

17. The lady of Sir W. Middleton, bart. member for Northumberland, of a daughter.
- Dec. 6. The lady of the right hon. lord viscount Fournour, of a daughter.

## MARRIAGES for the year 1785.

- Feb. 3. James Everard Arundell, esq; count of the sacred Roman empire, eldest son of the hon. James Everard Arundell, of Ashcome, in the county of Dorset, to the hon. Miss Arundell, countess of the sacred Roman empire, eldest daughter of the right hon. lord Arundell.
13. Luke Dillon, esq; of Mary-le-bone, to the right hon. lady Margaret Augusta De Burgh, daughter to the right hon. John late earl of Clanricarde.
- March 3. The right hon. the marquis of Graham, to Miss Ashburnham, daughter of lord Ashburnham
17. Earl Clanricarde, to Miss Powlett, only daughter of George Powlett, esq; of Portman-square.
19. The hon. John Sommers Cocks, to Miss Nash, only daughter of the rev. Dr. Nash, of Bevere.
- April 9. Lisbon. On Saturday last this court, having received the news of the marriage of the Infant Don Juan, of Portugal with the Infanta of Spain, orders were immediately given for three days illuminations and gala, and the ambassadors and foreign ministers were admitted to pay their compliments to her most faithful majesty, and to the royal family, on Monday last, upon the occasion.
- May 10. Sir James Graham, bart. of Nethy, in Cumberland, to lady Catharine Stewart, eldest daughter of the earl of Galloway.
15. A few days ago, the hon. Frederick Robinson, brother to lord Grantham, and member for Ripon in Yorkshire, to Miss Harris, sister of Sir James Harris, his Majesty's ambassador at the Hague. The hon. Richard Howard, secretary to her Majesty, and brother to the earl of Effingham, to Miss March, daughter of John March, esq; of Wareley Park, Huntingdonshire.
21. Lisbon. On the 10th inst. the hon. Robert Walpole, his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary at the court of Portugal, to Miss Sophia Stret, daughter of Richard Stret, esq; of Lisbon.
- June 19. Sir Cassel Molyneux, bart. to Miss O'Donel, eldest daughter to Sir Neal O'Donel, bart. of Newport, in the county of Mayo.
- July 26. By special licence, at the right hon. the countess of Plymouth's,

Plymouth's, in Bruton-street, Sir James Tylney Long, bart. to lady Catharine Windfor, sister to the present earl of Plymouth.

Aug. 8. John Grossett Muirhead, esq; to the right hon. lady Jane Murray, third daughter of the late duke of Athol.

18. The right hon. lord viscount Dysart, to the hon. lady Ann Brown, eldest sister to the earl of Althamont.

Sept. 8. Sir Thomas George Shipwith, bart. to Miss Shirley, daughter of the hon. George Shirley.

30. The hon. George Augustus North, to Miss Hobart, of St. James's-square.

Oct. 31. B. Graham, esq; only son of Sir B. Graham, to Miss P. Whitworth, daughter of the late Sir Charles Whitworth.

Nov. 17. The hon. and rev. Mr. Lumley, brother to the earl of Scarborough, to Miss Anna Maria Herring.

Dec. 20. At Worthy, the hon. Edward Bouverie, brother to the earl of Radnor, to Miss A. Ogle, daughter to Admiral Sir Chaloner Ogle.

being appointed second in military command, in the East Indies.

— 13. This day the right hon. Thomas, earl of Beftive, fir Skeffington Smyth, bart. and D. La-touche, esq; were, by his majesty's command, sworn of his majesty's most honourable privy council of the kingdom of Ireland, and took their places at the board accordingly.

April 5. The king has been pleased to appoint the rev. Henry William Majendie, M. A. to be a prebendary of the free chapel of St. George, in the castle of Windsor, void by the death of the rev. Dr. Thomas Bray.

— 30. Thomas Warton, bachelor of divinity, and fellow of Trinity college Oxford, was sworn and admitted into the place of poet laureat in ordinary to his majesty.

Dublin Castle, April 22. Letters patent are preparing to be passed under the great seal of this kingdom, for appointing lieutenant-general William Augustus Pitt, commander in chief of his majesty's forces in this kingdom, and the commander in chief of his majesty's said forces for the time being, together with his majesty's right trusty and well beloved counsellor James Cuff, Ponsonby Moore, James Cavendish, William Handcock, Ralph Ward, Fitzherbert Richards, esqrs; and Robert Langrishe, esq; in the room of Thomas St. George, deceased, to be commissioners and overseers of all his majesty's barracks in this kingdom.

June 11. The king has been pleased to constitute and appoint the right hon. Francis, baron Osborne, (commonly called marquis of Carmarthen) to be governor of the islands of Scilly, alias Sully, alias Sorlingues, in the room of the right hon. Francis, lord Godolphin, deceased.

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*Principal PROMOTIONS for the Year 1785; from the London Gazette, &c.*

March 10. Major Gen. Campbell, appointed governor of Madras.

— 11. Lord Balcarras kissed the king's hand at St. James's, on

— 18. The king has been pleased to grant to the earl of Uxbridge, the several offices of constable or keeper of the castle of Carnarvon, ranger of the forest of Snowdon, and steward of all his majesty's lordships, manors, lands, and tenements, belonging to the late dissolved monastery of Bardsey, in the county of Carnarvon.

— 25. The king has been pleased to appoint Charles Whitworth, esq; to be his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to the king and republic of Poland.

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SHERIFFS appointed by his Majesty in Council, for 1785.

*Berkshire.* Edward Thornhill, of Kingston Lisle, esq; in the room of Francis Robson, of Tubney, esq.

*Bedfordshire.* William Gibbard, of Sharnbrooke, esq.

*Bucks.* Thomas Saunders, of Brill, esq.

*Cumberland.* Edward Knubley, of Wigton, esq.

*Cheeshire.* The honourable Wilbraham Tollemache, of Woodhay.

*Camb. and Hunt.* John Crichton Turner, of Great Stakley, esq.

*Devonshire.* John Henry Southcote, of Buckland, esq.

*Dorsetshire.* The hon. Lionel Damer, of Warmwell.

*Derbyshire.* Herbert Greensmith, of Priory, esq.

*Essex.* George Bowles, of Wanstead, esq.

*Gloucestershire.* John Niblett, of Gloucester, esq.

*Hertfordshire.* William Phillimore, of Aldenham, esq.

*Herefordshire.* Sir Hungerford Hoskins, bart.

*Kent.* Edward Knatchbull, of Provender, esq.

*Leicestershire.* William Vann, of Belgrave, esq.

*Lincolnshire.* Charles Chaplin, of Blankney, esq.

*Monmouthshire.* William Rees, of St. Bride's, esq.

*Northumberland.* Sir Henry Liddel, bart.

*Northamptonshire.* Lucas Ward, of Guilsborough, esq.

*Norfolk.* Edward Stracey, of Rackheath, esq.

*Nottinghamshire.* Sherbrooke Lowe, of Southwell, esq.

*Oxfordshire.* John Lenthall the younger, of Burford, esq.

*Rutlandshire.* Thomas Falkner, of Morcott, esq.

*Shropshire.* Robert More, of Linley, esq.

*Somersetshire.* Richard Crofs, of Broomfield, esq.

*Staffordshire.* Thomas Stevenson, of Stafford, esq.

*Suffolk.* Sir Thomas Gooch, of Benacre, bart.

*Southampton.* Sir John Whalley Gardiner, bart.

*Surrey.* James Payne, of Chertsey, esq.

*Sussex.* William Nelthorpe, of Sedgwick Park, esq.

*Warwickshire.* Joseph Boulton, of Baxterley, esq.

*Worcestershire.* Richard Bourne Charlett, of Elmly Castle, esq.

*Wiltshire.* James Sutton, of Roundway, esq.

*Yorkshire.* Sir Thomas Turner Slingsby, of Sreven Park, bart.

## SOUTH WALES.

*Brecon.* Walter Roberts, of Lanvihangel, esq.

*Cardiff.*



*Carmarthen.* William Lewes, of Llyfnewyed, esq.

*Cardigan.* Thomas Powell, of Nanteos, esq.

*Glamorgan.* Stephen White, of Miskin, esq.

*Pembroke.* John Lloyd, of Dale Castle, esq.

*Radnor.* James Price, of Clirow, esq.

NORTH WALES.

*Anglesea.* Richard Lloyd, of Monachdu, esq.

*Carnarvon.* John Jones, of Brynhir, esq.

*Denbigh.* John Twigge, of Burras, esq.

*Flint.* Sir Thomas Hanmer, of Hanmer, bart.

*Merioneth.* John Jones, of Caffty, esq.

*Montgomery.* Samuel Yates, of Laebrinmair, esq.

At a council of his royal highness the Prince of Wales, held at Carleton House, the 7th of February, 1785, Wession Helyar, of Newton, esq; was appointed sheriff for the county of Cornwall, for the year 1785, by his royal highness the Prince of Wales in council.

DEATHS for 1785.

*Jan. 31.* In the 88th year of her age, the right hon. lady dowager Stourton, daughter and sole heiress of Bartholomew Walmesley, esq.

*Feb. 9.* The countess of Strafford, at the earl's seat at Wentworth, in Yorkshire. She was daughter of the celebrated John duke of Argyle, and sister to

lady Dalkeith, and lady Mary Coke.

11. The right hon. lady Penelope Crichton Dalrymple, sister to the late earl of Dumfries, and to James and William, successively earls of Stair.

19. Sir John Stapylton, bart. of Myton-hall, in Yorkshire.

The dowager lady Gower, at her seat at Bill Hill, in Berkshire.

20. General Philip Honeywood, colonel of the third regiment of dragoon guards, and governor of Hull.

23. At Marybone, sir Thomas Pye, admiral of the white, and lieutenant-general of the marines.

*April 27.* Monday se'nnight, at Edinburgh, the hon. Mrs. Margaret Murray, daughter of the deceased David, viscount Stormont, and sister to the present earl of Mansfield.

A few days since, aged upwards of 80, the hon. Mrs. Mary Tufton, fifth daughter, and last survivor of nine children of the hon. colonel Sackville Tufton, grandfather of the present earl of Thanet.

28. A few days since, lady Edwards, wife of sir Thomas Edwards, bart.

*May 19.* Lieutenant General sir Robert Rich, bart. in the 68th year of his age.

20. Lady Bowyer, relict of the late sir William Bowyer.

25. Lady Elizabeth Stanhope, sister of lord Stanhope.

*June 9.* The hon. earl Pomfret: he is succeeded in his title by his eldest son, lord Leominster.

The lady of the rev. sir Thomas Boughton, bart.

25. The right hon. Francis, lord Godolphin.

4 December 1785

30. A few days since the right hon. Harriet, viscountess Mountgarret, and baroness Kells.

*July 4.* In the 85th year of his age, the right hon. Charles Colyear, earl and baron of Portmore, viscount Millsintown, and baronet, knight of the most noble and antient order of the Thistle.

7. The right hon. lady Abigail Hay, sister to the earl of Kinnoul.

10. The honourable Ann Poulett, member for Bridgewater, and only brother to the earl Poulett.

The right hon. Matthew, lord Fortescue.

11. Lady Audley.

17. The most noble lady Margaret Cavendish Harley, duchess dowager of Portland, in the seventy-first year of her age. Her grace was only daughter of Edward, earl of Oxford, and earl of Mortimer, by his countess the lady Henrietta Cavendish, only daughter and heir of John Holles, esq.

27. The right hon. viscountess dowager Powerscourt, in the 78th year of her age.

*Aug. 29.* On Friday night, the right hon. Geo. Germaine, viscount Sackville, lord Bolebrook, one of his majesty's most honourable privy

counsellors, clerk of the council in Ireland, one of the keepers of the Phoenix Park, near Dublin, and a vice-president of the British lying-in hospital.

*Sept. 9.* George earl of Abergavenny.

19. At Lyons, in France, the right hon. and reverend lord Edward Seymour, dean of Bath and Wells, brother to his grace the duke of Somerset.

*Oct. 5.* At Lisle, in French Flanders, sir Walter Blount, bart. of Moreley-hall, in Shropshire.

7. The right honourable John lord Dormer, baron of Wenge, in the county of Bucks.

14. Lewis Philip, duke of Orleans, first prince of the blood royal of France, at six o'clock in the morning, at his castle of St. Affise, in the 60th year of his age, being born in May, 1725.

The 15th instant, at eight o'clock in the evening, died in Paris, the duke de Praslin, formerly minister of the naval department.

*Nov. 20.* The right hon. Robert Henry Ongley, lord Ongley, to which title he was advanced in 1726.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

For 1784.

*Whitehall, Jan. 10.*

*Extract of a dispatch to his Majesty's principal Secretary of State for the Home Department, from his Excellency Major General James Stuart, Commander in Chief of his Majesty's and the East India Company's forces on the Coast of Coromandel; dated Camp, one mile south of Cuddalore, June 27, 1783, received yesterday by Captain Thomas, of the 23d light dragoons, who arrived in his Majesty's ship Medea.*

**I** Most sincerely congratulate your lordship on the successful efforts of this brave army, in carrying at one stroke the whole of the outposts and redoubts of the enemy, with \* 18 pieces of artillery mounted upon them. Their loss in Europeans killed and wounded, according to the prisoners, being † 26 officers and 600 men. We have also lost many excellent officers and brave men.

On the preceding day (the 12th) I called as a council of war the two officers next in command to me, major general Bruce and colonel Stuart, I acquainted them of the

state of our affairs in general; the letters I had received from the admiral, representing the sickly condition of his men, and the state of the water, which might oblige him to return to Madras; also the approach of the French fleet; but above all, the indefatigable industry visible in the vast works they were making in the high grounds and lines, in communication with the post commonly called Brickmyre's, thus stretching along the neck by which we must approach the place; and I requested general Bruce and colonel Stuart freely to speak their minds. I had called the chief engineer and the commanding officers of the Bengal and coast artillery, as deliberative desiring to know in their different departments if they were in readiness, so far as regarded materials for closing the redoubts after we should get possession, and to form a first parallel, and as to guns, with a sufficient supply of stores for the enterprize. They agreed that every thing was in readiness, and we were unanimously of opinion, that there was not an hour to be lost in driv-

\* Upon examining the returns, the number taken was 16.

† It was afterwards found they had 42 officers killed or wounded.

ing the French from all their outposts into Cuddalore, or under the guns.

I immediately presented the plan I meant to follow in effecting our purpose, a copy of which I have the honour of inclosing. It was in general most exactly followed. Lieutenant colonel Kelly, in the precise moment agreed on, got possession of the posts of the enemy on the Bandypollum Hills, with their guns, and lieutenant colonel Cathcart, at the head of the grenadiers, supported by colonel Stuart, commanding the advanced picquets on the left, consisting of the remains of the 73d regiment under captain Lamont, and two battalions of sepoy, made a movement to turn the enemy's right flank.

In advancing, they sustained such a heavy fire, and the ground so difficult, that with great judgment colonel Stuart covered his people until he could better reconnoitre, and some further disposition could be taken to approach the enemy from different quarters nearly about the same time. He sent me a report of his situation, and I gave orders in consequence to the reserve, under colonel Gordon, to make a movement in advance to their left, and to major-general Bruce to march from the right in the direction of the redoubt, if the ground could admit of it.

The general had very properly posted lieutenant colonel Edmondson upon the sand-hills near the sea, to support the brass eighteens, and prevent our being flanked on that side.

Upon further information, that the redoubt which principally annoyed the grenadiers was to be got at in the rear, orders were given for

the grenadiers, the reserve, and the right under general Bruce, to close upon the enemy with their musquetry, leaving their guns under cover. I desired the commanding officer of artillery to fire three guns as a signal, and to continue a heavy fire for five minutes on the enemy's redoubt on the front opposite to colonel Stuart, and the grenadiers, whilst the reserve under colonel Gordon was moving on; upon our fire ceasing, the attack on all sides to begin.

The reserve, which consisted chiefly of the remains of his majesty's 101st, and of the detachment from the 15th and 16th Hanoverians, with five companies of captain Muirhead's battalion of sepoy, advanced in the best order imaginable, under the heaviest fire of musquetry, round and grape, from the enemy, I ever beheld. The greater part had got within the enemy's entrenchments; many of our officers fell there.

The detachment of his majesty's Hanoverians, under lieutenant-colonel Wangenheim, and major Varanus, behaved most remarkably well. The major fell in the attempt. The company of grenadiers and light infantry of his majesty's 101st, and the officers of that corps, and the officers and sepoy of the 20th Carnatic battalion, shewed the greatest spirit and steadiness; and if the other men of the 101st had seconded the efforts of their officers, and their grenadiers and light infantry, there is not a doubt but the business would have been over at once: but they did not; and our people on that attack were for a certain time driven back, and pursued to a considerable distance by the enemy. However, at that time, when the French



French were in the pursuit, our grenadiers, under lieutenant colonel Cathcart and major Moore, with colonel Stuart and captain Lamont, with the precious remains of the 73d, entered the redoubt on the side where it was not entirely closed, and not only took possession of it, but pushed forward to a post called Brickmyre's, considerably in advance, and were for some time in possession of it with the guns, but obliged to quit upon fresh troops pouring in upon them.

Our people kept hold of the first redoubt, as commanding or enfilading every thing in front or to the right of it, and therefore a good point to go from in our approaches; it was ordered to be closed by the chief engineer as soon as possible. The havoc done by our guns from the heights now appeared plain; and having thus secured, by lieutenant col. Kelly and his brigade, the commanding points of the Bandipollum hills, giving an opening to the large tank that lies between them, and seeing from thence, in reverse, the whole bound hedge of Cuddalore; and having secured a post to approach from of such importance as before mentioned, I thought it sufficient for the day, considering the number of our brave men that had fallen. The spirit of our people, even after so severe an action, was so undaunted, that I was urged to proceed further, and to drive the whole of the enemy into the fort that evening, although we must have had both heavy guns and musquetry to encounter with; but I declined it, both for the above reason, and because, from my knowledge of the French, I was sure, that after a night's reflection of what had

passed, they would not try a second day out of the fort. It happened so, for they abandoned in the course of the night all their remaining outposts, and drew off their guns, excepting three, which we brought into the redoubt. The inclosed return will shew your lordship the guns we have taken from the enemy; two of them are upon the hill, and two in the redoubt, ready to open against their former masters.

I shall, in a separate letter, so soon as I know it with precision, acquaint your lordship of the loss on our side. It is with infinite regret that I mention the loss of captain Douglas, deputy adjutant-general, as an officer, and as a member of society; and the same of lieutenant Peter Campbell, my first aid-de-camp. Major Varrenius fell haranguing his men, advancing to the redoubt. The honourable captain Lindsey, commanding the grenadiers of the 73d, was wounded and taken prisoner, refusing to suffer his own people to remain behind with him\*. In a word, nothing, I believe, in history, ever exceeded the heroism and coolness of this army in general, visible to every one, for it lasted from four in the morning to two in the afternoon.

The admiral with the whole fleet is now at an anchor near our rice ships; and by our last accounts Mont. Suffrein was seen by him to the southward, with fifteen ships of the line and two frigates.

I have written to major general Burgoyne to give orders (with the previous information to government) that 200 Hanoverians, with all the recovered men and recruits belonging to his majesty's troops, now at

\* Captain Lindsey died of his wounds at Cuddalore.

or near the presidency, be sent with the utmost dispatch to us by sea; and I have recommended to order the same regarding the recruits and recovered men of the company's Europeans.

The army lay upon their arms for twenty hours after the business of the 13th was over, and until I had the means to bring our camp further in advance, now that we had silenced the guns planted on the enemy's out-posts. Our right is now within a mile of Cuddalore; but, as I had the honour in a former letter to represent to the select committee, having nearly a brigade to cover our rear and landing place, and so large a circuit of posts, added to our loss in action, and sickness incident to fatigue, I repeat that unless the force under colonel Fullarton does come nearer to co-operate, and to take off some part of the heavy duty that now falls to our share, this army will, in a very short time, be melted to nothing through sickness and other accidents.

*Camp, S. of Cuddalore,  
June 15, 1783.*

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*Letter to the Select Committee at Madras, containing the particulars of the repulse of the French, on the 25th of June, 1783.*

IT is with great additional satisfaction that I give you the account of the repulse the enemy met with in a fortée they made early this morning. We have taken their commanding officer, chevalier de Damas, colonel (*maitre de camp*) of the regiment of Aquitaine; likewise a captain and lieutenant. There is a major, a captain, and two subalterns killed. The prisoners are

about 150. I don't know how many of the enemy have been killed or carried off wounded, but this I know, that it was a most complete route. Our loss is major Cotgrove, lieut. Grueber of the Bengal detachment, and lieut. Ochterloney missing, captain Williamson wounded, and about 20 rank and file killed or wounded.

Upon the return of the French fleet, and ours not appearing, I was sure that they would take every occasion to annoy us: we were prepared for it, as they have found to their experience. From what I can collect of the prisoners, the troops engaged were of their best sort, the regiment of Aquitaine, and other old corps, besides volunteers from all the other corps, and two battalions of sepoys. Their principal impression seems to have been directed to the right of our parallel; but they had no idea of our having completed a redoubt there, which, with the two guns, galled them very severely. Our people behaved wonderfully well, and the sepoys mixed theirs with the French bayonets: nothing could exceed their steadiness. Colonel Gordon commanded in the trenches with lieutenant colonel Cathcart and major Cotgrove; only one half of the grenadiers were with the outlying picquets, but major Moore, with the other half, was instantly on the ground from their advanced camp, and they proved an excellent support to the parallel on the right.

From the character of monsieur Suffrein, and the infinite superiority of the present means on the part of the French now that we are left to ourselves, I expect a daily visit of this sort from them, and shall be prepared to give them a similar reception;

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [259

tion; but I cannot too often repeat, that the severity of the present duty, both on officers and men, is become almost insupportable.

As to my own uneasiness of mind; considering many things which I need not detail to you, and that it is now nine days since our fleet and provision ships left us, and having no certainty of colonel Fullarton's movements towards me, in consequence of my order of the 16th instant, I say that, on the whole of these considerations, my mind is upon the rack without a moment's rest.

The steady undaunted valour of this army is my present resource in the midst of surrounding difficulties, if the admiral does not soon appear.

The high idea I entertain of the merit of the army has led me to express my sentiments at some length in this day's general orders, both of their conduct on the 13th, and in the action of this day. I shall have the honour of transmitting to your lordship, &c. a copy, together with every paper of any consequence which you have not hitherto been furnished with, owing to the uncertainty of conveyance, since we lost sight of the admiral.

I pray your lordship, &c. to forward the means of conveyance by sea to us of the detachment of 200 Haroverians, with the recruits and recovered men of his majesty's and the company's troops, together with money, rice, and horse grain, our only dependence for all those things being upon you.

*Camp before Cuddalore,*

*June 25th, 1783.*

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*Admiralty Office, Jan. 12, 1784.*

*Extract of a duplicate of a letter from  
Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes,*

*Knight of the Bath, and Commander in Chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies, to Mr. Stephens; received on Friday last, by Captain Erasmus Gower, of his Majesty's ship Medea; the original of which is on board the Pondicherry armed transport, not yet arrived.*

*Superb, in Madras Road,*

*July 25, 1783.*

MY last address to you, for their lordships information, was dated the 19th of March, of this year, from Bombay. By it I signified my intention to proceed to sea with the ships of his majesty's squadron under my command, and I sailed accordingly on the day following.

On the 8th of April, off the Basas, I was joined by captain Troubridge, in his majesty's ship Active, who had been cruising for a month off the Friar's Hood, by my orders; and had seen nothing of the enemy's squadron during that time.

In the night of the 10th, a grab ship of the enemy's, that had been taken from the English, fell into the squadron, and was captured. By the officers, prisoners taken in this ship, I learned that the whole of the enemy's squadron, under the command of monsieur Suffrein, was in Trincamale harbour, except two of their best sailing line of battle ships, and two frigates, which were cruising off Madras to block up that port, and intercept all supplies bound to it; I therefore immediately steered with the squadron for that place, and anchored in the road on the 13th of April, but saw nothing of the French cruisers; however, as they had been in sight of the place only the day before, I di-

[ S ] 2

rested



rested the ships named in the margin\*, under the orders of captain Mitchell, of the Sultan, to proceed to sea, and use all possible diligence to intercept them; and, on the day following, captain Graves, of his majesty's ship Sceptre, whose signal had been made to chase a strange sail on the 11th, joined me with the Naiade, a French frigate of 30 guns, and 160 men, which he had come up with in the night, and captured.

On the 16th of April, captain Burney, of his majesty's ship Bristol, with his convoy from England, arrived in this road, escorted by the ships under the orders of captain Mitchell, of the Sultan, who had seen nothing of the enemy's cruizers, but fell in with the Bristol and her convoy at sea.

On the 19th of April, the company's ship Duke of Athol made the signal of distress, and the boats of the squadron being ordered by signal to her assistance, she unfortunately blew up, by which unhappy accident the squadron lost † six commissioned and four warrant officers, and 127 of our best seamen.

From the day of the squadron's arrival in this road, all possible diligence has been used to complete the ships water, in doing which, great delay and frequent disappoint-

ments arose, from the want of a sufficient number of shore boats, and the high surf on the beach. However, I put to sea on the second of May with his majesty's ships, to seek the enemy's squadron, and, if possible, intercept their expected reinforcements, although the water of many of the ships was by no means complete, having left in the road his majesty's three store ships, Pondicherry, Harriott, and Minerva, to lade military stores and provisions for the service of the army, then about to march for the attack of Cuddalore, where the marquis de Buffly, with the greater part of the French land forces, was posted; and, to cover and protect these storeships, as well as some other ships and vessels employed for the same purpose, from the enemy's cruizers, I left in the road, at the request of the Select Committee of this Presidency, his majesty's ships and vessels as per margin ‡, under the command of captain Haliday, of his majesty's ship Isis.

On the 15th of May, when off Cuddalore, I spoke two Portuguese ships from Trincomale, who informed me Mons. Suffrein with his whole force was there, sitting for sea with all possible expedition, to come to the relief of Cuddalore: from that time I continued working to windward with the squadron along

\* Sultan, Burford, Africa, Eagle, and Active.

† The names of the commissioned officers are as follows: those of the warrant officers are not yet known, viz.

Lieut. Charles Egan, of the Superb,  
Neal Morrison, of the Eagle,  
Thomas Wilson, of the Sceptre,  
James Thompson, of the Juno,  
— Pringle, of the Active,  
Alexander Allen, of the Seahorse.

‡ Isis, Active, San Carlos, Naiade, Chaser, Pondicherry, Minerva, and Harriott.



shore, lest the enemy's squadron should pass in-shore of me, and fall on the storeships and their covering party, then at anchor near to Cuddalore.

On the 25th of May I came off Trincomale, and reconnoitred the position of the enemy's squadron, which I did not think by any means eligible to attack at anchor, under cover of their gun and mortar batteries, and therefore stood to the southward to intercept any reinforcement or supplies that might be coming to them, at the same time watching their motions by the frigates of the squadron, and keeping within a proper distance of the place, lest they should put to sea in the night, and fall down on the covering ships and storeships off Cuddalore.

On the 1st of June, two English seamen in a boat escaped from the French squadron, and brought certain intelligence, that the Fendant, of 74 guns, with two frigates and two storeships, had slipped out of Trincomale bay; the storeships I concluded carried stores for the French garrison of Cuddalore, and the Fendant and two frigates destined to cover and protect them; and being apprehensive they might attack our covering ships and storeships off Cuddalore, I bore away on the 2d of June for the coast, and on the 3d had sight of the Fendant and two frigates, whom I chased till night, when I lost sight of them.

I continued cruising with the squadron to the southward of Cuddalore till the 9th of June, when I anchored in Porto Novo Road, about seven leagues to the southward of that place, partly to cover our own ships in Cuddalore Road,

and engage the enemy's squadron before they could anchor there, and partly to endeavour to get a supply of water, of which many ships began to be in want; but, after exerting ourselves to the utmost, no water could be obtained either at Porto Novo, or Tranquebar; at the first place the enemy's troops were in possession of both banks of the river, at the other the wells were dried up.

On the 13th of June, the enemy's squadron, under the command of Mons. Suffrein, came in sight to the southward, consisting of fifteen ships of the line, three frigates, and a fireship; and the same day I weighed with his majesty's squadron, and dropped down to about five miles distance off Cuddalore, and there anchored: the French squadron anchored off the Coleroon river, about seven or eight leagues to the southward of our's.

On the 17th, the French squadron being under sail, and bearing down, I made the signal, and weighed with his majesty's squadron, and formed the line of battle a-head to receive the enemy: in the evening they hauled the wind, and stood to the southward, and I followed them with his majesty's squadron: from this time to the 20th I was continually employed in endeavouring to get the wind of the enemy, which, however, I was never able to effect, from the extraordinary variableness of the winds, that often brought part of the two squadrons within a random shot of each other. On the 20th, the enemy, still having the wind, shewed a disposition to engage, when I immediately formed the line of battle a-head, and brought to, to receive them. At four minutes past four,

P. M. the van ship of the enemy, having first tried her distance by a single shot, when scarce within point-blank shot distance, the enemy's squadron began their fire on his majesty's, which at twenty minutes after was returned, and a heavy cannonade ensued on both sides, the enemy still keeping up their distance; the cannonade continued till seven, P. M. when the enemy hauled off. At day-light I made the signal, and wore with the squadron, and brought- o to repair the damages, with the ships heads towards the land; several of the ships much disabled in their hulls, masts, and rigging, the Gibraltar and Isis in particular; the enemy's squadron not in sight.

In the morning of the 22d I saw the French squadron at anchor in Pondicherry Road, bearing SSW. directly to windward of his majesty's squadron, and some of them getting under weigh; and I made what sail I could towards them, and anchored the same night off the ruins of Alemparvo, the more effectually to stop shot-holes, and repair the damages sustained.

I beg you will be pleased to inform their lordships, that so early as the 8th of June, the scurvy began to make a rapid progress among the crews of all the ships of the squadron, but particularly on board the ships last arrived from England, under the orders of commodore sir Richard Bickerton, bart.

The number of sick on board the line of battle ships amounted on that day to 1121 men, 605 of whom being in the last stage of the scurvy, I was under the necessity of sending on the day following to the naval hospital at this place, in

his majesty's ships Bristol and San Carlos.

From that time to the 22d, the disease increased the numbers of the sick daily, so as most of the ships of the line had from 70 to 90 men, and the ships last from England double that number, very many in the last stage of the disease, and unable to come to quarters, dying daily. Under these circumstances, and the water of most of the ships being expended, except a few casks in their ground tiers, and none to be obtained to the southward, I determined to return to this road, there to land the sick and wounded, and complete the water of the squadron for further service; and on the 23d of June I weighed with the squadron, and arrived in this road on the afternoon of the twenty-fifth.

On my arrival there, I received authentic (although not official) intelligence, that the preliminary articles of peace between Great Britain, France, Spain, and America, had been signed and ratified, as well as a cessation from hostilities agreed on between Great Britain and the States General of the United Provinces, of which information the Select Committee of this Presidency were also in possession; and being summoned the same day to a consultation with the Select Committee, to take into consideration these circumstances, I concurred with the other members of the committee, that it would be proper, and was necessary to communicate to the commanders in chief of the sea and land forces of the French king at Cuddalore, the information we had received, together with the grounds on which we believed it to be

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [263

be true and authentic; and on the 27th of June, I dispatched his majesty's ship *Medea*, as a flag of truce, with letters to Monsieur Suffrein and the Marquis de Buffy.

On the 4th of July the *Medea* returned to this road, with answers from Monsf. Suffrein and the marquis de Buffy to my letters of the 27th of June, by which they concurred in a cessation of hostilities by sea and land, as well as an immediate release and return of prisoners on both sides: in consequence,

I have received all the prisoners belonging to the squadron in Monsf. Suffrein's power, amounting to about 350. Monsf. Suffrein informs me by letter, he has also sent to the Mauritius, for such English prisoners as have been sent thither, and will return them.

I have judged it necessary to send, for their lordships information, the line of battle of his majesty's squadron under my command, on the 20th of last month, and a list of the French ships opposed to me under the command of Monsf. Suffrein.

## LINE OF BATTLE.

The *Cumberland* to lead with starboard tacks on board, the *Defence* with larboard.

### RED DIVISION.

<i>Rates.</i>	<i>Ships.</i>	<i>Commanders.</i>	<i>Guns.</i>	<i>Men.</i>
3d.	<i>Cumberland</i>	William Allen	74	600
—	<i>Monmouth</i>	James Alms	64	500
4th.	<i>Bristol</i>	James Burney	50	350
3d.	<i>Hero</i>	{ Com. Richard King, of the Red }	74	617
—	<i>Eagle</i>	Theophilus Jones	64	500
—	<i>Magnanime</i>	William Clark	64	500
		Thomas Mackenzie	64	500

Frigates, &c.—*Chaser*, *San Carlos*, *Pondicherry*, *Harriott*.

### BLUE DIVISION.

3d.	<i>Sceptre</i>	Samuel Graves	64	500
—	<i>Burford</i>	Peter Rainer	74	520
—	<i>Monarca</i>	John Gell	68	500
—	<i>Superb</i>	{ Sir Ed. Hughes, K. B. Vice Ad. of the Blue. }	74	622
—	<i>Sultan</i>	Henry Newcome	74	600
—	<i>Africa</i>	Andrew Mitchell	64	500
—	<i>Worcester</i>	Robert M'Donall	64	500
		Charles Hughes	64	500

Frigates, &c.—*Juno*, to repeat signals; *Combustion*, *Medea*, *Lizard*; *Seahorse*, to repeat signals.

### WHITE DIVISION.

3d.	<i>Exeter</i>	John Sam. Smith	64	500
—	<i>Inflexible</i>	Hon. J. W. Chetwynd	64	500

[S] 4

Gibraltar

# 264] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

Rates.	Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
3d.	Gibraltar	{ Sir R. Bickerton, bart. Com. of the White Thomas Hicks }	80	695
4th.	Ifis	Christopher Halliday	50	350
3d.	Defence	Thomas Newnham	74	600

Frigates, &c.—Naiade, Minerva, Active.

(A Copy)

EDWARD HUGHES.

*A List of the French Squadron in the Engagement with the British Squadron in the East Indies, on the 20th of June, 1783.*

Ships.	Guns.	Ships.	Guns.
Le Heros	74	Le Severe	64
Le Fendant	74	Le Brilliant	64
Le Hannibal	74	L'Hardie	64
L'Illustre	74	Le St. Michael	60
L'Argonaute	74	Le Flamand	50
Le Sphinx	64	Le Petit Hannibal	50
Le Vengeur	64	Le Cleopatre	36
L'Artisien	64	L'Apollon	40
L'Ajax	64	Le Coventry	28

EDWARD HUGHES.

*Abstract of the Officers, Seamen, and Marines, killed and wounded on board his Majesty's Ships in the Action of the 20th of June, 1783.*

Ships.	K.	W.	Ships.	K.	W.
Superb	12	41	Defence	7	38
Hero	5	21	Inflexible	3	30
Gibraltar	6	40	Africa	5	25
Monmouth	2	19	Worcester	8	32
Cumberland	2	11	Eagle	4	8
Monarca	6	14	Exeter	4	9
Magnanime	1	16	Bristol	0	13
Sceptre	17	47	Ifis	3	30
Sultan	4	20			
Burford	10	20	Total	99	434

Officers killed.

Lieutenant Robert Travers, of the Monarca.

Lieutenant James Dow, - - - Sultan.

Lieutenant John Lett, - - - } Defence.

Mr. Parker, Master, - - - }

Officers wounded.

Lieutenant Middlemore, - - - } Hero

2d Lieutenant Thompson, of marines. }

Lieutenant Watson, - - - Sceptre

Mr. Stone, Master, - - - Sultan

Mr. Hunter, Boatswain - - - Defence

Mr. Sinclair, Boatswain - - - Worcester

Account



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [265

*Account of the Proceedings of the Members of the House of Commons, who met at the St. Alban's Tavern from time to time for the Purpose of promoting an Union of Parties, in January and February 1784.*

*January 26th, 1784.*

**A** Meeting of such members of the house of commons as wish to promote an union of parties, is earnestly requested at the St. Alban's Tavern, this day, the 26th instant, at twelve o'clock precisely.

On Monday, the 26th instant, a meeting was held at the St. Alban's Tavern, for the purpose of recommending an union of parties, when an address was agreed to and signed by fifty-three members of the house of commons, and presented by a committee to the duke of Portland and the right hon. William Pitt. The committee were, the hon. Mr. Grosvenor, the hon. Charles Marsham, Sir William Lemon, and Mr. Powys.

*The duke of Portland returned for answer :*

“ That he should think himself happy in obeying the commands of so respectable a meeting ; but the greatest difficulty to him, and he imagines still greater to Mr. Pitt, is Mr. Pitt's being in office.”

*Mr. Pitt returned for answer :*

“ That he will be very ready to pay attention to the commands of so respectable a meeting, and co-operate with their wishes, to form a stronger and more extended administration, if the same can be done with principle and honour.”

On Tuesday the 27th, the gentlemen met at the said tavern, when there appeared to be seventy mem-

bers ; and the above answers being read, they came to the following resolutions :

*Resolved*, That the thanks of this meeting be given to his grace the duke of Portland, and the right hon. William Pitt, for the attention they have respectively declared themselves ready to pay to the requisitions presented to them in our names.

*Resolved, secondly*, That, in anxious expectation of a cordial co-operation of great and respectable characters acting on the same public principles, we beg leave to express our most earnest wish that some explanation may be had between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, on any difficulty in the way of confidential intercourse.

*Resolved, thirdly*, That we do not presume to point out the mode in which such mutual explanation may be obtained, studiously avoiding any interference on our part, which may impede or counteract whatever steps are taken towards that communication which it is our object to effect.

*Resolved, fourthly*, That the chairman be desired to communicate the resolutions to his grace of Portland and Mr. Pitt.

*The resolutions being communicated to Mr. Pitt, he returned the following answer :*

“ Mr. Pitt having received from so respectable a meeting an intimation of their wishes, that some explanation may be had between the duke of Portland and himself, on any difficulties in the way of confidential intercourse, begs to assure Mr. Grosvenor (the chairman) that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourse with the duke of Portland on the

the subject of an union, consistent with honour and principle, which he agrees with the gentlemen of the meeting in thinking of the greatest importance in the present state of the country. If, on his grace's part, there are any objections to such intercourse, Mr. Pitt wishes to have them stated, and will immediately give a direct answer with regard to them."

*The duke of Portland returned the following answer (addressed to the chairman:)*

Devon-house, Thursday,  
Jan. 29, 1784.

Sir,

"As you have so very obligingly communicated to me the assurances you have received from Mr. Pitt, "that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourse between him and me, on the subject of an union of parties, and that he is ready to give an immediate and direct answer to any objections which I may have to such intercourse," my sincere inclination to concur in the wishes of the very respectable meeting of which you so worthily fill the chair, and my anxious desire to see such an administration formed, upon a solid and secure basis, as may restore harmony to this distracted empire, and may be entitled to the confidence and support of every true friend of his country, make it necessary for me to trouble you with a repetition of the reasons which I assigned to you and other gentlemen who delivered me the representation and requisition of your meeting of the 26th of January, for declining an immediate interview with Mr. Pitt, on the present arduous situation of public affairs.

I had the honour of stating to you, I did not think it possible that such a meeting would tend to forward the desirable end we all wish, as long as Mr. Pitt remained in his ministerial capacity, notwithstanding the resolution of the house of commons of the 16th instant. Under these circumstances the embarrassment seems mutual, and difficult to be got over; but if any expedient can be devised for removing it, I shall be extremely ready to confer with Mr. Pitt, and to contribute every faculty in my power to promote the object of our joint wishes.

I have the honour to be,

With great respect,

Your most obedient,

(Signed) PORTLAND."

Tho. Grosvenor, esq;  
chairman.

Thursday the 29th. The gentlemen met; and there being above eighty members present, they came to the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That the chairman be requested to return our thanks to the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt, for the additional favour they have now given of their attention to our wishes.

To express our cordial satisfaction to find they agree in opinion with this meeting, that an union is of the highest importance, and is the object of their joint wishes.

To intimate to them, that after these declarations, we are the more strongly confirmed in our hope and expectation, that by the intervention of mutual friends, some expedient may be advised, which may tend to remove the difficulty which is stated to be the most material obstacle to a communication between them,

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [267

them, on the subject of a cordial and permanent union.

(Signed) T. GROSVENOR,  
chairman.

The members then adjourned to Monday next.

[It is but fairness to add, that the duke of Portland had seen Mr. Pitt's answer, but Mr. Pitt has not yet seen the duke's.]

St. Alban's Tavern, Saturday,  
Jan. 31, 1784.

At a meeting held by the gentlemen, members of the house of commons, who assembled from time to time, with a view to conciliate differences, and to forward an union of the contending parties in parliament, the following answers were received and read:

"Mr. Pitt has already had the honour of stating to Mr. Grosvenor, that there are no difficulties on his part in the way of an immediate intercourse for the purpose of effecting an union consistent with honour and principle. With regard to the embarrassment stated by the duke of Portland in his grace's letter, referred to in the resolutions of the meeting, arising from Mr. Pitt's remaining in his ministerial capacity, it is an embarrassment which Mr. Pitt cannot remove, by resignation, in order to negotiate. In these circumstances, Mr. Pitt has it not in his power to suggest any expedient, but is very desirous of learning whether the duke of Portland can propose any thing which his grace considers as such; and he begs at the same time to add, that his present ministerial capacity is no obstacle to his discussing every point that relates to the desirable object in question, as freely and

openly as he could do in any other situation."

Berkeley-square,  
31st Jan. 1784.

Devon-house, Sat.  
31st Jan. 1784.

Sir,

"I am extremely sorry that Mr. Pitt appears so positively to decline suggesting any expedient, on his part, to remove the difficulties which obstruct the conference you desire. I believe you will agree, that the continuance of the present ministry, and the honour of the house of commons, are not very easily reconcilable.

It was the sense of those difficulties, and my earnest desire of complying with the opinions of gentlemen, whose sentiments claim my highest respect, that induced me to suggest the possibility of an expedient, which you will easily discern would not depend upon me. The recollection of similar events, in two successive years, led me to flatter myself that there was a middle way between the actual resignation of ministers, and the neglect of what appeared on the journals of the house of commons. I hoped that Mr. Pitt would have adverted to those events, and I trust they will yet have due weight with him; I shall most certainly rejoice in any proposition that can promise to lay a basis for the tranquillity and settlement, which are the objects of our common wishes.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard, Sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

(Signed) PORTLAND."

Tho. Grosvenor, esq;  
chairman.

The

The meeting, after dining together, adjourned to Monday, the second of February, at eleven o'clock. The chair to be taken precisely at twelve.

The following Members of the House of Commons, with others, whose names we have not been able to ascertain, attended the meetings lately held at the St. Alban's Tavern, with a view to effect an Union of Parties, and thus lay the ground for a stable and permanent Administration.

THOMAS GROSVENOR, esq;  
chairman.

Francis Annesley, esq.

John Barrington, esq.

Hon. George Berkeley

Richard Wilbraham Bootle, esq.

Hon. William Bouverie

Tho. Berney Bramston, esq.

Viscount Bulkeley

John Buller, jun. esq.

Sir George Cornwall

Sir Rob. Salusbury Cotton

John Dawes, esq.

Baron Dimsdale

William Drake, jun. esq.

The hon. George Keith Elphinstone

Earl Euston

William Ewer, esq.

Hon. Archibald Frazer

Thomas Gilbert, esq.

Ambrose Goddard, esq.

George Graham, esq.

Sir Harry Gough

Benjamin Hammett, esq.

Hon. Thomas Harley

E. Hervey, esq.

Sir Harry Houghton

Arthur Holdiworth, esq.

Filmer Honeywood, esq.

Sir Richard Hotham

Sir George Howard

William Hufsey, esq.

Benjamin Keene, esq.

Thomas Kemp, esq.

Richard Payne Knight, esq.

Sir Robert Lawley

Sir William Lemon

Sir James Tylney Long

Hon. James Luttrell

Hon. general Luttrell

William Lygon, esq.

Sir Horace Mann

Hon. Charles Marsham

Sir Joseph Mawbey

Sir Roger Mostyn

John Parry, esq.

Henry Peirse, esq.

William Pochin, esq.

Thomas Powys, esq.

William Praed, esq.

John Purling, esq.

Sir Walter Rawlinson

Abraham Rawlinson

Henry Rawlinson

Sir Matthew White Ridley

John Rolle, esq.

Cha. W. Boughton Rouse, esq.

Thomas Scott, esq.

Sir George Shuckburgh

Humphry Sibthorpe, esq.

John Sinclair, esq.

Sir Thomas George Skipwith

William Charles Sloper, esq.

Robert Smith, esq.

Sir Robert Smith

John Smyth, esq.

Walter Spencer Stanhope, esq.

Thomas Stanley, esq.

John Strutt, esq.

Hon. John Sutton

Clement Taylor, esq.

John Tempest, esq.

Rob. Thistlethwayte, esq.

Beilby Thompson, esq.

Sir John Trevelyan

Thomas Whitmore, esq.

Sir John Borlase Warren

John Wilmot, esq.

Glynn Wynn, esq.



St. Alban's Tavern, Monday, February 2, 1784.

At a meeting of the gentlemen, members of the house of commons, who assembled from time to time, with a view to conciliate differences, and to forward an union of the contending parties in parliament, the following letters were read:

Feb. 1, 1784,  
Berkeley-square.

"Mr. Pitt being sincerely desirous that there should not continue any obstacle in the way of such an intercourse as has been wished for, regrets that it is not in his power to suggest expedients to remove the difficulty felt by the duke of Portland. He does not understand precisely what is the middle way which his grace seems to allude to: the events in the two years to which his grace refers, appear to Mr. Pitt to have been only modes of resignation; and such a measure, in order to enter into a negotiation, is what the present ministry, as has been already declared, cannot agree to; whenever any expedient is directly stated, Mr. Pitt will be happy to give every explanation upon it."

Devon-house, Monday  
morn. 2d Feb. 1784.

Sir,

"I very sincerely regret that the expedient to which I referred, should be thought unapplicable to the difficulties I had stated. I certainly suggested it as a mode of resignation, but as a mode of resignation the least embarrassing to government in the ordinary functions of office, and at the same time as a

proof of a disposition to consult the honour of the house of commons, as it stands pledged by the resolution of the 16th of January. This last is a preliminary, which, as a friend to the spirit of the constitution, I must think myself bound invariably to require.

With respect to myself, I am willing to hope that I have not been mistaken in the conception I formed of your wishes, by supposing that it was with Mr. Pitt that you were desirous I should have a liberal and unreserved intercourse, and not with the head of an administration, to which I was merely to bring an accession of strength. But Mr. Pitt's message places him in another character; and your own good sense will readily suggest to you, that it was impossible for me to suppose that your expectations extended to a confidential conference with him as the representative of the present administration.

If I had done this, I must have fallen in your esteem, (which, I assure you, is a very serious object to me) as I should have shewn myself insensible of what is due to the house of commons.

I have unreservedly submitted to you my ideas of the extent of your expectations. In conformity with those expectations (Mr. Pitt having uniformly declined to suggest any expedient on his part) I took the liberty of suggesting an expedient, which I thought might put us into a situation, in which the intercourse you wished might take place with propriety.

I shall be happy to find that my propositions have met with your approbation; but in every point I hope that my anxiety to merit the partiality

partiality you have shewn me, will entitle me to its continuance.

I have the honour to be,

With great regard and esteem,  
Sir,

Your most faithful, and

Obedient servant,

(Signed) PORTLAND."

T. Grosvenor, esq;

The meeting adjourned to this day.

St. Alban's Tavern.

At the meeting of the gentlemen, members of the house of commons, held at the St. Alban's Tavern this day, the following resolution was unanimously come to:

"That whatever may be the issue of the present contest between the two parties in the house of commons, we will steadily persevere in our endeavours to effect the object of this meeting, which has been unanimously approved and adopted by the house of commons, namely, the procuring a firm, efficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as may have a tendency to remove the unfortunate divisions and distractions of this country."

Adjourned to Monday, twelve o'clock.

Feb. 4, 1784.

Monday, Feb. 9. At twelve o'clock there was another meeting of the independent members of the house of commons, at the St. Alban's Tavern; Mr. Grosvenor, member for the city of Chester, in the chair. The gentlemen of the committee, after the minutes of the several former meetings were read, made report of another conference held with Mr. Pitt on the subject of an union of parties; but as the duke of

Portland refuses to treat while Mr. Pitt continues in office, the negotiation is suspended. The present state of parties in the nation was then very generally canvassed; and it was resolved, That the present meeting should continue to be held once a week, at least, during the sitting of parliament, in order to watch any period that may present, of forwarding such an union as seems to be absolutely necessary at this particular juncture, and to recommend it in their places in parliament. As the house of commons met at two o'clock, they broke up soon, and went down to Westminster to attend parliamentary business. There were about fifty members present, including the chairman, and gentlemen of the committee.

St. Alban's Tavern, February 13,  
1784.

At a meeting of members of the house of commons, desirous of promoting an union of parties, the hon. Charles Marsham in the chair, (in the absence of T. Grosvenor, esq; confined by illness) the following resolutions were unanimously agreed to:

1. To represent to the right hon. William Pitt, and to the right hon. Charles James Fox, the satisfaction we have received from the manly, candid, and explicit avowal they have respectively made of their public views; and to intimate to them, that in consequence of this mutual explanation, we entertain a most assured hope, that such an administration as the house of commons has unanimously declared to be requisite, may be obtained by an union consistent with principle and honour.

2. That

a. That the thanks of this meeting be given to the right hon. Frederick lord North, for the public and voluntary declaration he has made of his sincere and earnest desire to promote, as far as depends on him, a cordial and permanent union.

C. MARSHAM, chairman.

Feb. 18.

It is with no small degree of confidence that we assure the public of his majesty's disposition to comply with the wishes of the house of commons, in bringing about an union of parties: to this end, on Sunday last, his majesty sent for his grace of Portland to meet Mr. Pitt, in the hope of settling an administration to the satisfaction of the house of commons at least, if not to the nation at large. In answer to the message, his grace expressed a readiness to attend his majesty at all times, but declined a meeting with Mr. Pitt. And thus the matter stands at present.

March 1. There was another meeting of the country gentlemen at the St. Alban's tavern, when the honourable Charles Marsham and Mr. Powys stated to the company the circumstances of the negotiation, which they had conducted for some days past, and which had unhappily concluded with as little success as the former endeavours of that body. They said, that when the duke of Portland delivered his final answer, that he could not meet Mr. Pitt, until he had shewn a disposition to comply with the wishes of the house of commons, either by an actual or virtual resignation; and Mr. Pitt had peremptorily declared, that he would do neither the one nor the other as a preliminary to negotiation; it was thought

that an expedient might be found to clear the ground, and bring them to an interview, without any concession of principle, but only a concession of mode. With this view it was, that a message was sent from his majesty to the duke of Portland, intimating, "his majesty's earnest desire, that his grace should have a personal conference with Mr. Pitt, for the purpose of forming a new administration on a wide basis, and on fair and equal terms." This message was considered by the duke of Portland as a removal of the previous obstacle, since, though it was not a declaration on the part of Mr. Pitt, it was tantamount to a virtual resignation. The preliminaries of the conference were next to be considered; and here an objection presented itself which called for the explanation of a term in the message. His grace could have no objection to the word *fair*—it was a general term, and he and Mr. Pitt might, in framing the arrangements, mutually discuss what they considered to be *fair*; but the other term in the message, the word *equal*, was a more specific and limited term; it might be construed variously, and his grace thought it necessary, as a preliminary to negotiation, that Mr. Pitt should explain precisely what he meant by the word *equal*. In an answer to this, Mr. Pitt said, in a message, that there was no occasion, in his mind, of entering into an explanation of the term, as it could be best explained in a personal conference. The duke of Portland replied to the negotiators, that it was impossible for him to agree to any personal conference on a preliminary message, the terms of which the author refused to explain. Mr. Pitt

Pitt persevered in his resolution not to explain the word; and here the negotiation broke off. On this statement of the case, Mr. Marsham and Mr. Powys delivered their sentiments; and a resolution was prepared and adopted by the meeting to the following effect:

“ This meeting having heard, with infinite concern, that an interview between the duke of Portland and Mr. Pitt is prevented by a doubt respecting a single word, are unanimously of opinion, that it would be no dishonourable step in either of the gentlemen to give way, and might be highly advantageous to the public welfare.”

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*Remarkable Addresses from particular Persons to their respective Electors, on declaring themselves Candidates at the late General Election.*

*Addresses of the Right Honourable Charles James Fox, to the City of Westminster.*

To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

Gentlemen,

His majesty's ministers having thought fit, in contradiction to their own declarations, in defiance of the sense of the house of commons, and without any public pretence whatever, to subject the nation to all the inconveniencies which must infallibly attend a dissolution of Parliament at the present moment, I humbly beg leave, once more, to solicit the favour of your votes and interest, to represent this great and respectable city.

To secure to the people of this country the weight which belongs to them in the scale of the constitution, has ever been the principle of my political conduct.

Conscious that in every situation, (whether in or out of office) I have invariably adhered to this system, I cannot but flatter myself that you will again give your sanction to those principles which first recommended me to your notice, and which induced you, at two subsequent periods, to honour me with your suffrages.

I have the honour to be,

Gentlemen,

Your most devoted and grateful

Humble servant,

St. James's-street, C. J. Fox.

March 24.

To the Worthy and Independent Electors of the City and Liberty of Westminster.

Gentlemen,

When the popular delusion in favour of the present ministry was supposed to be most prevalent, I was confident that the good sense and steadiness of the electors of Westminster would be proof against every art and every temptation.

The unparalleled success which I have experienced upon my canvass, fully justifies this confidence, and I have the greatest reason to expect that your partiality towards me will appear to have increased in proportion to the persecution of my enemies.

As I have ever stood forth, and am always resolved to continue firm in the cause of the people, so it is not to be wondered at that I should at all times be the object of the enmity



mity of that pernicious faction whose principles are as adverse to the constitution as the dark and secret manner in which they have endeavoured to enforce them.

It would have been my most earnest wish to have paid my respects in person to every individual elector. if the extent of the city had not made it impossible.

The very flattering reception I have met with among those whom I have had the opportunity of seeing, cannot but add to my regret upon this account.

My public conduct is too well known to you to make any professions necessary; upon that ground I first experienced your partiality, upon that alone I can expect to retain it.

To you who have approved it, I need say no more; and I will not be guilty of the unbecoming flattery to those who have differed from me, as to pretend that I shall in any degree deviate from that line of political conduct which first recommended me to your notice.

Upon these tried principles, I once more beg leave to solicit your votes, in erect, and poll, at the ensuing election; and I do assure you that no expressions can do justice to the sentiments of gratitude and esteem with which

I am, gentlemen,

Your most obedient and

Devoted servant,

St. James's-street,

C. J. Fox.

March 31, 1784.

St. James's-street, April 26, 1784.

To the worthy and independent  
Electors of the City and Liberties of Westminster.

VOL. XXVII.

Gentlemen,

The present state of the poll exhibits a glorious example of what may be expected from the perseverance of independent men in the cause of liberty and the constitution.

I beg leave most earnestly to solicit the continuance of your generous exertions in my favour. The importance of every individual vote is now sufficiently evident; and the number of electors who have assured me that they would come forward whenever it should appear that their vote might probably be decisive, leaves me no doubt of success.

The unprecedented exertions which the servants of the crown have thought themselves at liberty to make against me, as well by an indecent prostitution of the most sacred names, as by every other species of unconstitutional influence, have produced the effects naturally to be expected from such proceedings, by raising the spirit and awakening the indignation of every honest and independent elector.

My public life is too well known to you to make any professions necessary. Those principles which brought about the glorious revolution, which seated his majesty's illustrious family upon the throne, and which have preserved the liberty of this constitution, have ever been the inviolable rule of my political conduct.

Upon these grounds I again presume to request your support; and if I should be happy enough to be re-elected representative of this great and respectable city, you may depend upon finding in me a steady supporter of the whig cause, a determined

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terminated enemy to that secret influence by which the present administration was created, and an unalterable friend to the rights of the people.

I am, with every sentiment of gratitude and respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient,

and most humble servant,

C. J. Fox.

*Address of the Right Hon. William Windham, to the City of Norwich.*

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, Free-men, and Freeholders of the City and County of Norwich.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the wishes, which a large and respectable interest has long done me the honour to entertain towards me, I stand forth as a candidate for the city of Norwich. My zeal for the constitution of this country is founded upon an impartial and serious attention to its real interests; nor would I be deterred from discharging my duty, by the opposition even of a free and enlightened people, when they act to the prejudice of their own rights. My opinions are not to be shaken by every transient blast of clamour; and as to my motives, they are such, I trust, as will not shrink from the severest scrutiny. I should indeed condemn myself as most unworthy of your choice, if the leading principles of my actions could be distorted into endless inconsistencies, by a servile accommodation to those changes, which have lately prevailed in public opinions, and public measures.

Scorning the mean arts of dis-

imulation, I have planted myself before the judgment of my friends, and the prejudices of my enemies, in open day. I may offend the unwary, and even the well-disposed, but I cannot deceive them; nor will I sacrifice to any selfish views that openness of dealing, which can alone secure to me the continuance of your esteem after success, or the approbation of my own heart under disappointment. The same conduct, which procures me the honour of your support, shall justify you in bestowing it.

Reports, I am aware, have gone abroad, of which, groundless and extravagant as they are, it may be necessary to take some notice. Yet I will not wrong your candour and good sense, by supposing that they are, in the slightest degree, hurtful to that cause, which is equally dear to yourselves and to me. I feel, indeed, some sort of degradation in the very attempt to refute those dark and invidious insinuations, which have hitherto assumed no determinate form, which have been employed only on the credulity of those who know me not, and which are industriously circulated by the artifices of those whom, because they do know me, it is more easy to convince than to silence.

If I were unable to distinguish between the comparative merits of men or measures, or unwilling to act according to my sense of those merits, I should be totally unfit for the important and honourable trust which you repose in your representatives. He that is incapable of making such distinctions cannot serve you effectually; and he who, from whatever motives, refuses to make them, must often betray you.

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In the freedom with which I have ever declared my sentiments, at the hazard even of disobliging my friends, you have a pledge, surely, for the firmness with which I shall on all occasions make my own dispassionate judgment the sole and fixed rule of my conduct. What circumstances have they, who are most prodigal of their censures, ever discerned in my character or situation, which can justify them in representing me as the bigot of any system, or the slave of any party? As to popularity, I disdain to court it by a desertion of those very sentiments which first obtained for me the flattering distinction of your warm and unsolicited approbation; but I am most anxious to deserve that approbation by the faithful and diligent discharge of my duty, in protecting your most sacred rights against every man, and every set of men, who may wish to undermine and subvert them. I have the honour to be, with the greatest respect,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient, and

Faithful humble servant,

Norwich, W. WINDHAM.

March 26, 1784.

*Address of John Wilkes, Esq; to the  
County of Middlesex.*

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and  
Freeholders of the County of  
Middlesex.

Gentlemen,

Conscious of having on every occasion discharged with zeal and fidelity the various duties of the important charge with which I was intrusted, and reflecting with gratitude on the frequent public marks of your approbation during

the late preceding parliaments, I beg to be permitted again to make you the humble tender of my services at the ensuing general election.

I always considered it as the duty of your representative in parliament to deliver there the real sense of his constituents, and, in obedience to your commands, to submit in a dutiful manner to the sovereign the sentiments of this respectable county. Such has been the invariable rule of my conduct, which I trust appears firm and consistent. I have conscientiously adhered to the solemn engagement signed by your late much-lamented member, Mr. Glynn, and myself, previous to the general election in 1774. In one momentous point, after a struggle of many years, success followed to the full extent of my warmest wishes. I glory in having obtained for you the most complete satisfaction from the late parliament. I allude to the motion in May, 1782, "for vindicating the injured rights of the freeholders of this county, and the whole body of electors in this united kingdom," and the subsequent order that all the declarations and resolutions, which militated against your rights and franchises, should be "expunged from the journals, as being subversive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom." Other essential articles however of that engagement remain still to be accomplished, particularly "a more fair and equal representation of the people," and "the shortening the duration of parliaments." I pledge myself to you that both these weighty questions shall receive a full discussion very early in the new parliament, if your favour should

[T] 2 give

give me a seat in the great council of the nation.

I entreat you, gentlemen, to do me the justice to believe that I shall be extremely desirous of receiving your instructions on every event of importance respecting my parliamentary conduct, if I am so happy as to have the late honourable relation to you renewed. The powers which I may derive from you shall regularly be exerted in obedience to the directions of my worthy constituents. My parliamentary voice shall faithfully declare the opinion of the freeholders of Middlesex, and my vote be given in strict conformity to their instructions, by which the sense of the people will be so far ascertained with fairness and precision. It is my ambition to be acknowledged in the present age, and transmitted to the latest posterity, as a strenuous, steady, and uniform supporter of civil liberty, of the most general and liberal toleration in all matters of religious concern, of the noble franchises and rights of this free people, and the balance of power in that happy, well poised constitution, which the immortal William established at the glorious revolution.

In the present alarming crisis, gentlemen, I confess that I anxiously supplicate the honour of your suffrages, that I may be enabled to strengthen the hands of our present virtuous young minister in his patriotic plans to retrieve your affairs, to restore public credit, to recover the faded glory of our country. I conceive such a conduct to meet the clear, declared opinion of a great majority of the freeholders of Middlesex. I know his ability, his unwearied attention

to the public service, and his zeal to promote those objects of national magnitude, which you have at heart. He will therefore receive every support, which you may enable me to give, while he continues to possess the sanction of your esteem; and I am convinced that time, the most unerring judge, by daily bringing an additional degree of meritorious service, will confirm and increase to him the attachment of a grateful nation.

As the sheriff has advertised a general meeting of the freeholders of this county, to consider of proper persons to be nominated by them to represent this county in the ensuing parliament, to be held at the Mermaid, at Hackney, on Saturday next, the 3d of April, at twelve o'clock at noon, give me leave to solicit the early appearance of my friends there, and their generous protection.

The election will be at Brentford, on Thursday, the 22d of April, when I hope to be again the man of your free choice, and by the continuance of that obliging partiality, which has been my distinction in life, the representative of my native county in the ensuing parliament.

I am, gentlemen,

With great regard and gratitude,

Your most faithful, and

Obedient humble servant,

JOHN WILKES.

Prince's court, Westminster,

Monday, March 29.

*Address of William Baker, Esq; to the Electors of the Borough of Hertford, after he had left his Election.*

To the worthy Electors of the Borough of Hertford.

Gentlemen,



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [277

Gentlemen,

Notwithstanding the event of the late poll, I should be unworthy of that good opinion with which my friends have honoured me, if I did not in the most cordial manner express to them my sincere acknowledgments. It was not in their power to prevent the effect of those combined circumstances which the popular fury of the times, and the various influences operating in favour of my opponents, rendered irresistible.

By some new and courtly conception of things there are those who have persuaded themselves to declare, that length of service in parliament is an acquittal of every obligation to profess the public principles on which they act. Length of service and independence of mind are not always synonymous. And I have never thought it inconsistent with my duty, or degrading to my honour, to avow mine. In doing this I refer to my uniform public conduct for sixteen years past. I have nothing to conceal, nor any bias on my mind by which I can be tempted in any instance to sacrifice objects of serious national importance to views of temporary emolument, either in possession or expectation.

The part which has been taken against me I resent not:—The support I have experienced from my old and new friends I receive with gratitude. In the choice of your present members you have acted in a manner most agreeable to your wishes, and they will have performed no more than their bounden duty, by serving you with the same disinterestedness and fidelity with which I have endeavoured to atone for many other defects.

On this and every similar occasion you will do well to consider that you are called upon to the exercise of this valuable franchise, to preserve that balance in our constitution on which all our liberties depend; and bearing in your minds a late most extraordinary transaction, you will dread, as the worst of evils that can befall you, every species of aristocratic influence; since a moment's reflection will convince you, that nothing less is meant by the most flattering condescensions, than to establish an interest among you for the purposes of private ambition; and you will hardly be persuaded, that those will prove the most zealous assertors of your rights and independence who have shamefully betrayed their own.

In my private situation, I shall be happy to promote the prosperity of your town; and am, with the most unfeigned regard,

Your obliged and obedient  
servant.

Bayford-Bury, W. BAKER.  
April 2.

*Address of T. W. Coke, Esq; to the  
County of Norfolk.*

To the Gentlemen, Clergy, and  
Freeholders of the County of  
Norfolk.

Gentlemen,

In compliance with the opinion of many respectable friends, I retire from a contest, which is likely to disturb the peace of the county, without producing any advantage to that cause in which I am engaged. The shortness of the interval between the nomination and the day of election was thought insufficient to recover the effects of a canvas,

[T] 3 which

which (it now appears) had begun during my absence in town, was carried on without my knowledge, and owed much of its success to an artifice not the most justifiable, the pretence of a junction between my late worthy colleague and my opponent.

With gratitude I shall ever acknowledge the past favours of my constituents; nor can I reflect, without triumph, on the endeavours I have faithfully and steadily exerted to deserve the continuance of them. From whatever causes my present disappointment may have arisen on your part, it cannot, I am sure, be imputed to any want of sincerity or constancy on mine. I was called forth as your representative, in support of revolutionary principles; and where is the instance in which my most prejudiced foe can shew that I have deserted them? Upon these principles, gentlemen, I took a decided, and, after your choice of my competitor, I must add, a distinguished part in opposing the American war; I gave my vote most heartily, and most successfully, for controuling the enormous influence of the crown; and assisted in that truly constitutional measure, by which the much-abused power of voting was taken away from the immediate dependents of the crown. On the same principle, and with the same steady view to the common good, I will never give up my claim to consistency in having supported the duke of Portland in his coalition with lord North, being persuaded that such a measure, however liable to misrepresentation, was, by a change of circumstances, become indispensably necessary. I felt it my duty to follow the example of many honest men, who, after

the conclusion of the American war, having no just ground of difference, were willing to lay aside personal animosities, for the sake of pursuing measures salutary in themselves, and which nothing but their union could render practicable. But, whatever opinion you may form of my conduct, the purity of my motives stands, I trust, unimpeached. Had a regard for your interest, and for the honour of becoming your representative, held a secondary place in my wishes, there is a path in which I possibly, as well as others, might have gratified a less generous ambition, and have saved myself the disappointment which I now experience.

In stating these facts, I mean not to make an ostentatious display of services, which have no other merit than the motives that dictated them; but I do mean to convince you that I have not betrayed the trust of which you have deprived me; and that whatever reasons you may have for giving a preference to other men, you have no just ground of accusation against me.

While I lament the loss of your confidence, as it affects myself, I feel a more serious concern for the consequence of that loss to the Whig interest, which my family was in this county brought forward to support in the year 1768, and which now seems threatened with a total overthrow by the machinations of its enemies, and by the temporary prejudices of many of those who should be its supporters. Let me, however, do justice to those numerous and respectable friends, to whose generous exertions, in the present instance, I am so highly indebted, and whose firmness, in defence of constitutional liberty, will,

I trust,

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [279

I trust, on some future occasion, be more effectual,

I am, Gentlemen,

With the greatest respect,

Your most faithful, and

Obedient humble servant,

Norwich, THO. WM. COKE.  
April 12.

*An official Copy of the Return made by the High Bailiff of Westminster to the Sheriff of Middlesex, and by the Sheriff to the Clerk of the Crown.*

Thomas Corbett, bailiff of the liberty of the dean and chapter of the collegiate church of St. Peter, at Westminster, in the county of Middlesex, doth hereby certify unto the sheriff of the said county of Middlesex, that by virtue of a certain precept, dated the 26th day of March last, and on the same day delivered to him the said bailiff, by the said sheriff, for the election of two citizens to serve in the ensuing parliament for the city of Westminster, and by virtue of the writ therein recited, (proclamation of the premises in the said precept first mentioned, the day and place, as in the said precept is directed, first being made) he the said bailiff did proceed to the election of two citizens to serve in the ensuing parliament for the said city of Westminster, on the first day of April now last past, on which day appeared and were put in nomination the three candidates hereinafter mentioned; and a poll being demanded, he the said bailiff did forthwith proceed to take the said poll, and continued to take the same day by day, during six hours each day, viz. from nine in the forenoon to three in the afternoon, until the day

of the date of these presents inclusive, on which day the said poll was finally closed, when the numbers on the said poll for the said several candidates stood as follows, viz.

For the right hon. sir Samuel Hood, bart. baron Hood, of the kingdom of Ireland	-	6694
For the right hon. Charles James Fox	-	6233
For sir Cecil Wray, baronet	-	5998

The said bailiff further sets forth, that on the said final close of the poll, a scrutiny was duly demanded in behalf of sir Cecil Wray, which scrutiny the said bailiff has granted, for the purpose of investigating the legality of the votes more accurately than could be done on the said poll; and the said scrutiny so granted is now pending and undetermined; and by reason of the premises, the said bailiff humbly conceives he cannot make any other return to the said precept than as hereinbefore is contained, until the said scrutiny shall be determined, which he fully intends to proceed upon with all practicable dispatch. In witness whereof, he the said Thomas Corbett, bailiff of the said liberty, hath hereunto set his hand and seal, the 17th day of May, in the year of our Lord 1784.

THO. CORBETT, Bailiff.

*Copy of the Protests against granting a Scrutiny, delivered to the High Bailiff at St. Anne's Vestry Room, on June 11, 1784.*

To Thomas Corbett, Esq; High Bailiff.

Before I go upon the business of this

this scrutiny, I do hereby solemnly protest against its legality, and reserve to myself the right of impeaching it hereafter, either in any court of judicature, or before a committee of the house of commons under Mr. Grenville's act; and I hereby also declare, that I reserve to myself the right of suing the high bailiff for all the expences, or the double of them, which are drawn upon me by this illegal act, in the appointment of this scrutiny.

C. J. Fox.

Vestry-room, St. Anne's,  
June 11, 1784.

To Thomas Corbett, esq; high bailiff of Westminster.

We whose names are subscribed, electors of Westminster, do protest against your commencing or proceeding on any scrutiny of the poll on the late election for representatives in parliament for this city; and do reserve to ourselves the right and power to object to, and impeach all your proceedings therein, as we shall be advised.

Given under our hands, on behalf of ourselves, and the other electors of this city, this 11th day of June, 1784.

JONATHAN PAGE,  
JA. GILCHRIST,  
JOHN DAVIS,  
CHARLES PROBART,  
EDWARD LANE,  
THOMAS BROOKS,  
WILLIAM FISHER,  
WILLIAM FITCH,  
THOMAS ELLIS.

*on the Prosecution of William Jones, Gentleman, against the Reverend William Davies Shipley, Dean of St. Asaph, for a Libel, at the Assizes at Shrewsbury, August 6, 1784, before the Honourable Mr. Justice Buller.*

ON Friday, the 6th of August, 1784, the trial came on, at the assize at Shrewsbury, before the hon. Mr. Justice Buller.

The indictment was laid for the publishing a libel, entitled, *The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer*. This dialogue was written by William Jones, esq; now sir William Jones, knight, and one of the judges of the supreme court of judicature at Fort William in Bengal.

The Jury.

John Nicholls, of Chelmarsh, esq;  
William Pemberton, of Walford, esq;

Charles Walcott, of Bitterley, esq;  
Francis Lloyd, of Berghill, esq;  
Thomas Ottley, of Pitchford, esq;  
Joshua Blakeway, of Lythwood, esq;

Richard Jones, of Riston, esq;  
John Hill, of Prees, esq;  
Edward Williams, of Norton, esq;  
Thomas Kinnersley, of Leighton, esq;

Thomas Eyton, of Wellington, esq;

John Smitheman, of Buildwas, esq;

Counsel for the Crown.

Mr. Bearcroft,  
Mr. Cowper,  
Mr. Leycester,  
Mr. Bower,  
Mr. Manley,  
Mr. Richards.

Solicitor.

Mr. William Jones, of Ruthin.

Counsel

*Extracts of the Proceedings on the Trial of the Indictment, the King,*



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [231

Counsel for the Defendant.

The hon. Thomas Erskine.

Mr. Corbet,

The hon. Thomas Brodrick,

Mr. Abbot.

Solicitor.

Mr. Lewis Hughes, of St. Asaph.

*After hearing Counsel on both sides, and after having stated the evidence, Mr. Justice Buller addressed the jury nearly as follows :*

“ Now, gentlemen, this is the whole of the evidence that has been given on the one side and the other. As for the several witnesses who have been called to give Mr. Shipley the character of a quiet and peaceable man, not disposed to stir up sedition, that cannot govern the present question; for the question for you to decide is, whether he is or is not guilty of publishing this pamphlet?

“ You have heard a great deal said, which really does not belong to the case, and a part of it has embarrassed me a good deal in what manner to treat it. I cannot subscribe to a great deal that I have heard from the defendant's counsel; but I do readily admit the truth of that proposition which he stated, from Mr. Locke, that “ wherever the law ends, tyranny begins.” The question then is, what is the law, as applicable to this business? and to narrow it still more, what is the law in this stage of the business?—You have been pressed very much by the counsel, and so have I also, to give an opinion upon the question, whether this pamphlet is or is not a libel? Gentlemen, it is my happiness that I find the law so well and so fully settled, that it is impossible for any man who means well to doubt about it; and the counsel for the defendant was so conscious what

the law was, that he himself stated what he knew must be the answer which he would receive from me, that is, that the matter appears upon the record—and as such, it is not for me, a single judge, sitting here at Nisi Prius, to say whether it is or is not a libel. Those who adopt the contrary doctrine, forget a little to what lengths it would go; for, if that were to be allowed, the obvious consequence would be what was stated by the counsel in reply, namely, that you deprive the subject of that which is one of his dearest birthrights: you deprive him of his appeal—you deprive him of his writ of error; for if I was to give an opinion here that it was not a libel, and you adopted that, the matter is closed for ever. The law acts equally and justly, as the pamphlet states—it is equal between the prosecutor and the defendant; and whatever appears upon the record is not for our decision here, but may be the subject of future consideration in the court out of which the record comes; and afterwards, if either party thinks fit, they have a right to carry it to the dernier resort, the house of lords. The law is the same in both criminal and civil cases, and there is not a gentleman round this table who does not know that is the constant and uniform answer which is given in such cases.

“ You have been addressed by the quotation of a great many cases upon libels. It seems to me, that that question is so well settled, that gentlemen should not agitate it again; or at least, when they do agitate it, it should be done by stating fairly and fully what has passed on all sides, not by stating a passage or two from a particular case, that may be twisted to the purpose that they want

want it to answer. And how this doctrine ever comes to be now seriously contended for, is a matter of some astonishment to me; for I do not know any one question in the law which is more thoroughly established than that is. I know it is not the language of a particular set or party of men, because the very last case that has ever arisen upon a libel, was conducted by a very respectable and a very honourable man\*, who is as warm a partisan as the counsel for the defendant, and, I believe, of what is called the same party. But he stated the case in few words, which I certainly adopted afterwards, and which, I believe, no man ever doubted about the propriety of. That case arose, not three weeks ago, at Guildhall, upon a question on a libel; and in stating the plaintiff's case, he told the jury that there could be but three questions.

“ The First is, Whether the defendant is guilty of publishing the libel ?

“ The Second, Whether the innuendos or the averments made upon the record are true ?

“ The Third, which is a question of law, Whether it is or is not a libel ?” Therefore, said he, the two first are the only questions you have to consider: and this, added he, very rightly, is clear and undoubted law. It has been so held for considerably more than a century past. It is admitted by the counsel, that upon great consideration, it has been so held in one of the cases he mentioned, by a noble lord who has presided for many years, with very distinguished honour, in the first court of criminal justice in this

country; and it is worthy of observation how that case came on. For twenty - eight years past, (during which time we have had a vast number of prosecutions in different shapes for libels) the uniform and invariable conduct of that noble judge has been, to state the questions as I have just stated them to you; and though the cases have been defended by counsel not likely to yield much, yet that point was never found fault with by them, and often as it has been enforced by the court, they never have attempted yet by any application to set it aside. At last it came on in this way; the noble judge himself brought it on, by stating to the court what his directions had always been, with a desire to know, whether in their opinions, the direction was right or wrong? The court were unanimously of opinion that it was right, and that the law bore no question or dispute.—It is admitted by the counsel likewise, that in the time that my lord chief justice Lee presided in the court of King's Bench, the same doctrine was laid down as clear and established. There was not a sounder lawyer, or an honest man, that ever sat on the bench, than he was. But if we trace the question further back, it will be found, that about the year 1731 (which, I suppose, has not escaped the diligence of the counsel) another chief justice held the same doctrine, and in terms which are more observable than those in most of the other cases, because they shew pretty clearly when it was that this idea was first broached.—That was, an information against one Franklin (I think) for publishing a libel called *The Craftsman*.

\* Mr. Lee.

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [283

—The then chief justice stated the three questions to the jury in the same way I mentioned. He said, The first is the fact of publication; secondly, Whether the averments in the information are true or not; and thirdly, Whether it is a libel. He says, there are but two of these questions for your consideration;—the third is merely a question of law, with which you, the jury, have nothing to do, as has *now of late* been thought by some people, who ought to know better; but, says he, we must always take care to distinguish between matters of law and matters of fact, and they are not to be confounded.

“With such a train of authorities, it is really extraordinary to hear the matter now insisted on as a question which admits a doubt; and if we go farther back, it will be found still clearer: for about the time of the revolution, authorities will be found which go directly to the point. In one of them, which arose within a year or two from the time of the case of the Seven Bishops, which the counsel alluded to, a defendant, in an information for a libel, which was tried at bar, said to the court, “As the information states this to be a scandalous and seditious libel, I desire it may be left to the jury to say whether it is a scandalous and seditious libel, or not.” The answer then given by the court was, “That is matter of law, the jury are to decide upon the fact; and if they find you guilty of the fact, the court will afterwards consider whether it is or is not a libel.”—If one goes still farther back, we find it settled as a principle which admits of no dispute, and laid down so early as the reign of queen Elizabeth as a maxim, that

“*ad questionem facti respondent juratores, ad questionem juris respondent judices.*” And in the case that the counsel has thought fit to allude to, under the name of Buttel’s case, the same maxim is recognized by the court negatively, viz. *ad questionem facti non respondent judices, ad questionem legis non respondent juratores*; for, said the court unanimously, if it be asked of the jury what the law is, they cannot say; if it be asked of the court what the fact is, they cannot say.

“Now, so it stands as to legal history upon the business. Suppose there were no authority at all, can any thing be a stronger proof of the impropriety of what is contended for by the counsel for the defendant, than what I have had recourse to? They have addressed you—not as is very usual to address a jury, and which you must know yourselves, if you have often served upon them—they have addressed you upon a question of law, on which they have quoted cases for a century back. Now, are you possessed of those cases in your own minds? are you apprized of the distinctions on which those determinations are founded? Is it not a little extraordinary to require of a jury, that they should carry all the legal determinations in their minds? If one looks a little farther into the constitution, it seems to me, that without recourse to authorities, it cannot admit of a doubt. What is the mode of administering justice in this country?—The judges are appointed to decide the law, the juries to decide the fact.—How?—Both under the solemn obligation of an oath. The judges are sworn to administer the law faithfully and truly. The jury are not so sworn, but to give a true verdict *according to the evidence.*

*evidence.* Was it ever yet attempted to give evidence of what the law was?—If it were done in one instance, it must hold in all.—Suppose a jury should say, that which is stated upon a record is high treason or murder; if the facts charged upon the record are not so, it is the duty of the court to look into the record, and they are bound by their oaths to discharge the defendant. The consequence, if it were not so, would be, that a man would be liable to be hanged, who had offended against no law at all. It is upon the facts, as found by the jury, that the court are to say, whether it is any offence or not. It would undoubtedly hold in civil cases as well as criminal; and as the counsel for the prosecution has said in reply, by the same reason in the case of an ejectment, you might decide contrary to the law. But was it ever supposed, that a jury was competent to say what is the operation of a fine, or a recovery, or a warranty, which are mere questions of law?—

“Then the counsel says, it is a very extraordinary thing, if you have nothing else to decide but the fact of the publication; because then the jury are to do nothing but to decide that which was never disputed.—Now, there is a great deal of art in that argument, and it was very ingeniously put by the counsel; but there is a fallacy in the argument, which arises from not considering how the matter stands here. It is not true, that the defendant, by the issue, admits that he ever published it.—No; upon the record he denies it; but when he comes here, he thinks fit to admit it. That does not alter the mode of trial.

“Then it is asserted, that if you

go upon the publication only, that the defendant would be found guilty though he is innocent. But that is by no means the case; and it is only necessary to see how many guards the law has made, to shew how erroneous that argument is.—If the fact were, that the defendant never denied the publication, but meant to admit it, and insist that it was not a libel, he had another way in which he should have done it (a way universally known to the profession)—for he ought to have demurred to the indictment; by which in substance he would have said—I admit the fact of publishing it, but deny that it is any offence.—But he is not precluded even now, from saying it is not a libel; for if the fact be found by you, that he did publish the pamphlet, and upon future consideration the court of King’s Bench shall be of opinion that it is not a libel, he must then be acquitted.—As to his coming here, it is his own choice.

“But, say the counsel farther, it is clear in point of law, that in a criminal case the defendant cannot plead specially; therefore he might give any thing in evidence that would be a justification if he could plead specially.—I admit it:—but what does that amount to? You must plead matter of fact: you cannot plead matter of law; the plea is bad if you do. Then admitting that he could give that in evidence upon Not Guilty, which would in point of law, if pleaded, amount to an excuse or a defence, the question still is, what are the facts on which the defence is founded? That brings the case to the question of publication; for the innuendos are no more than this; first, the indictment says, that by the letter G. is meant Gentleman,



man, and by the letter F. is meant Farmer. Now the title of this pamphlet is, "The Principles of Government, in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer."—The innuendo is not upon initials or letters that may be doubtful, but whether 'the king' written at length means the king of Great Britain, and whether 'the parliament' means the parliament of Great Britain. These are points I don't know how to state a question upon; and if you are satisfied as to the innuendos, the only remaining question of fact is as to the publication.

"Whether Mr. Jones's evidence will or will not operate in mitigation of punishment, is not a question for me to give an opinion upon, because it is not for me to inflict the punishment if the defendant is found guilty. But upon his evidence it stands thus: the dean had thoughts of printing the pamphlet in Welsh, but upon what was said to him by Mr. Jones and other gentlemen, he declined it. But he afterwards published it in English; for this conversation is sworn by Jones to be on the 7th of January, and not till the 24th of January does he send this letter to Evans with the pamphlet, desiring that it might be published; therefore there is no contradiction as to the publication; and if you are satisfied of this in point of fact, it is my duty to tell you in point of law, you are bound to find the defendant guilty. —I wish to be explicit in what I say to you, because if I err in any respect, it is open to the defendant to have it corrected. As far as it is necessary to give any opinion in point of law upon the subject of the trial, I readily do it: beyond that I don't mean to say a word, because it

is not necessary nor proper here. In a future stage of the business, if the defendant is found guilty, he will have a right to demand my opinion; and if ever that happens, it is my duty to give it, and then I will; but till that happens I do not think it proper, or by any means incumbent upon one who sits where I do, to go out of the case to give an opinion upon a subject which the present stage of the case does not require. Therefore I can only say; that if you are satisfied that the defendant did publish this pamphlet, and are satisfied as to the truth of the innuendos in point of law, you ought to find him guilty. If you are not satisfied of that, you will acquit him."

*The Jury withdrew to consider of their Verdict. When they returned again into Court, the Foreman said, They found the Defendant Guilty of publishing only.*

Mr. Justice Beller. That verdict is not quite correct.—You, gentlemen of the jury, must explain one way or the other, whether you find the meaning of the innuendos. The indictment has stated, that G. means Gentleman.—F. Farmer.—The King, the King of Great Britain—and the Parliament, the Parliament of Great Britain.—Do you find him guilty?

One of the jury, Yes, we find him guilty of that.

Mr. Erskine. They find the defendant guilty of publishing only.

One of the jury. We don't say any thing to judge of the libel, we only find him guilty of publishing.

Mr. Erskine. I beg your lordship's pardon, I am sure I mean nothing that is irregular: I understand

stand the jury said, they only found that the dean published it.

One of the jury. Yes.

Mr. Erskine. They only find that the dean published this pamphlet.

Mr. Broderick. They have not found that it is a libel of and concerning the king and his government.

Mr. Justice Buller. I asked them whether they were satisfied that The King, meant the King of Great Britain; whether the letter G. meant Gentleman, and the letter F. meant Farmer; they say they are satisfied.—Is there any other innuendo in the indictment?

Mr. Erskine. When the jury came in, they gave the very verdict that was given in the case of the King against Woodfall; they said, Guilty of publishing oniy.—Gentlemen of the jury, do you mean that the word *only* shall stand part of your verdict?

One of the jury. Certainly.

Mr. Justice Buller. Gentlemen, if you add the word *only*, it will be negating, or at least not finding the truth of the innuendos; that I understood you did not mean to do.

Mr. Erskine. That has the effect of a general verdict of guilty.—I desire your lordship, sitting here as judge, to record the verdict as given by the jury; if the jury depart from the word *only*, they alter their verdict.

Mr. Justice Buller. I will take their verdict as they mean to give it; it shall not be altered.—Gentlemen, do you mean to find him guilty of publishing the libel?

One of the jury. Of publishing the pamphlet; we don't decide upon its being a libel or not.

Mr. Justice Buller. And that the

meaning of the innuendos is as stated in the indictment?

One of the jury. Yes, certainly.

Mr. Erskine. Would you have the word *only* recorded?

One of the jury. Yes.

Mr. Erskine. Then I insist that it shall be recorded.

Mr. Justice Buller. Mr. Erskine, sit down, or I shall be obliged to interpose in some other way.

Mr. Erskine. Your lordship may interpose in what manner you think fit.

Mr. Justice Buller. Gentlemen, if you say guilty of publishing *only*, the consequence is, that you negative the meaning of the particular words I have mentioned—that is the operation of the word *only*. In effect, you would give a verdict in words contrary to what you mean.

One of the jury. How will it operate?

Mr. Justice Buller. If you say nothing more, but find him guilty of publishing, the question of law is open upon the record, and they have a right to apply first to the court of King's Bench to arrest the judgment; and if they are not satisfied with the opinion of that court, either party has a right to go to the house of lords, and you find nothing more by that verdict but the simple fact; but if you find him guilty of publishing *only*, that verdict will not include the innuendos on the record.

One of the jury. That is admitted.

Mr. Erskine. I desire to ask your lordship this question, in the hearing of the jury, Whether, if they find the verdict Guilty of publishing, leaving out the word *only*, and on  
my

my application to arrest the judgment, the judgment shall not be arrested, but entered up in the King's Bench; whether the sedition does not stand recorded?

Mr. Justice Buller. No, it does not, unless the pamphlet be a libel in point of law.

Mr. Erskine. True. But can I say that the defendant did not publish it seditiously, if judgment is not arrested, but is entered in the record?

Mr. Justice Buller. Gentlemen, this is my satisfaction. If in what I am saying to you I am wrong in any instance, they have a right to have a new trial directly for asking. But I must tell you the law is this: if you find the defendant guilty of publishing, without saying any more, the question of libel or not is open to the consideration of the court; but if you say he is guilty of publishing *only*, it is an incomplete verdict.

One of the jury. We certainly mean to leave the question of libel or not to the consideration of the court.

Mr. Erskine. Do you find the sedition?

One of the Jury. We give no verdict upon it.

Mr. Justice Buller. When you understand your verdict yourselves, I will take it in the manner you state it. If you say guilty of publishing *only*, there must be another trial, because the verdict will be imperfect.

One of the jury. No, we did not say that; we put the word *only* first—Guilty *only* of publishing.

Mr. Erskine. I desire, with great submission, the jury having said Guilty *only* of publishing, that it may be so recorded.

Mr. Justice Buller. Whether you say guilty *only* of publishing, or guilty of publishing *only*, that amounts to the same thing. You may say this, "Guilty of publishing; but whether it is a libel or not, you don't know," if that is your intention.

One of the jury. That is our intention.

Mr. Justice Buller. Do you give your verdict in this way, "Guilty of publishing; but whether it is a libel or not, the jury don't know?"

One of the jury. We don't find it a libel, my lord; we do not decide upon it.

Mr. Erskine. They find it no libel.

Mr. Justice Buller. See what is attempted to be done.

Mr. Erskine. There is no improper attempt upon my part. I ask this of your lordship, and desire an answer, as a judge, whether or no, if, when I come to move in arrest of judgment, and the court should enter an judgment, saying, that it is a libel, whether I can afterwards say, in mitigation of punishment, that the defendant did not publish it seditiously, when he is found guilty of publishing it in manner and form as stated? Therefore the jury are made to find a man guilty of sedition, when in the same moment they say they did not mean so to do. Gentlemen, do you find the dean guilty of sedition?

One of the jury. We neither find the one nor the other.

Mr. Price (Associate.) Do you say "Guilty of publishing; but whether a libel or not, you do not find?"

Mr. Justice Buller. Is that your meaning?

One of the jury. It is our meaning.  
Mr.

Mr. Bearcroft. All you mean is to leave the law where it is?

One of the jury. That is all our meaning.

Mr. Justice Buller. The intention of the jury was from the first as clear as it could be, only they wanted to confound it.

*The associate recorded the verdict,*  
 "GUILTY OF PUBLISHING; BUT  
 WHETHER A LIBEL OR NOT,  
 THE JURY DO NOT FIND."

*Letters betwixt the Right Honourable  
 William Pitt and Lord George  
 Gordon.*

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon, President of the Protestant Association, to the Right Honourable Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury.

‘ Sir,

‘ SEVERAL hundred seamen have addressed me to-day; many of them, lately arrived from India, came in coaches. Acting lieutenants, mates, and midshipmen of the royal navy, are among them. The following is the copy of the generality of their addresses:

“ To the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon, President of the Protestant Association.

“ May it please your lordship,

“ We, the seamen, whose names are under mentioned, are able, willing, and ready, to serve the United Protestant States of Holland against the King of the Romans, and all their popish enemies. And your petitioners will ever pray for lord George Gordon.

Signed by Edward Robinson, and thirty-four other seamen, at the Kettle-drum, Radcliffe Highway, Nov. 17, 1784.”

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‘ Several officers of distinction in the land service have also applied to me, and offered their services to the States General, particularly a field-officer of the Connecticut line, in the province of Massachusetts, and an officer who has lately left the Irish brigade of France, who wished to enter into a service more agreeable, and congenial to his sentiments and principles. Many of the guards have requested to go volunteers. Some Athol Highlanders are on their way to town, who, I make no doubt, will engage in the good Protestant cause of their high mightinesses. I acquaint you, as prime minister, with these matters, that you may convince baron Van Lynden of the general good disposition of the people of these kingdoms to comply with his excellency’s request, and to renew again their old friendship with Holland upon the righteous and solid foundation of the Protestant interest.

‘ I am, Sir, with all due respect,

‘ Your humble servant,

‘ G. GORDON.’

Copy of a Letter from the Right Honourable Mr. Pitt, First Lord of the Treasury, to the Right Honourable Lord George Gordon.

Downing-street, Nov. 19, 1784.  
 26 m. past One P. M.

“ My lord,

“ I have hitherto returned no answer to the letters I received from your lordship on the 17th and 18th instant, because I did not think it my duty to enter into a correspondence with your lordship on the subject. But having been informed that many seamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in the expectation

of



of being employed to serve against the emperor, I think it proper to remind you, that whatever steps you have taken, have been without the smallest degree of authority or countenance from his majesty's ministers, and that it is for your lordship to consider what consequences may be expected from them.

" I am, my lord,

" Your lordship's obedient

" Humble servant,

" W. PITT."

Right Hon. Lord G. Gordon.

Lord George Gordon's Answer to Mr. Pitt.

" Sir,

" I received your letter of to-day just now. It was very rude in you not to answer my two letters sooner. I am glad to hear you say, that many seamen have been induced to quit their occupation, in expectation of being employed to serve against the emperor. This shews the seamen's hearts are warm towards the States of Holland, and that they wish to lend a hand to assist them against their enemies. As soon as you, and the rest of his majesty's ministers, are pleased to authorize and countenance these honest endeavours of the seamen to support those Protestant states, I will make proposals to the Dutch ambassador, and to the States of Holland, to take them into immediate pay. The consequences may fall on the heads of the king's servants, if they advise their sovereign to take a part against the Protestant interest.

" I am, Sir,

" Your humble servant,

" G. GORDON."

Welbeck-street, Nov. 19, 1784.

VOL. XXVII.

*Sentence of the Court Martial appointed to try Colonel Debbieg, for writing several disrespectful and injurious Letters to the Duke of Richmond, as Master General of the Ordnance.*

THE court-martial for the trial of colonel Debbieg being on Monday last re-assembled at the Horse-Guards, by his majesty's command, the following sentence was read by the judge advocate, who declared that his majesty had approved thereof, and had directed that it be carried into execution.

The court-martial, upon due consideration of the whole matter, are of opinion, that colonel Hugh Debbieg is guilty of each article of the charge exhibited against him, viz.

Of "writing to his grace Charles duke of Richmond, Lennox, and Aubigny, master-general of his majesty's ordnance, his commanding officer, several unbecoming letters since the month of June last, containing indecent and disrespectful expressions towards him, and groundless and injurious imputations of partiality and oppression in the discharge of his duty as master-general of the ordnance, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline,"

And of "writing disrespectfully, in the month of August last, of the said duke of Richmond, &c. master-general of his majesty's ordnance, his commanding officer, to major-general James Bramham, the chief engineer, and in terms obviously tending to depreciate the conduct of him the said master-general in the opinion of the said chief engineer, and of the corps of engineers, to the prejudice of good order and military discipline."

In consideration of the high character

[U]

rafter of the said colonel Debbieg, as an officer, and his meritorious services, which consideration alone could have induced them to give so lenient a sentence for crimes which they must conceive to be highly detrimental, and tending to produce the worst consequences to the service, they adjudge, That he, the said colonel Hugh Debbieg, be reprimanded in open court—and that he do also make his submission to the duke of Richmond, &c. master-general of his majesty's ordnance, in the following terms :

“ My lord duke,

“ In compliance with the judgment of this court-martial, I do declare my great concern, that I should have made use of expressions in my correspondence with your grace, my superior officer, which in the opinion of the court tended to the prejudice of good order and military discipline.”

The president, lord Howard, then addressed col. Debbieg as follows :

“ Colonel Debbieg,

“ In addressing myself to an officer of so long standing, and so distinguished as you have been for your meritorious services, it cannot fail to give me the sincerest concern to have it fall to my lot to convey to you a reprimand from the court-martial before whom you have been brought.

“ It is, Sir, by his majesty's commands that I do so. Wherein, having consulted the court, I am to say to you, that they would have to dread the ill effects of such an unbecoming spirit as that which has so conspicuously shewn itself in your late correspondence, which they have had under their consideration, if they did not persuade themselves, in regard to the dangerous tendency

of such behaviour to his majesty's service, that you will upon cool reflection think as they do, and hereafter regulate your conduct accordingly.

“ The other part, Sir, of the judgment of this court, your submission to the duke of Richmond, master-general of the ordnance, has been already read to you by the judge advocate; and which no doubt you will immediately, and agreeable to that becoming deference due to their directions, proceed to comply with.”

Colonel Debbieg then read the submission to the duke of Richmond, as the court had directed; after which the duke of Richmond addressed himself to the court as follows :

“ The judgment of the court in pronouncing every article of my charges well founded, and the imputations against me groundless, together with the observations which the court has made on the conduct I complained of, have I trust fully justified the necessity I was under of appealing to this tribunal.

“ I flatter myself that in carrying on this prosecution, I have not shewn a vindictive spirit; I hope it is not in my nature. The apology directed by the court, I readily accept from col. Debbieg. I trust his future conduct will be regulated by the sentiments which the court has expressed on what is past, and I promise col. Debbieg that he shall never trace in my behaviour any ungenerous recollection of this transaction.”

The judge advocate then informed colonel Debbieg, that the sentence of the court having been complied with, he was released from his arrest, and then declared that the court-martial was dissolved.

*The Judgment passed on Christopher Atkinson, Esq; in the Court of King's Bench.*

THE court of King's Bench was exceedingly crowded with auditors, anxious to hear the fate of Mr. Atkinson. At ten Mr. Atkinson was conducted into court by the deputy-keeper and tipstaffs. In a quarter of an hour lord Mansfield, Mr. justice Ashurst, and Mr. justice Buller, took their seats upon the bench (judge Willes being absent on account of the death of his brother.) After a few justifications of bail, lord Mansfield called for Mr. attorney-general, who immediately attended, and Mr. justice Ashurst, with great deliberation and solemnity, proceeded to pronounce the sentence of the court.

The learned judge first observed, that the defendant stood convicted of perjury, to the satisfaction of the court and jury, and stated that it arose from an affidavit made by him to ground a motion for an information against William Bennet. He then read the words in which the affidavit was couched. The indictment contained nine different assignments, of which he was convicted of six, viz. 2d, 3d, 4th, 5th, 6th, and 9th. He then explained the several charges or assignments in the order they arose, and took notice that Mr. Atkinson's counsel had particularly objected to the conviction on the 4th, which respected malt, and the 7th, an article of wheat, purchased at 34s. 6d. and charged at 36s. But "admitting that these assignments or counts were done away, still there were four remaining, and the malignity of the offence, whether to cover one fraud or many, equally tended

to shew the depravity of the defendant's mind."

The counsel had set up two modes of defence; first, they had created a distinction between supplies and purchases; and in this instance the defendant had rendered himself not only the corn-factor, but the corn-seller. "The commissioners must have been the most unfaithful, or the most ignorant of public servants, if they had suffered such a practice to prevail." The jury were therefore well warranted in finding their verdict upon the assignments that were attempted to be defended upon that ground.

The second mode of defence was, that all the over-charges were qualified by a balancing bill. "This idea," said the learned judge, "is contrary to the bills themselves," which were continually varied in their prices. Besides which, the affidavit on which the conviction was founded positively avers that no more was charged on the several articles, than the price actually paid, which was utterly repugnant to the charge of an article of the 28th of May, 1779. These balancing bills were made out merely at the defendant's discretion, altogether unauthorized by the board, and were subject to no cheque or controul. When the court desired that the books might be inspected, it was answered, they were destroyed. How the defendant had exercised his discretion, was plain to the commissioners and jury, the former having discharged him from his employment, and the latter having found him guilty of the crime laid to his charge. There was no plea of defence that the money was paid on account, because the charges were regularly adjusted, and the specific sums to each article.

The learned judge then concluded in the following words, "I shall not endeavour to aggravate your crime; for if you have any feelings, your situation must be sufficiently painful: and there remains nothing more for me to say, but the disagreeable necessity of pronouncing the sentence of the law.

"You are to be committed one whole year to the prison of this court. You are to stand in the pillory upon the Corn-market for

the space of one whole hour, between twelve and two o'clock; and you are to pay a fine of two thousand pounds, and remain in prison until the same is paid."

Mr. Atkinson seemed exceedingly affected with this sentence, and for a few moments looked stedfastly upon the court, as if going to speak. He then made a respectful bow to the judges, and retired with great fortitude.



# A GENERAL LIST

OF THE

## DISEASES and CASUALTIES,

From 1783, to DECEMBER 14, 1784.

DISEASES.				CASUALTIES.		
A	Bortive and Still-born	528	Diabetes			
	Abfcess	1	Dropfy	830	Miscarriage	3
Aged	1240		Evil	13	Mortification	136
Ague	8		Fever, malignant Fe-		Palfy	66
Apoplexy and Sud-			ver, Scarlet Fever,		Pleurify	15
den	207		Spotted Fever, and		Quinfy	4
Afthma and Phthi-			Purples	1973	Rafh	
fic	377		Fiftula	4	Rheumatifm	8
Bed-ridden	12		Flux	9	Rickets	
Bleeding	4		French Pox	32	Rifing of the Lights	
Bloody Flux	1		Gout	63	Scald Head	
Burften and Rup-			Gravel, Strangury, and		Scurvy	4
ture	17		Stone	35	Small Pox	1750
Cancer	43		Grief	3	Sore Throat	6
Canker	2		Head-Ach	1	Sores and Ulcers	13
Chicken Pox	3		Headmouldshot, Hor-		St. Anthony's Fire	
Childbed	133		shoehead, and Wa-		Stoppage in the Sto-	
Cholic, Gripes, twif-			ter in the Head	15	mach	10
ing of the Guts	8		Jaundice	62	Surfeit	1
Cold	3		Impofthume	4	Swelling	1
Consumption	4540		Inflammation	198	Teeth	369
Convulfions	4219		Leprophy		Thrush	65
Cough and Hooping-			Lethargy		Tympany	1
Cough	467		Livergrown	4	Vomiting and Loofe-	
			Lunatick	46	nefs	2
			Meafles	29	Worms	11

Chriftened { Males 8773 Buried { Males 9229 Decreased in the Burials  
 { Females 2401 { Females 3599 this Year, 1291.

Total Males and Females Chriftened 17,179.—Total Males and Females Buried 17,823.

Died under Two Years	5729	—Thirty and Forty	1595	—Eighty and Ninety	391
Between Two and Five	1731	—Forty and Fifty	1781	—Ninety and a Hundred	48
—Five and Ten	683	—Fifty and Sixty	1553	A Hundred	2
—Ten and Twenty	636	—Sixty and Seventy	1359	A Hundred and One	1
—Twenty and Thirty	1417	—Seventy and Eighty	917	A Hundred and Three	1

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John-James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, from one Year ended the 5th of January 1785.*

E X P O R T E D.			
1784.	British.	Foreign.	Bounties and
ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Drawbacks paid.
Wheat - - -	35,446	6,955	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour - -	38,867	2,139	
Rye - - -	5,821	800	
Barley - - -	18,676	2,747	22,669 18 3½ Bo.
Malt - - -	45,415	-	
Oats - - -	8,527	1,087	255 3 5 Dr.
Oatmeal - - -	2,752	-	
Beans - - -	7,309	613	
Pease - - -	2,747	118	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - -	3,003	}	950 6 3 Bo.
Wheat Flour - -	2,877		
Bear - - -	2,740		
Rye - - -	110		
Barley - - -	50		
Oats - - -	1,073		
Oatmeal - - -	71		
Pease and Beans -	189		

I M P O R T E D.		
1784.		Duties
ENGLAND.	Quarters.	received.
Wheat - - -	169,810	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour - -	4,783	
Rye - - -	23,722	
Barley - - -	43,729	
Oats - - -	175,765	7,406 15 5
Oatmeal - - -	648	
Beans - - -	28,047	
Pease - - -	2,915	
Indian Wheat - -	46	

SCOT-

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. 1795

1784. SCOTLAND.				Quarters.	Duties received.		
Wheat	-	-	-	42,109	}	£.	s. d.
Wheat Flour	-	-	-	245			
Barley	-	-	-	33,453			
Oats	-	-	-	78,962			
Oatmeal	-	-	-	11,623			
Pease and Beans	-	-	-	14,854	}	2,522	15 3
Rye	-	-	-	1,057			

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the Winchester bushel, for the year 1784.

Wheat.		Rye.		Barley.		Oats.		Beans.	
s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.	s.	d.
6	1 $\frac{1}{4}$	4	— $\frac{1}{4}$	3	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	2	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	4	— $\frac{1}{4}$

N. B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.

## PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1784.

*N.B. The highest and lowest Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.*

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Confol	4 pr Ct. Confol.	Long Ann.	Ditto 1778.	Ditto 1779	India Stock.	India Bonds	Old Ann.	New Ann.	Navy Bills.	3 pr. Ct. 4 pr. Ct. Script. Script.	Exch. Bills.
January	111	55 1/2	57 1/2	—	16 1/2	—	—	118 1/2	53 1/2	—	—	17 1/2	57 1/2	—
February	113	57 1/2	53 1/2	—	17 1/2	—	—	120 1/2	42	—	—	12 1/2	58 1/2	—
March	116	57	57 1/2	74 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	122 1/2	40	57 1/2	56	20	58 1/2	4 1/2
April	118	56 1/2	55 1/2	75 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	133 1/2	25	57 1/2	58	18 1/2	—	10 1/2
May	116 1/2	59 1/2	60 1/2	76 1/2	18 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	127 1/2	30	59 1/2	57 1/2	16	—	6 1/2
June	116 1/2	58 1/2	59 1/2	75 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	129	22	—	56 1/2	19	—	2 1/2
July	115	58 1/2	58 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	127 1/2	9	—	58 1/2	17 1/2	—	1 1/2
August	113	57 1/2	57 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	124	7	58 1/2	57 1/2	14	—	—
September	116	58 1/2	57 1/2	75 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	—	13	56 1/2	58	17	—	—
October	116	58 1/2	59 1/2	75 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	—	9	56 1/2	57 1/2	18	—	1 1/2
November	117	58 1/2	59 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	122 1/2	19	57 1/2	—	14 1/2	—	3 1/2
December	117 1/2	58 1/2	59 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	119	21	—	—	14 1/2	74 1/2	—
	116	58 1/2	59 1/2	73 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	122 1/2	3	—	—	14 1/2	75 1/2	—
	116	58 1/2	59 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	122 1/2	7	56 1/2	—	15 1/2	75 1/2	2 1/2
	117 1/2	57 1/2	56 1/2	74 1/2	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	127 1/2	4	56 1/2	56 1/2	12 1/2	75 1/2	1 1/2
	117 1/2	56 1/2	54 1/2	74 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	125 1/2	1	55 1/2	55 1/2	13 1/2	74 1/2	2 1/2
	110	54 1/2	54 1/2	70 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	128 1/2	4	—	54 1/2	15 1/2	73 1/2	2 1/2
	111 1/2	54 1/2	55 1/2	70 1/2	16 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	126 1/2	2	—	53 1/2	—	—	1 1/2
	112	53 1/2	54 1/2	—	16 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	—	1	54 1/2	—	—	—	3 1/2
	110 1/2	55 1/2	54 1/2	—	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	—	3	54 1/2	—	—	—	—
	113 1/2	55 1/2	54 1/2	—	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	—	1	54 1/2	55 1/2	—	—	—
	112 1/2	55 1/2	56 1/2	—	17 1/2	12 1/2	12 1/2	—	7	54 1/2	55 1/2	—	—	—



SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for  
the Year 1784.

## NAVY.

JUNE 1, 1784.

1. **T**HAT 26,000 men be employed for the sea service for the year 1784, including 4,495 marines.

2. That a sum, not exceeding 4l. per man per month, be allowed for maintaining the said 26,000 men, for thirteen months, including ordnance for sea service —

£.	s.	d.
1,352,000	0	0

JUNE 21, 1784.

1. For the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to sea and marine officers, for the year 1784 —

701,869	0	6
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2. Towards building, rebuilding, and repairs of ships of war in his majesty's yards, and other extra works, over and above what are proposed to be done upon the heads of wear and tear in ordinary, for the year 1784

1,100,000	0	0
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3,153,869	0	6
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## ORDNANCE.

JUNE 14, 1784.

1. For defraying the expence of services performed by the office of ordnance for land service, and not provided for by parliament in the year 1783 —

181,141	6	4
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2. For the charge of the office of ordnance for the land service, for the year 1784 —

429,008	2	7
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610,149	8	11
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## ARMY.

JUNE 15, 1784.

1. That a number of land forces, including 2,300 invalids, amounting to 17,483 effective men, com-

million

# 300] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

“ by loans or exchequer bills, for the service of the  
 “ year 1783,” and charged upon the first aid to be  
 granted in this session of parliament — — — — — £. s. d.  
 1,000,000 0 0

2. For paying off and discharging the exchequer  
 bills, made out by virtue of an act passed in the last  
 session of parliament, entitled, “ An Act for raising a  
 “ further sum of money by loans or exchequer bills,  
 “ for the service of the year 1783,” and charged  
 upon the first aids to be granted in this session of par-  
 liament — — — — — 1,169,400 0 0

## JUNE 14, 1784.

1. To be advanced to the governor and company of  
 merchants of England trading into the Levant seas, to  
 be applied in assisting the said company in carrying on  
 their trade — — — — — 4,000 0 0

2. Towards enabling the trustees of the British Mu-  
 seum to carry on the execution of the trusts reposed in  
 them by parliament — — — — — 3,000 0 0

## JUNE 15, 1784.

Upon account of the expences of the new roads of  
 communication, and building bridges in the Highlands  
 of North Britain, in the year 1784 — — — — — 4,830 7 6

## JULY 20, 1784.

To make compensation to the rev. Thomas Weekes  
 Dalby, the representative of Charles Weekes, de-  
 ceased, for the loss sustained by the detainer of the  
 ship Hope, belonging to the said Charles Weekes, on  
 account of his majesty's victualling office, in the years  
 1743 and 1744 — — — — — 1,891 13 8

## JULY 26, 1784.

To discharge the debt contracted on his majesty's  
 civil list, and to defray the further expences thereof 60,000 0 0

## AUGUST 5, 1784.

For defraying the charges of the following civil  
 establishments, and other incidental expences attend-  
 ing the same in America.

1. His majesty's colony of Nova Scotia — — —	5,559 8 0
2. His majesty's island of St. John's — — —	3,150 0 0
3. His majesty's province of East Florida — — —	3,950 0 0
4. His majesty's province of New Brunswick — — —	3,100 0 0
5. His majesty's island of Cape Breton — — —	1,750 0 0
6. For the relief and benefit of sundry American civil officers and others, who have suffered on account of their attachment to his majesty's government — — —	75,750 13 6
7. To discharge bills drawn on the commissioners of	

the

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [301

the treasury by John Parr, esq; governor of Nova Scotia, and other services	£.	s.	d.
8. Towards carrying on the buildings at Somerset-house, for the year 1784	12,316	15	9½
9. To be paid to Joseph White, esq; for the expences attending the bill for inflicting pains and penalties on sir Thomas Rumbold, baronet, in the last session of parliament	25,000	0	0
10. To George White, esq; clerk to the committees appointed to enquire into the causes of the war in the Carnatic, in the years 1781 and 1782			
11. To William Evatt, clerk to the select committees appointed to take into consideration the state of the administration of justice in the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, in the four last sessions of parliament			
12. To Mr. White, junior, clerk to the select committees, to whom "The reports of the court of directors of the united company of the merchants trading to the East Indies" were referred, during the last and this present session of parliament			
13. To Mr. Arthur Benson, clerk to the committee appointed in the last session of parliament, to enquire into the illicit practices uses in defrauding the revenue of this kingdom	6,623	19	9
August 7, 1784.			
1. To make compensation to the commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state, the public accounts of the kingdom, for their diligence, &c.	9,000	0	0
2. To make good the like sum which has been paid to the secretaries of the commissioners appointed to examine the public accounts, &c. and to the commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses of the American loyalists, and which has not been made good by parliament	7,000	0	0
3. To make good the sum which has been issued by his majesty's orders, in pursuance of the addresses of this house	36,841	1	6
4. For repairing, maintaining, and supporting, the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa	13,000	0	0
5. To replace the sum issued by his majesty's order to Duncan Campbell, esq. for the expence of confining, maintaining, and employing convicts on the River Thames	12,212	11	6
6. To perfect the purchase of the soil of the Bahama islands, and to support the civil establishment of the said islands, in addition to the salaries now paid out of the duty fund, to the public officers	7,850	0	0
		7.	For

# 302] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

7. For the salary proposed to be allowed to the chief justice of the Bermuda or Somers islands, from the 24th of June 1784, to the 24th of June 1785

£. s. d.  
500 0 0

2,467,226 11 2½

## DEFICIENCIES.

JUNE 15, 1784.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1758, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	23,556	2	7
2. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1778, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	168,090	2	9½
3. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1779, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	73,339	19	8
4. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1780, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	207,909	10	3
5. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1782, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	435,888	19	2
6. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	24,943	5	0½
7. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783	—	—	36,814	15	5½
To make good deficiencies in the malt tax and land tax	—	—	706,166	0	0
			<u>1,676,708</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>0</u>
Total of supplies	—	—	<u>11,988,174</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>4½</u>

*Ways and Means for raising the Supplies granted to his Majesty for the Year 1784.*

NOVEMBER 24, 1783.

That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, be further continued for one year — — 750,000 0 0

DECEMBER 10, 1783.

That the sum of four shillings in the pound be raised, within the space of one year, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices, and per-

sonal



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [303

sonal estates, in that part of Great Britain called  
 England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon  
 Tweed, and that a proportionable cess be laid upon  $\text{£. s. d.}$   
 that part of Great Britain called Scotland — 2,000,000 0 0

JULY 1, 1784

1. That the sum of 6,000,000*l.* be raised by annuities, and the further sum of 360,000*l.* by a lottery, in manner following:—

That every contributor shall, for every hundred pounds contributed, be entitled to the principal sum of 100*l.* in annuities, after the rate of 3*l.* per cent. to 50*l.* after the rate of 4*l.* per cent. and to an annuity of five shillings and six-pence for the term of seventy-five years and six months.

That every contributor shall, for every 1000*l.* be entitled to six tickets in a lottery, to consist of 36,000 tickets, upon the payment of the sum of 10*l.* per ticket. The said 360,000*l.* to be distributed into prizes for the lottery.

That the annuities, after the rate of 3*l.* per cent. be made one joint stock with the 3*l.* per cent annuities consolidated; the annuities, after the rate of 4*l.* per cent. one joint stock with the 4*l.* per cent annuities consolidated; and the annuities of five shillings and six-pence, one joint stock with annuities granted for the several terms of 99, 98, 80, 78, and 77 years, consolidated — — — 6,360,000 0 0

2. That out of the savings of the several army services, be applied, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 1st of February, 1783, and the 24th of December following, and not provided for by parliament, the sum of — — — 441,702 13 9½

AUGUST 2, 1784.

1. That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of — — — 1,500,000 0 0

2. That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of — — — 1,000,000 0 0

AUGUST 7, 1784.

1. That there be issued and applied, out of the overplus monies, and other revenues composing the sinking fund, the sum of — — — 500,000 0 0  
 2. That

# 302] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

7. For the salary proposed to be allowed to the chief justice of the Bermuda or Somers islands, from the 24th of June 1784, to the 24th of June 1785

£. s. d.  
500 0 0

2,467,226 11 2 $\frac{1}{4}$

## DEFICIENCIES.

JUNE 15, 1784.

1. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1758, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	23,556	2	7
2. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1778, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	168,090	2	9 $\frac{3}{4}$
3. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1779, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	73,339	19	8
4. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1780, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	207,909	10	3
5. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1782, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	435,888	19	2
6. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783, to replace to the sinking fund the like sum paid out of the same	—	—	24,943	5	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
7. To make good the deficiency of the grants for the service of the year 1783	—	—	36,814	15	5 $\frac{1}{4}$
To make good deficiencies in the malt tax and land tax	—	—	706,166	0	0
			1,676,708	15	0
Total of supplies	—	—	11,988,174	9	4 $\frac{7}{8}$

*Ways and Means for raising the Supplies granted to his Majesty for the Year 1784.*

NOVEMBER 24, 1783.

That the duties upon malt, mum, cyder, and perry, be further continued for one year

750,000 0 0

DECEMBER 10, 1783.

That the sum of four shillings in the pound be raised, within the space of one year, upon lands, tenements, hereditaments, pensions, offices, and per-

sonal

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [303

sonal estates, in that part of Great Britain called  
 England, Wales, and the town of Berwick upon  
 Tweed, and that a proportionable cess be laid upon £. s. d.  
 that part of Great Britain called Scotland — 2,000,000 0 0

JULY 1, 1784.

1. That the sum of 6,000,000l. be raised by annuities, and the further sum of 360,000l. by a lottery, in manner following:—

That every contributor shall, for every hundred pounds contributed, be entitled to the principal sum of 100l. in annuities, after the rate of 3l. per cent. to 50l. after the rate of 4l. per cent. and to an annuity of five shillings and six-pence for the term of seventy-five years and six months.

That every contributor shall, for every 1000l. be entitled to six tickets in a lottery, to consist of 36,000 tickets, upon the payment of the sum of 10l. per ticket. The said 360,000l. to be distributed into prizes for the lottery.

That the annuities, after the rate of 3l. per cent. be made one joint stock with the 3l. per cent annuities consolidated; the annuities, after the rate of 4l. per cent. one joint stock with the 4l. per cent annuities consolidated; and the annuities of five shillings and six-pence, one joint stock with annuities granted for the several terms of 99, 98, 80, 78, and 77 years, consolidated — — — 6,360,000 0 0

2. That out of the savings of the several army services, be applied, towards defraying the extraordinary expences of his majesty's land forces, and other services incurred between the 1st of February, 1783, and the 24th of December following, and not provided for by parliament, the sum of — — — 441,702 13 9½

AUGUST 2, 1784.

1. That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of — — — 1,500,000 0 0

2. That there be raised by loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament, the sum of — — — 1,000,000 0 0

AUGUST 7, 1784.

1. That there be issued and applied, out of the overplus monies, and other revenues composing the sinking fund, the sum of — — — 800,000 0 0

2. That

# 304] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

2. That there be applied, remaining in the receipt of the exchequer, for the disposition of parliament, the sum of — — —

£. s. d.  
105,818 5 11 $\frac{1}{4}$

Total of ways and means — — 12,957,520 19 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

Total of supplies — — 11,988,174 9 4 $\frac{3}{4}$

Excess of ways and means — — 969,346 10 3 $\frac{7}{8}$

## NEW TAXES for the Year 1784.

Candles, one halfpenny per pound	—	—	100,000	0	0
Bricks, two shillings and six-pence per thousand; and tiles, from three to thirty shillings per thousand			50,000	0	0
Hats, from three-pence to two shillings, and licences for vending the same	—	—	150,000	0	0
Pleasure horses, ten shillings per head; running horses, two guineas per head	—	—	100,000	0	0
British linens and cottons, from three farthings to one shilling per yard, and licences for bleaching and dying the same	—	—	120,000	0	0
Ribbands, from one penny for every twelve yards, to one penny per yard; and gauzes, from two-pence to four-pence per yard	—	—	120,000	0	0
Licences for retailing beer, ale, and other exciseable liquors, and to the makers and dealers in certain exciseable commodities, from ten shillings to fifty pounds	—	—	110,000	0	0
Qualifications of shooters, two pounds two shillings per head; and deputations from lords of manors ten shillings per head	—	—	10,000	0	0
Paper, from one penny to ten shillings per ream, pasteboards, millboards, and scaleboards	—	—	18,000	0	0
Hackney coaches, five shillings per week	—	—	12,000	0	0
Silver plate, six-pence per ounce; and gold plate eight shillings per ounce	—	—	25,000	0	0
Lead exported, one guinea per ton	—	—	15,000	0	0
Postage of letters, one penny and two-pence	—	—	100,000	0	0
Regulations of franking	—	—	20,000	0	0
Raw and thrown silk imported, three shillings, and two shillings per pound	—	—			

Interest of the loan of 6,000,000 — — 930,000 0 0  
280,000 0 0

Excess of taxes — — 650,000 0 0

STATE



## STATE PAPERS.

1784.

*His Majesty's most gracious Speech to both Houses of Parliament, on the opening of the Sessions, Nov. 11, 1783.*

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"**I** HAVE the satisfaction to inform you, that Definitive Treaties of Peace have been concluded with the courts of France and Spain, and with the United States of America. Preliminary Articles have also been ratified with the States General of the United Provinces. I have ordered these several treaties to be laid before you; and I am happy to add, that I have no cause to doubt but that all those powers agree with me in my sincere inclination to keep the calamities of war at a great distance.

"The objects which are to be brought under your deliberation will sufficiently explain my reasons for calling you together after so short a recess. Enquiries of the utmost importance have been long and diligently pursued, and the fruit of them will be expected. The situation of the East India Company will require the utmost exertions of your wisdom to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from

our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces.

"The season of peace will call upon you for an attention to every thing which can recruit the strength of the nation, after so long and so expensive a war.

"The security and increase of the revenue in the manner least burthensome to my subjects; will be amongst your first objects. In many essential parts it has suffered: dangerous frauds have prevailed, and alarming outrages have been committed. Exertions have not been wanting to repress this daring spirit, nor pains to enquire into its true causes. In any instances in which the powers of government may not be equal to its utmost care and vigilance, I have no doubt that the wisdom of my parliament will provide such remedies as may be found wanting for the accomplishment of purposes, in which the material interests of this nation are so deeply concerned.

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"I have ordered the estimates of the expences for the year to be laid  
[X] before

before you. From these you will perceive the reduction which I have made in all the establishments, which appear to me to be brought as low as prudence will admit; and you will participate with me in the satisfaction which I feel in this step towards the relief of my subjects. At the end of a war some part of its weight must inevitably be borne for a time. I feel for the burthens of my people: but I rely on that fortitude which has hitherto supported this nation under many difficulties, for their bearing those which the present exigencies require, and which are so necessary for the full support of the national credit.

“My Lords and Gentlemen,

“In many respects our situation is new. Your counsels will provide what is called for by that situation; and your wisdom will give permanence to whatever has been found beneficial by the experience of ages. In your deliberations you will preserve that temper and moderation which the importance of their objects demand, and will, I have no doubt, produce; and I am sure that you are unanimous in your desire to direct all those deliberations to the honour of my crown, the safety of my dominions, and the prosperity of my people.

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*The humble Address of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled, Nov. 12, 1783.*

“Most gracious Sovereign,

“**W**E, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in

parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our most humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

“With the most respectful affection to your royal person and family, we beg leave to offer our sincere congratulations on the birth of another princess, and the happy recovery of the Queen. Truly sensible of the blessings we enjoy under your Majesty’s most auspicious government, we rejoice at every event that can add to your Majesty’s domestic happiness.

“We congratulate your Majesty on the success of your endeavours to restore the public tranquillity. We return your Majesty our most humble thanks for having ordered the Definitive Treaty with the courts of France and Spain, and the United States of America, and the Preliminary Articles ratified with the States General of the United Provinces, to be laid before us; and we assure your Majesty that we learn with the greatest satisfaction, that all those powers agree with your Majesty in your sincere inclination, to keep the calamities of war at a great distance.

“We humbly and thankfully acknowledge your Majesty’s royal regard to the general welfare of all your Majesty’s dominions, in having called your parliament together at this early season; and we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that the most diligent attention shall be given by us to those objects which wait our deliberation.—The situation of the East India Company will require our immediate consideration; and we beg your Majesty to be assured, that we will use our utmost endeavours to maintain and improve the valuable advantages derived from  
our

our Indian possessions, and to secure the happiness of the native inhabitants of those provinces.

“Animated by your Majesty’s example, and by the love of our country, we shall take the earliest advantage of the season of peace to direct our counsels to every thing that can recruit the strength of the nation, after so long and so expensive a war; and while we express the grateful sense we entertain of your Majesty’s paternal care in recommending the security and increase of the revenue in a manner the least burthensome to your people, we shall be happy to co-operate in whatever may be found expedient for those salutary purposes, or may tend to counteract those frauds, and to repress that spirit of outrage which has been so alarmingly prevalent.

“We humbly intreat your Majesty to be persuaded that our utmost assiduity shall be employed in providing what is called for by the present situation of this country, and that in our labours for that purpose we shall not only use the utmost caution in regard to whatever the experience of past times has shewn to be beneficial, but shall endeavour, to the extent of our abilities, to make all such benefits permanent.

“It will be our duty to preserve that temper and moderation in our deliberations which your Majesty has been pleased to recommend, and which the importance of their objects will demand; and we shall be anxious not to neglect any opportunity of meriting the good opinion your Majesty has graciously expressed of our unanimous desire to secure and promote the honour of your Majesty’s crown, the safety of your dominions, and the prosperity of your people.”

*After which his Majesty was pleased to say,*

“My Lords,

“I thank you for this dutiful and loyal address. I receive with pleasure your congratulations on the birth of a princess, and the recovery of the Queen, as renewed proofs of your affection to my person and family. The assurances you give me of your attention to the objects recommended for the welfare of my subjects, are highly acceptable; and I regard the unanimity with which they are offered as an earnest of the success which, I trust, will attend your endeavours to establish the honour of my crown, and the prosperity of my people.”

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*The humble Address of the House of Commons to the King, Nov. 13, 1783.*

“Most gracious Sovereign,

“WE, your Majesty’s most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks, for your Majesty’s most gracious speech from the throne.

“Affectionately and dutifully interested in whatever concerns your Majesty’s domestic happiness, we beg leave to offer our most sincere congratulations on the birth of another princess, and to express our unfeigned joy at the happy recovery of the Queen.

“We are gratefully sensible of the paternal regard for the welfare of your people, which has induced your Majesty to conclude the Definitive Treaties of Peace with France and Spain, and the United States of

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America,

America, and to ratify Preliminary Articles with the States General of the United Provinces; and we beg your Majesty to accept our most humble thanks for having ordered those several treaties to be laid before us. We have great satisfaction in learning that your Majesty has no cause to doubt but that all those powers agree in sincere inclination with your Majesty to keep the calamities of war at a great distance.

"We entertain a just sense of the importance of the objects which demand our attention; and we acknowledge, with thanks, the anxious solicitude for the public good, which has induced your Majesty to give us, thus early, an opportunity of taking them into consideration. Your faithful commons are sensible that the fruits of those enquiries which they have so long pursued are now justly expected, and that the situation of the East India Company claims our utmost exertions to provide, in the most effectual manner, for the maintenance and improvement of the valuable advantages derived from our Indian possessions, and to promote and secure the happiness of the native inhabitants in those provinces.

"The season of peace will call for our attention to every thing which can recruit the strength of the nation, after so long and so expensive a war.

"We acknowledge your Majesty's paternal goodness in recommending such means of increasing and securing the public revenue, as may be least burthen some to your subjects. The frauds which have prevailed in many of its most essential parts, as well as the outrages which have been committed, are truly alarming; and we have the

fullest confidence that no exertions have been wanting to repress this daring spirit, nor pains to inquire into its true causes. In those instances in which the powers of government may not be found equal to its utmost care and vigilance, we shall use our utmost endeavours to provide such remedies as may apply to this evil, and such means as may be found wanting to the accomplishment of purposes in which our material interests are so deeply concerned.

"We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that your faithful commons will cheerfully grant your Majesty such supplies as may be found necessary for the service of the year; acknowledging, with the utmost gratitude, your Majesty's immediate attention to the relief of your subjects, in the reduction of all the establishments to as low a state as your Majesty, in your royal wisdom, thought prudence would admit. We take a sincere part in the satisfaction which your Majesty feels in this step towards the relief of your subjects; and we have no doubt, that your people will justify your Majesty's gracious reliance on the fortitude of this nation, by willingly bearing those burthens which are the inevitable consequences of the war, which the present exigencies require, and which are so necessary for the full support of the national credit.

"We feel that our situation is, in many respects, new; and we beg your Majesty to be assured, that we shall use our utmost diligence to provide what is called for by that situation; at the same time, to the extent of our power, giving permanence to whatever has been found beneficial by the experience of ages.

The



The objects of our deliberations fully demand that temper and moderation which your Majesty so graciously recommends; and we intreat your Majesty, to accept our most humble thanks for the confidence your Majesty has been pleased to express in our unanimous desire to direct all those deliberations to the honour of your Majesty's crown, the safety of your dominions, and the prosperity of your people: and we assure your Majesty, that we will use our best and utmost endeavours to demonstrate by our conduct, that a confidence so honourable to us has been well founded.

Friday, Nov. 14.

*The Speaker reported to the House his Majesty's Answer to their Address.*

"Gentlemen,

"I thank you for this very dutiful and affectionate address, and for the fresh mark you give of your attachment to me and my family in the congratulation on the happy recovery of the Queen, and the birth of another princess.

"I receive with the utmost satisfaction your assurances of promoting such measures as may tend to the support of the national credit, and to the welfare of my people. And I consider the unanimity with which they are offered as a happy earnest of the success of your endeavours."

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*Address of the House of Lords to his Majesty, Feb. 6, 1784.*

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in par-

liament assembled, acknowledge with great satisfaction the wisdom of our happy constitution, which places in your Majesty's hand the undoubted authority of appointing to all the great offices of executive government. We have the firmest reliance on your Majesty's known wisdom and paternal goodness, that you will always be anxious to call into and continue in your service men the most deserving of the confidence of your parliament, and the public in general.

"In this confidence we beg leave to approach your Majesty with our most earnest assurances, that we will, on all occasions, support your Majesty in the just exercise of those prerogatives which the wisdom of the law has entrusted to your Majesty, for the preservation of our lives and properties, and upon the due and uninterrupted exercise of which must depend the blessings which your people derive from the best of all forms of government."

*His Majesty's Answer to the above Address.*

"My Lords,

"I thank you for this dutiful and loyal address; and I desire you will rest assured that I have no object in the choice of ministers, but to call into my service men the most deserving of the confidence of my parliament, and of the public in general.

"I cannot too often repeat my assurances, that my constant study, in the exercise of every prerogative entrusted to me by the constitution, is to employ it for the welfare of my people."

*Address*

*Address of the House of Commons to the King, on the 20th Feb. 1784.*

“To the King’s Most Excellent Majesty,

“WE, your Majesty’s most faithful commons, impressed with the most dutiful sense of your Majesty’s paternal regard for the welfare of your people, approach your throne, to express our reliance on your Majesty’s paternal wisdom, that your Majesty will take such measures, by removing any obstacle to forming such an administration as the house has declared to be requisite in the present critical and arduous situation of affairs, as may tend to give effect to the wishes of your faithful commons, which have already been most humbly represented to your Majesty.”

*His Majesty’s Answer to the above Address, Feb. 27, 1784.*

“Gentlemen,

“I am deeply sensible how highly it concerns the honour of my crown, and the welfare of my people, which is the object always nearest my heart, that the public affairs should be conducted by a firm, efficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of the people, and such as may have a tendency to put an end to the unfortunate divisions and distractions of the country. Very recent endeavours have been employed, on my part, to unite in the public service, on a fair and equal footing, those whose joint efforts appear to me most capable of producing that happy effect: those endeavours have not had the effect I wished, I shall be always desirous of taking every step most conducive to such an object, but I cannot see

that it would in any degree be advanced by the dismission of those at present in my service.

“I observe, at the same time, that there is no charge or complaint suggested against my present ministers, nor is any one or more of them specifically objected to; and numbers of my subjects have expressed to me in the warmest manner, their satisfaction of the late changes I have made in my councils. Under these circumstances, I trust my faithful commons will not wish that the essential offices of executive government shall be vacated, until I see a prospect that such a plan of union, as I have called for, and they pointed out, may be carried into effect.”

*The second Address presented to his Majesty by the House of Commons, on March the 4th, 1784, as moved in the House of Commons, March 1st.*

“THAT an humble address be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to represent to his Majesty the satisfaction his faithful commons derive from the late most gracious assurances we have received, that his Majesty concurs with us in opinion, that it concerns the honour of his crown, and the welfare of his people, that the public affairs should be conducted by a firm, efficient, extended, united administration, entitled to the confidence of his people, and such as may have a tendency to put an end to the unhappy divisions and distractions of this country.

“To acknowledge his Majesty’s paternal goodness in his late most gracious endeavours to give effect

to the object of our late dutiful representation to his Majesty.

"To lament that the failure of this his Majesty's most gracious endeavours should be considered as a final bar to the accomplishing so salutary and desirable a purpose; and to express our concern and disappointment that his Majesty has not been advised to take any farther step towards uniting in the public service those whose joint efforts have recently appeared to his Majesty most capable of producing so happy an effect.

"That this house with all humility claims it as its right, and on every proper occasion feels it to be their bounden duty, to advise his Majesty touching the exercise of any branch of his royal prerogative.

"That we submit it to his Majesty's royal consideration, that the continuance of an administration which does not possess the confidence of the representatives of the people must be injurious to the public service.

"That this house can have no interest distinct and separate from that of their constituents, and that they therefore feel themselves called upon to repeat those loyal and dutiful assurances they have already expressed of their reliance on his Majesty's paternal regard for the welfare of his people, that his Majesty would graciously enable them to execute those important trusts which the constitution has vested in them, with honour to themselves, and advantage to the public, by the confirmation of a new administration, appointed under circumstances which may tend to conciliate the minds of his faithful commons, and give energy and stability to his Majesty's councils.

"That as his Majesty's faithful commons, upon the maturest deliberations, cannot but consider the continuance of the present ministers as an unwarrantable obstacle to his Majesty's most gracious purpose, to comply with their wishes in the formation of such an administration as his Majesty, in concurrence with the unanimous resolution of this house, seems to think requisite, in the present exigencies of the country, they feel themselves bound to remain firm in the wish expressed to his Majesty in their late humble address; and do therefore find themselves obliged again to beseech his Majesty, that he would be graciously pleased to lay the foundation of a strong and stable government, by the previous removal of his present ministers."

*His Majesty's Answer to the foregoing Address, March 4, 1784.*

"Gentlemen,

"I have already expressed to you how sensible I am of the advantages to be derived from such an administration as was pointed out in your unanimous resolution; and I assured you that I was desirous of taking every step most conducive to such an object—I remain in the same sentiments—but I continue equally convinced, that it is an object not likely to be attained by the dismissal of my present ministers.

"I must repeat, that no charge or complaint, nor any specific objection, is yet made against any of them. If there were any such ground for their removal at present, it ought to be equally a reason for not admitting them as a part of that extended and united admini-



nistration, which you state to be requisite.

"I did not consider the failure of my recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the purpose which I had in view, if it could have been attained on those principles of fairness and equality, without which it can neither be honourable to those who are concerned, nor lay the foundation of such a strong and stable government as may be of lasting advantage to the country. But I know of no further steps which I can take, that can be effectual to remove the difficulties which obstruct that desirable end.

"I have never called in question the right of my faithful commons to offer me their advice on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of my prerogative; I shall be ready at all times to receive it, and give it the most attentive consideration: and they will ever find me disposed to shew my regard to the true principles of the constitution, and to take such measures as may best conduce to the satisfaction and prosperity of my people."

*Resolutions voted by the House of Commons to be laid before his Majesty by such of the Members of that House as were Privy Counsellors.*

"**T**HAT an humble representation be presented to his Majesty, most humbly to testify the surprise and affliction of this house, on receiving the answer which his Majesty's ministers have advised, to the dutiful and seasonable address of this house, concerning one of the most important acts of his Majesty's government,

"To express our concern, that when his Majesty's paternal goodness has graciously inclined his Majesty to be sensible of the advantage to be derived from such an administration as was pointed out in our resolution, his Majesty should still be induced to prefer the opinions of individuals to the repeated advice of the representatives of his people in parliament assembled, with respect to the means of obtaining so desirable an end.

"To represent to his Majesty, that a preference of this nature is as injurious to the true interests of the crown, as it is wholly repugnant to the spirit of our free constitution. That systems founded on such a preference are not in truth entirely new in this country; that they have been the characteristic features of those unfortunate reigns, the maxims of which are now justly and universally exploded; while his Majesty and his Royal Progenitors have been fixed in the hearts of their people, and have commanded the respect and admiration of all the nations of the earth, by a constant and uniform attention to the advice of their commons, however adverse such advice may have been to the opinions of the executive servants of the crown.

"To assure his Majesty, that we neither have disputed, nor mean in any instance to dispute, much less to deny, his Majesty's undoubted prerogative of appointing to the executive offices of state such persons as to his Majesty's wisdom shall seem meet. But at the same time that we must with all humility again submit to his Majesty's royal wisdom, that no administration, however legally appointed, can serve his Majesty and the public with effect."



effect, which does not enjoy the confidence of this house.

“ That in his Majesty’s present administration we cannot confide; the circumstances under which it was constituted, and the grounds upon which it continues, have created such suspicions in the breasts of his faithful commons, that principles are adopted and views entertained unfriendly to the privileges of this house, and to the freedom of our excellent constitution. That we have made no charge against any of them, because it is their removal and not their punishment which we have desired: and that we humbly conceive we are warranted, by the ancient usage of this house, to desire such removal, without making any charge whatever; that confidence may be very prudently withheld when no criminal process can be properly instituted; that altho’ we have made no criminal charge against any individual of his Majesty’s ministers, yet with all humility we do conceive, that we have stated to his Majesty very distinct objections and very forcible reasons against their continuance. That with regard to the propriety of admitting either the present ministers, or any other person, as a part of that extended and united administration, which his Majesty, in concurrence with the sentiments of this house, considers as requisite, it is a point upon which we are too well acquainted with the bounds of our duty to presume to offer any advice to his Majesty, well knowing it to be the undoubted prerogative of his Majesty to appoint his ministers, without any previous advice from either house of parliament, and our duty humbly to offer to his Majesty our advice, when such appointments

shall appear to us to be prejudicial to the public service.

“ To acknowledge with gratitude his Majesty’s goodness, is not considering the failure of his recent endeavours as a final bar to the accomplishment of the gracious purpose which his Majesty has in view; and to express the great concern and mortification with which we find ourselves obliged to declare, that the consolation which we should naturally have derived from his Majesty’s most gracious disposition is considerably abated, by understanding that his Majesty’s advisers have not thought fit to suggest to his Majesty any farther steps to remove the difficulties which obstruct so desirable an end.

“ To recall to his Majesty’s recollection, that his faithful commons have already submitted to his Majesty, most humbly but most distinctly, their opinion upon this subject—That they can have no interests but those of his Majesty and of their constituents;—whereas it is needless to suggest to his Majesty’s wisdom and discernment, that individual advisers may be actuated by very different motives.

“ To express our most unfeigned gratitude to his Majesty for his Majesty’s royal assurances, that he does not call in question the right of this house to offer their advice to his Majesty on every proper occasion, touching the exercise of any branch of his royal prerogative, and of his Majesty’s readiness at all times to receive such advice, and to give it the most attentive consideration.

“ To declare that we recognize in these gracious expressions, those excellent and constitutional sentiments, which we have ever been accustomed to hear from the throne since

since the glorious æra of the revolution, and which have peculiarly characterised his Majesty, and the princes of his illustrious house; but to lament that these most gracious expressions, while they inspire us with additional affection and gratitude towards his Majesty's royal person, do not a little contribute to increase our suspicions of those men, who have advised his Majesty, in direct contradiction to these assurances, to neglect the advice of his commons, and to retain in his service an administration, whose continuance in office we have so repeatedly and so distinctly condemned.

“ To represent to his Majesty, that it has anciently been the practice of this house to withhold supplies, until the grievances were redressed; and that if we were to follow this course in the present conjuncture, we should be warranted in our proceeding, as well by the most approved precedents, as by the spirit of the constitution itself. But if, in consideration of the very peculiar exigencies of the times, we should be induced to waive for the present the exercise in this instance of our undoubted, legal, and constitutional mode of obtaining redress, that we humbly implore his Majesty not to impute our forbearance to any want of sincerity in our complaints, or distrust in the justice of our cause.

“ That we know and are sure, that the prosperity of his Majesty's dominions in former times has been, under Divine Providence, owing to the harmony which has for near a century prevailed uninterruptedly between the crown and this house.

“ That we are convinced, that

there is no way to extricate this country from its present difficulties, but by pursuing the same system to which we have been indebted at various periods of our history for our successes abroad, and which is at all times so necessary for our tranquillity at home.

“ That we feel the continuance of the present administration to be an innovation upon that happy system—that we cannot but expect, from their existence under the displeasure of the house, every misfortune naturally incident to a weak and distracted government.

“ That if we had concealed from his Majesty our honest sentiments upon this important crisis, we should have been in some degree responsible for the mischiefs which are but too certain to ensue.

“ That we have done our duty to his Majesty and our constituents, in pointing out the evil, and in humbly imploring redress; that the blame and responsibility must now lie wholly upon those who have presumed to advise his Majesty to act in contradiction to the uniform maxims which have hitherto governed the conduct of his Majesty, as well as every other prince of his illustrious house; upon those who have disregarded the opinions and neglected the admonitions of the representatives of his people, and who have thereby attempted to set up a new system of executive administration, which, wanting the confidence of this house, and acting in defiance to our resolutions, must prove at once inadequate, by its inefficiency, to the necessary objects of government, and dangerous, by its example, to the liberties of the people.

*His Majesty's Speech from the Throne, on proroguing the late Parliament, previous to his dissolving it.*

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses, on the Meeting of the New Parliament, May 17, 1784.*

“ My lords and gentlemen,  
“ **O**N a full consideration of the present situation of affairs, and of the extraordinary circumstances which have produced it, I am induced to put an end to this session of parliament: I feel it a duty which I owe to the constitution and to the country, in such a situation, to recur as speedily as possible to the sense of my people, by calling a new parliament.

“ I trust that this means will tend to obviate the mischiefs arising from the unhappy division and distractions which have lately subsisted; and that the various important objects which will require consideration may be afterwards proceeded upon with less interruption, and with happier effect.

“ I can have no other object, but to preserve the true principles of our free and happy constitution, and to employ the powers entrusted to me by law, for the only end for which they were given, to the good of my people.”

Then the earl of Mansfield, lord chief justice of the court of King's Bench, speaker of the house of lords, by his Majesty's command, said,

“ My lords and gentlemen,  
“ It is his Majesty's royal will  
“ and pleasure, that this parliament  
“ be prorogued to Tuesday, the  
“ sixth day of April next, to be then  
“ here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to  
“ Tuesday, the sixth day of April  
“ next,”

“ My lords and gentlemen,  
“ **I** Have the greatest satisfaction in meeting you in parliament at this time, after recurring, in so important a moment, to the sense of my people. I have a just and confident reliance, that you are animated with the same sentiments of loyalty, and the same attachment to our excellent constitution, which I have had the happiness to see so fully manifested in every part of the kingdom. The happy effects of such a disposition will, I doubt not, appear in the temper and wisdom of your deliberations, and in the dispatch of the important objects of public business which demand your attention. It will afford me peculiar pleasure to find that the exercise of the power entrusted to me by the constitution has been productive of consequences so beneficial to my subjects, whose interest and welfare are always nearest my heart.”

“ Gentlemen of the House of Commons.

“ I have ordered the estimates for the current year to be laid before you; and I trust to your zeal and affection to make such provisions for their further supply, and for the application of the sums granted in the last parliament, as may appear to be necessary.

“ I sincerely lament every addition to the burthens of my people; but they will, I am persuaded, feel the necessity, after a long and expensive war, of effectually providing for the maintenance of our national faith and our public credit,  
so



so essential to the power and prosperity of the state."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"The alarming progress of frauds in the revenue, accompanied in so many instances with violence, will not fail on every account to excite your attention. I must, at the same time, recommend to your most serious consideration, to frame such commercial regulations as may appear immediately necessary in the present moment. The affairs of the East India Company form an object of deliberation deeply connected with the general interests of the country. While you feel a just anxiety to provide for the good government of our possessions in that part of the world, you will, I trust, never lose sight of the effect which any measure to be adopted for that purpose may have on our own constitution, and our dearest interests at home. You will find me always desirous to concur with you in such measures as may be of lasting benefit to my people: I have no wish but to consult their prosperity, by a constant attention to every object of national concern, by an uniform adherence to the true principles of our free constitution, and by supporting and maintaining, in their just balance, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature."

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*The humble Address of the right honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament assembled.*

*Die Mercurii, 19 Maii, 1784.*

"Most gracious Sovereign,  
 "WE, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords

spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

"Deeply sensible of the blessings we enjoy under your Majesty's government, we desire to express our satisfaction and gratitude, that in the exercise of the powers vested in you by the constitution, your Majesty has been graciously pleased to recur to the sense of your people at a conjuncture when the situation of public affairs called loudly for that exertion.

"Animated with the truest sentiments of loyalty to your Majesty's person and government, of attachment to our excellent constitution, and of regard for the public welfare, your Majesty may safely rely, that we will enter upon the important objects of public business, which call for our attention, with temper and assiduity, and that we will prosecute them with all the dispatch of which their nature will admit.

"In pursuit of those objects which your Majesty has been pleased to recommend to our consideration, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that we shall apply ourselves with industry to the stopping the alarming progress of frauds in the revenue; and that we shall be ready to co-operate with the other branches of the legislature in framing such further commercial regulations as the present circumstances may require.

"Convinced, as we are, how materially the situation of the affairs of the East India Company is connected with the general interests of the country, and that it forms a most important subject of deliberation,



tion, your Majesty may depend, that in applying our utmost attention to provide for the good government of our possessions in India, we shall well and anxiously weigh the effect which the measures we may adopt may have upon the invaluable constitution of Great Britain.

"We beg leave humbly to assure your Majesty, that we have the fullest conviction of your Majesty's paternal care and affection for your people, and that the prosperity of your subjects is the first object of your royal attention; which could not be more fully manifested than in the resolution your Majesty has taken to support and maintain, in their just balance, the rights and privileges of every branch of the legislature."

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer.*

"My lords,

"I thank you for this very loyal and dutiful address. I receive with great satisfaction every fresh mark of your attachment to me, and your zeal for the public interests, and for the preservation of our most excellent constitution."

*A similar Address was presented by the House of Commons.*

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*Lords Protest on the East India Regulation Bill, 9th August, 1784.*

Dissentient,

"BECAUSE we think the principle of the bill false, unjust, and unconstitutional; false, inasmuch as it provides no effectual remedy for the evils it affects to cure; unjust, as it indiscriminately compels all persons returning from India to furnish

the means of accusation and persecution against themselves; and unconstitutional, because it establishes a new criminal court of judicature, in which the admission of incompetent evidence is expressly directed, and the subject is unnecessarily deprived of his most inestimable birthright, a trial by jury.

PORTLAND,  
CARLISLE,  
CHOLMONDELEY,  
NORTHINGTON."

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*His Majesty's Speech at the close of the first Session of this Parliament, August 20th, 1784.*

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Cannot close this session of parliament without returning you my warmest thanks for the eminent proofs you have given of your zealous and diligent attention to the public service.

"The happiest effects may be expected from the provisions which you have made for the better government of India, and from the institution of a tribunal so peculiarly adapted to the trial of offences committed in that distant country.

"I observe with great satisfaction the laws which you have passed for the preservation and improvement of the revenue. No exertions shall be wanting on my part to give them vigour and effect."

"Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

"The zeal and liberality with which you have provided for the exigencies of the public service, and the assistance which you have given me to prevent a growing arrears in

in the expences of my civil list, demand my particular thanks.

“ I feel in common with you for the unavoidable burdens of my people.

“ The importance of effectually supporting our national credit, after a long and exhausting war, can alone reconcile me to so painful a necessity. I trust the same consideration will enable my faithful subjects to meet it, as they have uniformly done, with fortitude and patience.”

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The definitive treaty which has been signed with the States General of the United Provinces, and the peace concluded in India, as well as the assurances which I receive from foreign powers, promise the continuance of general tranquillity.

“ I trust, therefore, that after so laborious a session, it will not be found necessary to call you again together at a very early period.

“ Many important objects with respect to our trade and commerce, which could not now be provided for, will naturally require your attention after the recess; and such regulations will, I trust, be framed, after a full investigation, as shall be found best calculated to promote the wealth and prosperity of all parts of the empire.”

Then the lord chancellor said,

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ It is his Majesty's royal will and pleasure that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the 26th day of October next, to be then here holden; and this par-

liament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday the 26th day of October next.

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*Ratification of Peace by the American Congress, and their Recommendation of the Loyalists, agreeable to the Fifth Article.*

By the UNITED STATES, in CONGRESS assembled,

#### A PROCLAMATION.

**W**HEREAS definitive articles of peace and friendship between the United States of America and his Britannic Majesty were concluded and signed at Paris, on the 3d day of September, 1783, by the Plenipotentiaries of the said United States, and of his Britannic majesty, duly and respectively authorised for that purpose; which definitive articles are in the words following:

And we the United States in congress assembled, having seen and duly considered the definitive articles aforesaid, did, by a certain act under the seal of the United States, bearing date this 14th day of January, 1784, approve, ratify, and confirm the same, and every part and clause thereof, engaging and promising that we would sincerely and faithfully perform and observe the same, and never suffer them to be violated by any one, or transgressed in any manner, as far as should be in our power: and being sincerely disposed to carry the said articles into execution truly, honestly, and with good faith, according to the intent and meaning thereof, we have thought proper, by these presents, to notify the premises to all

all good citizens of these United States, hereby requiring and enjoining all bodies of magistracy, legislative, executive, and judiciary, all persons bearing office, civil or military, of whatever rank, degree, or powers, and all others the good citizens of these states of every vocation and condition, that reverencing those stipulations entered into on their behalf, under the authority of the federal bond by which their existence as an independent people is bound up together, and is known and acknowledged by the nations of the world, and with that good faith which is every man's surest guide within their several offices, jurisdictions, and vocations, they carry into effect the said definitive articles, and every clause and sentiment thereof, sincerely, strictly, and completely.

Given under the seal of the United States. Witness his Excellency THOMAS MIFFLIN, our President, at Annapolis, this 14th day of January, in the year of our lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-four, and of the sovereignty and independence of the United States of America the eighth.

CHARLES THOMSON, Sec.

And in compliance with the 5th article of the treaty alluded to in the foregoing proclamation, they resolve unanimously, nine states present :—" That it be, and it is hereby earnestly recommended to the legislatures of the respective states, to provide for the restitution of all estates, rights, and properties, which have been confiscated, belonging to real British subjects, and also of the estates, rights, and properties of persons resident in districts which

were in possession of his Britannic majesty's arms, at any time between the 30th day of November 1782, and the 14th day of January 1784, and who have not borne arms against the said United States; and that persons of any other description shall have free liberty to go to any part or parts of any of the thirteen United States, and therein to remain twelve months unmolested, in their endeavours to obtain the restitution of such of their estates, rights, and properties, as may have been confiscated.—And it is also hereby earnestly recommended to the several states, to re-consider and revise all their acts or laws regarding the premises, so as to render the said laws or acts perfectly consistent, not only with justice and equity, but with that spirit of conciliation which on the return of the blessings of peace should universally prevail. And it is hereby also earnestly recommended to the several states, that the estates, rights, and properties of such last-mentioned persons should be restored to them, they refunding to any person who may be now in possession, the bona fide price (where any has been given) which such persons may have paid on purchasing any of the said lands, rights, or properties, since the said confiscation.

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*Letter from the King of Prussia to the States General, in favour of the Prince of Orange.*

WE FREDERICK, &c. &c.

*High and Mighty Lords,*

**Y**OUR High Mightinesses will be pleased to recollect that we have caused a memorial to be laid before

before the States General on the 21st of January 1783, by our envoy extraordinary, the sieur de Thulemeir, requesting you would take such measures as might effectually put an end to the odious persecutions carried on against the Prince Stadtholder, and maintain him in the full enjoyment of those prerogatives which are the rightful attributes of his person and family. The very same requisition had been previously made to the states of Holland and West Friesland, by a letter bearing date January 15th, in the same year. We had flattered ourselves that such friendly exhortations would be taken in good part, be productive of some salutary effect, and contribute to the internal pacification of the United Provinces; yet, to our very great disappointment, we find that the very contrary has been the case, as appears by facts equally public and notorious, which clearly evinces that some persons, actuated by a spirit of faction, ambition, and by selfish views, still continue to persecute the prince of Orange with the greatest animosity, and to molest him unjustly both in his person, and in regard to his prerogatives and dignity.

No one is ignorant in what outrageous manner the above prince is treated in scurrilous libels daily printed and countenanced, and whose authors are not so much as censured by the magistrates. Such libels tend manifestly to exasperate the nation against the said prince, especially as any one who dares speak or write in his favour are prosecuted, ill-treated, banished, nay and punished, as if guilty of some enormous crime. It is likewise known that arbitrary attempts are made to despoil successively the stadtholder of his most im-

portant prerogatives, as it were, one by one, without any right, or even the shadow of a well-grounded motive. We freely confess that we are not acquainted with the internal constitution of the republic in all its parts. Our intention, therefore, cannot be to rate it at its proper value, much less to criticise upon it. Nevertheless, as it is evident to all, that the States General, who represent the republic at large, have by express and irrevocable stipulation deferred to the prince of Orange's father, for himself and heirs, both male and female, the stadtholdership, with all the rights, dignities, and prerogatives thereto belonging, such as were enjoyed by former stadtholders: it does not by any means admit of a doubt, but that such rights and prerogatives as have been enjoyed by the said prince, some of which are now disputed, cannot be abolished or recalled in an arbitrary manner, against his consent, and without the joint concurrence of the whole body of the republic: at least, it appears evident, that no particular city or province can despoil him of such rights and prerogatives, he never having made a bad use of them, as his own well known character, and even the public voice, assures us he has not. Nay, were any doubts to arise in regard to the extent of such rights, natural equity seems even in such cases to require, that those prerogatives hitherto enjoyed by the prince be not taken away or suspended, as has been the case of late; but, on the contrary, that he be supported therein, until the matter should be finally determined, after the serious deliberation and judgment of the general assembly of the states, between the republic and the prince,  
either



either by way of compromise, or a formal and constitutional decision.

“ We cannot believe that the intention of your High Mightinesses, or indeed of any well-meaning member of the state, is to abolish the high office of stadtholder, or to circumscribe it within such narrow limits, or to substitute a mere shadow to the reality. It is rather to be hoped that every sensible citizen of the republic shall gratefully remember, that it is, especially, by the unshaken bravery, the consummate prudence, and even the blood, of the illustrious princes of Orange and Nassau, that during the course of two centuries the freedom of the republic, secured by them, has been supported, and the United Provinces often rescued from the most imminent dangers: such well-wishers to their country must also confess, that during the temporary suspension of the stadtholdership, the state has proved less prosperous, that it has been so torn and distracted by internal faction, that it was nearly brought to final ruin, in so much, that in order to save it from destruction, it was found necessary to restore the office of stadtholder.

“ We know full well, that owing to a dread lest the liberty of the republic should be endangered, the dignity of stadtholder has, at times, been entirely laid aside; but without investigating whether such apprehensions were grounded or not; certain it is, that they cannot exist at present; since the wise and safe policy that actuates the reigning potentates of Europe, those respective powers are watchful for the preservation of each other, and that none of them can tamely suffer, much less contribute to the subversion of the other. You would see us ea-

gerly take the part of the republic, and be the first to act in its behalf, were any such design broached against the states. But we can safely take upon us to assure, that neither the present stadtholder, nor any his most immediate successors, will ever contrive or undertake any thing against the freedom or welfare of the republic, as it is inseparable from their own prosperity; we, on the contrary, could pledge ourselves, that they will ever discharge the high and important office of stadtholder, and exercise its prerogatives conformably to the intentions and meaning of your High Mightinesses, from which they never will depart; and for this we do most solemnly stand pledged to the States General. We can do it the more securely, that we are fully acquainted with the noble and generous principles of the prince of Orange and his consort, as well as those their family must imbibe from them; and that on all occasions we advise them to place their happiness solely in the union and prosperity of the republic; but above all, in a perfect good understanding between them and your High Mightinesses. The connections between our respective states require the very same from us; and as we are in hopes that your High Mightinesses will fully rely on our long experience, we, of course, flatter ourselves you will consider these our representations merely as the emanations of that friendship, which, as their good neighbours, actuates us in favour of the republic; and also of that concern which we must naturally feel for an illustrious house, to which we are so nearly allied; and by no means suppose that we only presume to meddle ourselves in the private affairs of the states, or en-

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croach

croach upon their freedom, grounded on the firmest basis, and so gloriously acquired.

"What we have hitherto adduced, is so self-evident, that it cannot admit of the least doubt, and therefore we do earnestly entreat your High Mightinesses seriously to interpose your authority in the present troubles of the republic, and to take such measures as may tend in the first place to prohibit and repress the publication of those violent and dangerous libels, either against the stadtholder, or even on either side, and punish those who may have wrote or promoted such libels, as tending only to inflame the minds of the nation. On our part we shall take the most effectual steps in the neighbouring dominions, that by proper exertions, and legal prohibitions, a stop may be put to the prosecutions and indecent personalities levelled against the prince and his friends. In order, if possible, to stay in time the alarming progress of the spirit of innovation, and the dangerous train of civil dissensions which generally follows the former; to restore a proper confidence and harmony between the prince and his opposers; to maintain him in the quiet and undisturbed possession of the rights and prerogatives which he has hitherto enjoyed, not permitting his being deprived of any of them in an arbitrary manner, but rather restoring him to the enjoyment of

such as may have been unjustly taken from him; and providing, that henceforth the state affairs be treated of, and settled with him in a satisfactory manner, as it is stipulated by the ancient constitution of the United Provinces. By these means the latter will soon be restored to their wonted peace and tranquillity, and your High Mightinesses will be entitled to the approbation of every well-meaning citizen, and even of all Europe.

"We cannot, considering the situation of our dominions, and of our ancient connections with the republic, forbear feeling the deepest concern for the fate of the illustrious house of Orange, and the continuance of the stadtholdership, which we never can tamely suffer to undergo any alteration. We trust, therefore, that your High Mightinesses will take in good part the contents of this letter; and will consider them as the advice of a true and sincere friend to the republic; and that your High Mightinesses will not refuse to give it some attention, as well as to what may be laid hereafter before them by our minister at the Hague, the sieur de Thulemeir, whenever he has any thing in command from us.

"It is in full confidence thereof that we remain

The good friend and neighbour  
of your High Mightinesses.  
(Signed) FREDERIC."

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE.

For 1785.

*An Account of Mr. Blanchard's Flight across the English Channel, with Dr. Jefferies; together with two letters from the same gentlemen after their arrival at Calais.*

ON Friday, January 7, the wind being N. N. W. very moderate, and the sky clear, Mr. Blanchard, accompanied by Dr. Jefferies, took his departure for the continent in his balloon, from the castle at Dover. Three guns were fired from the castle at nine in the morning, and the flag was hoisted upon the firing of the first gun, as a signal that the aeronauts were preparing to fill the balloon. About ten minutes before its ascension, a fourth gun was fired, as a signal that the aerial vessel and voyagers were about to depart. The balloon was completely filled by one o'clock; the vessel, which ascended with it in the five former voyages, was affixed: the courageous and intrepid voyagers took their seats; the oars and fly, used in the last voyages, were placed in the boat; nine bags of ballast, the French edition of Mr. Blanchard's voyage with Mr. Sheldon; a large inflated bladder, con-

taining a number of letters from people of the first distinction in this country, to several of the French nobility, a compass and some philosophical instruments, a small bottle of brandy, two beautiful silk ensigns, English and French, a few biscuits, and two cork jackets, made the whole of their cargo. Mr. Blanchard had adapted an apparatus to sustain himself and friend, without the boat, which weighed sixty-four pounds, if they should have occasion for an addition of levity upon the voyage. The balloon was filled in about two hours and a half, and the process conducted by Mr. Blanchard, and Mr. Decker, of Berwick-street, Soho.—They ascended at 13 minutes past one, close to the large gun, well known by the name of Queen Anne's pocket pistol. Mr. Blanchard kept the balloon in exact equilibrium for a considerable time. The greatest silence reigned among the numerous concourse of spectators, until Mr. Blanchard had got so far from the cliff as to be over the sea. He stood erect in the car, and saluted the spectators most gracefully, by bowing, taking off his hat, and

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waving

waving his ensign. He was then cheered by the loudest acclamations.

The balloon continued its route in the horizontal direction, then appeared to rise; and at one time the balloon was so low, as apparently to touch the sea; then rose again, and was seen much above the cliffs on the French coast, and disappeared in the horizon far beyond them. The balloon reached the continent between Calais and Boulogne; was seen by glasses from the English shore till ten minutes past three, far over the land; and an account was brought by a king's cutter, at five o'clock, that the balloon descended at twenty-five minutes past three, at Banni. Mr. Blanchard was in the highest spirits at his departure.—It was exceeding cold.—He wore his great coat.—Dr. Jefferies was in a light sailor's dress.

No certain accounts have as yet been received from France of their arrival, but there is not the least doubt entertained at Dover of the balloon having crossed the channel, as the French coast could be clearly discovered as well as the balloon. This is the sixth voyage performed by Mr. Blanchard in this balloon, and one of the most singular and bold attempts ever made by man. Mr. Blanchard and Dr. Jefferies have the honour of being the first aerial mariners.

Mr. Blanchard has taken with him to France letters from the prince of Wales, the duchess of Devonshire, and many of the nobility, to madame de Polignac, count d'Artois, the duc de Chartres, and most of the principal personages of the French court.

*Extract of a letter from Dr. Jefferies, dated Calais, Jan. 8, 1785.*

“ Heaven has crowned my utmost wishes with success; I cannot describe to you the magnificence of our voyage. When about mid-channel, and at high elevation, we had such a prospect of the country as surpasses my descriptive faculties; when two-thirds over, we had expended the whole of our ballast. At about five or six miles from the French coast, we were again falling rapidly towards the sea, on which occasion my noble *little captain* gave orders, and set the example, by beginning to strip our aerial car, first of our silk and finery; this not giving us sufficient release, we cast one wing, then the other; after which I was obliged to unscrew and cast away our *moulinet*; yet still approaching the sea very fast, and the boats being much alarmed for us, we, though unwillingly, cast away first one anchor, then the other; after which, my little hero stripped, and threw away his coat (great coat). On this I was compelled to follow his example. Then he stripped, and cast away his trowsers. We put on our cork jackets, and were, God knows how, but as merry as grigs, to think how we should splutter in the water. We had a fixed cord, &c. to mount into our upper story, and I believe both of us, as though inspired, felt ourselves confident of success in the event. Luckily, at this instant, we found the mercury beginning to fall in the barometer, and we soon ascended much higher than ever before, and made a most beautiful and lofty *entrée* into France exactly at three o'clock. We entered rising, and to such



## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [325

such a height, that the arch we described brought us down just twelve miles into the country, when we descended most tranquilly into the midst of the forest *De Felmeres*, almost as naked as the trees, not an inch of cord or rope left, no anchor, or any thing else to help us, nor a being within several miles. My good little captain begged for all my exertion to stop at the top of the first tree I could reach. I succeeded beyond my comprehension, and you would have laughed to see us, each without a coat of any sort, Mr. Blanchard assisting at the *valve*, and I holding the top of a lofty tree, and the balloon playing to and fro over us, holding almost too severe a contest for my arms. It took exactly twenty-eight minutes to let out air enough to relieve the balloon without injury. We soon heard the wood surrounded with footmen, horsemen, &c. and received every possible assistance from them. I was soon well mounted, and had a fine gallop of seven miles. We were invited to the chateau or seat of monsieur de Sandrouin, where we received every polite attention, and were led through a noble suite of apartments, to partake of an elegant refreshment, &c. and at nine o'clock sent away in an elegant chariot and six horses, but under a promise that we would call at the chateau of Mr. Brounot, at Arainghan, where we staid about an hour, and then set off again as before towards Calais, where we arrived between one and two o'clock this morning. I was surprised to find the difficulties of access; five very strong gates, bridges, &c. the guards very vigilant, but had all orders to let us pass, the commandant having sat up for us. We visited him, and were very politely received; but the at-

tentions of Mr. Mouron and his family exceeded all description. This morning the mayor, governor, commandant, the officers in a body, the king's attorney-general, &c. have been to pay us a congratulatory visit; and we have been complimented as they compliment the king alone, by sending us the wine of the city. A patent is now making out to make my captain a citizen of Calais. We are receiving honours and attentions much above our merit."

To the above account we have authority to add, that the corporation of Calais have come to a resolution of erecting a monument to perpetuate the memory of the two intrepid aeronauts.

*Extract of a letter from Mr. Blanchard, dated Calais, Jan. 8.*

"We arrived here safe and well, and are at this moment with Mr. Mouron, to whose house we came last night. At the instant of my writing to you, the magistrates are busy in preparing a patent to make me a citizen of Calais. To this singular honour, they have added that of sending me the wine of the city, a compliment paid only to royalty, and inviting me to a public dinner. I cannot express my feelings on those marks of favour, which honour me far more highly than my feeble efforts have deserved.

"Mr. le commandant, who had so politely attended our arrival, and made the gates of the city to be opened to us, has behaved in a manner not less flattering. They drew out their cannon to salute us immediately on our appearing above the French coast; and I can scarcely finish this short billet, so eager are

they to felicitate me on an event which has doubtless been attended with much danger; for we were two hours on the sea, and had never reached hither, but by stripping ourselves of all our clothes. By the next post I will give you a more exact and circumstantial detail.

“ I am, &c.

“ BLANCHARD.”

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*Resolutions and Address to the People of Ireland, by the Irish Delegates.*

*The following AUTHENTIC PAPER has been published by the IRISH CONGRESS, since their last Adjournment.*

National Assembly of Delegates, for promoting a more equal representation of the people in parliament, held in Dublin on Thursday, the 20th of January, 1785, and from thence continued till Friday, the 4th of February following, pursuant to adjournment from the 27th of October, 1784.

A Motion being made and seconded, That printed paper, entitled, “ A Third Address from the Society for Constitutional Information, to the People of Great Britain and Ireland,” be now read; and the question being put, and carried unanimously in the affirmative, the same was read accordingly.

Resolved unanimously, That the said address, as relating to a parliamentary reform, comes properly within the consideration of this assembly.

Resolved unanimously, That the said address appears to be intended to promote and defend the rights

of the subjects of Great Britain and Ireland conjointly.

Resolved unanimously, That it is the opinion of this assembly, that the expressions of affectionate regard and common interest between the two kingdoms, contained in said address, demand grateful applause, and the kindest acknowledgments on the part of the people of Ireland; and that it appears to be the wish of the people of Ireland, and equally for the advantage of both kingdoms, that such sentiments of mutual friendship should be universally cherished between the two countries.

Resolved therefore unanimously, That a copy of the above resolutions be transmitted to the said society, as a token of the grateful and brotherly regards towards them, entertained by the assembly of Delegates, appointed for the promoting a parliamentary reform in Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That a sufficient number of copies of the following address be printed, and that the same be published in Great Britain and Ireland.

Resolved unanimously, That our president have power to convene this assembly prior to the day of adjournment, if occasion shall require.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this assembly be given to our worthy president, William Sharman, esq; for his very upright, able, and spirited conduct in the chair.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this assembly be given to Simon Isaac, esq; our worthy member, for his very proper and impartial conduct as chairman of the committee.

Resolved unanimously, That the thanks of this assembly be given to our worthy member, John Talbot Ashenhurst,

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [327

Ashenhurst, esq. for acting as secretary, and for his proper conduct and attention to this assembly.

Resolved unanimously, That this assembly do now adjourn till Wednesday, the 20th of April next, then to meet in Dublin.

### *To the* PEOPLE of IRELAND.

WE, the assembly of delegates, for promoting a parliamentary reform, have deliberated with care, and with the warmest zeal, upon the subjects referred to our consideration. We have, therefore, contented ourselves for the present, with considering and reducing into some order the materials which we have hitherto been able to collect, leaving to a future meeting the probability of affording further lights, conscious at the same time how much must be referred to parliament.

Continue to cherish an affectionate attachment to his majesty, and a reliance on his paternal attention to the liberties of his subjects, trusting that his majesty's councils, and the wisdom of parliament, will devise some effectual means to gratify the wishes of a peaceable and loyal people.

Persevere in a due respect to the authority of the laws, and the dignity of the legislature.

Encourage those kind sentiments of affection to Great Britain, which already animate this country, and which ought to subsist between associates in the cause of freedom.

Turn your attention to those grievances which have called forth the voice, and awakened the exertions of Great Britain; and remember, that this country labours under a more enormous and complicated usurpation.

Your right to a controul over your representatives, by frequency of election, has been infringed.—Oaths are multiplied upon electors, whilst the consciences of the elected are left at large. Your counties groan under aristocratic combinations; and, even if they were free, their members compose but a fifth, whilst a few individuals nominate a large majority of the representative body. The freedom of your cities has been undermined by perversion of their charters; and their independence is oppressed by a multitude of fraudulent electors. Places and pensions are the rewards of apotacy.—Your boroughs are become the property of individuals, which they notoriously barter for gain, and a price is thus set on the rights of a people.

If these enormities be not corrected, the house of commons may in time become so degraded by venality, and disfigured by innovation, that the best administration may find corruption a necessary engine of government. The rapacity of your representatives may prey upon the earnings of your industry. The protectors of your rights may receive the wages of treachery. The trustees of the people may become the partisans of factious nobles. The prerogative of the crown and the liberty of the subject may be equally overwhelmed, and the house of commons may at length cease to be the representative of the people.

We conjure you to look back to the glory of your former successes; and we solemnly remind you, that the sacred honour of the nation is pledged for the attainment of a parliamentary reform; without that, the accomplishment of this great

object, your commercial interests, are insecure, and the independence of your legislature but a name.

You have sent us to consult upon the means of redressing your grievances. We have told you the progress of our deliberations, we exhort you to recollect, that upon yourselves depends the completion of your wishes. Shun the extremes of temerity and indolence. Keep alive the spirit, but let prudence regulate the activity of your zeal. Believe, for you feel it, that patriotism exalts; be warned, but not seduced, by the example of those who have usurped your rights; nor think that the dignity of constitutional assemblies can be degraded by the mockery of men who add insult to oppression. Reward with your favour, and encourage with your confidence, those who have stood forward in your cause, from the threats of unconstitutional power, which endeavours to subdue the unconquerable spirit of a free people. Informed of what the laws permit, neither transgress their bounds, nor distrust their protection. Lawyers may cavil about forms, but your rights are unalienable, and redress is in your power. Cunning, cabal, and violence, are opposed to prudence, union, and perseverance. Time shall lead us to success, and we shall wear those honours well which we shall have obtained by honourable exertions.—This struggle for their liberties will inform the minds, and fortify the hearts of Irishmen; and when they shall have obtained, they will have sense to perceive and resolution to preserve the blessings of a free constitution.—Teach posterity, that temper and firmness can produce what in other countries has been accomplished by blood.—Per-

severe therefore, unless you would be the mockery of the world, and would have your triumph of yesterday become the reproach of to-day.

W. SHARMAN, President.

J. T. ASHENHURST, Sec.

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*Particulars relative to the unfortunate Death of M. Pilatre du Rosiere, and M. Romain, who perished from their Balloon's taking Fire, while they were at the Height of three-fourths of a Mile from the Earth.*

*Wednesday, June 15th.*

A BALLOON was launched from Boulogne, in France, which took up Monsieur Pilatre du Rosiere, and another gentleman: when they were at an amazing height, the balloon took fire, burnt the cords by which the car was suspended, and the above gentlemen were dashed to pieces in a manner too shocking to mention.

*Extract of a letter to Mr. Fessler, at Dover, dated Boulogne, June 15, 1785.*

"As you will naturally be desirous to know the particulars of the unhappy fate of our two aeronauts, who perished this morning, you may depend on the following, of which I was an eye-witness.

"At a quarter past seven they ascended, and for the first twenty minutes appeared to take the best possible direction; when, for a few seconds, they appeared stationary; then took a direction to the left, towards Portee; then a contrary direction, and at about three quarters of a mile's height the whole was in flames, from the fire of the Montgolfier, and fell with incredible velocity on Huitmille Warren, where the



the two unfortunate adventurers were found, instantly on their fall, Pilatre with his thighs both broke, and a violent contusion on his breast; he was dead before his descent, apparently. Romain had both his legs broken, and most of his limbs disjointed, but breathed for some moments, and uttered the exclamation, *O Jesu!* and instantly expired.

"Excuse me; the subject has so affected me, that I can say no more. There were faggots and staves all round the gallery, and the fire actually blew about the gallery at the moment of their ascension. The whole scene lasted about fifty minutes."

The unfortunate M. Pilatre de Rosiere, was the person that ventured first to sail through the unexplored fields of air, in company with M. d'Arlande at Paris; it is a mistaken notion that M. Montgolfier first ascended with a balloon; true it is, that he invented, but did not trust himself with one *off terra firma*. About three months ago, a new Museum was opened at Paris, under the sanction of the royal family and nobility of France, called Rosiere's Museum, for, independent of his skill in aerostation, he was a man of extraordinary knowledge and science; and his love and ardent desire of improving aerostation, may be said to have been the cause of his death: his machine, a *Carolo Montgolfier*, was constructed in the following method—in order to try a new experiment he made a small balloon, filled with inflammable air, which he fixed topmost, suspended to which was an enormous Montgolfier (a balloon of rarified air) to supply which, he was obliged to

carry up a fire suspended to that as well as the gallery, which was the cruel cause of the very melancholy disaster; the whole apparatus was above 70 feet high, and formed in its ascension an astonishing spectacle.

It seems agreed that they came down to the ground alive, notwithstanding the altitude, and the received opinion of the probability of the contrary, for they fell in a perpendicular position, as it proved in the dreadful fractures of their legs, from the violent concussion on the ground. Besides, a man who was working in a field, heard Mons. de Romain say something in his descent through a speaking trumpet, but what, he could not tell. In the history of human calamities and tragical events, one can scarcely be produced more truly shocking, more awfully impressive than this.—Rosiere's fate is lamented by every one here, as he conciliated the affections of all by the urbanity and elegance of his manners; he was a scholar and a scientific character, and high in favour with the king of France. His mutilated remains, with those of his companion, were interred a few hours after the accident, at the village near which they lost their lives.—A doctrinal lesson in their fate is held out to those who may in future be tempted to such useless achievements, of no benefit to mankind or themselves. Let such, when they conceive the idea of navigating an element, never intended to be so by man, remember the fate of Icarus and Phaeton, but more so the real fall of Pilatre de Rosiere!

#### E P I T A P H E.

*Cy git le brave De Rozier,  
Qui d'un ballon, fut le premier,  
Diriger*

*Diriger la marche rapide ;  
Il fut heureux ; il fut content ;  
Mais maintenant la mort avide  
Du ballon fait son monument.*

FREE TRANSLATION OF THE  
ABOVE.

Sacred to thee, Rosiere, this stone,  
Who first th' advent'rous art  
essay'd,  
To rule at will the swift balloon,  
Amidst the ambient air dis-  
play'd ;  
When from Death's store a cruel dart  
was sent,  
To make thy Aeroſtaut thy Mo-  
nument !

M. Pilatre de Rosiere was in England a fortnight ago, and dined at lord Orford's, at Blackheath, in company with Mr. Blanchard, on the King's birth-day, and he left London with the Marquis de la Maisonfort, whom he had promised should accompany him in his expedition across the channel ; but on his arrival at Boulogne, M. Romain insisted on a prior promise of ascending with him, and thus the Marquis may thank his better stars that he has escaped this horrible disaster. A monument has been erected by the king of France's order, on the spot where M. Rosiere descended in his first expedition, and we hear another monument is to be erected at Boulogne, in memory of this too cruel catastrophe.

M. Pilatre de Rosiere was preceded with different balloons in the presence of the kings of France and Sweden, emperor of Germany, and prince Henry of Prussia, and it was his intention, on his arrival in England, after crossing the sea, to have made several experiments in London. He was a gentlemen of con-

siderable fortune, and very much esteemed by the scientific all over Europe.

M. Pilatre de Rosiere was born in Franche Comté. He was placed as an apprentice to an apothecary, from whom he soon ran away to Paris, finding his genius superior to so retired a situation. He commenced the study of natural philosophy and physic, and, having acquired reputation, became an object of royal attention, and was honoured by the king's commands to make the first ascent in a Montgolfier, constructed by the order, and at the expence of his majesty.—He succeeded to his wish, and obtained a very handsome pension, and several honourable and lucrative employments. The king having suggested a wish that he should cross the channel from Boulogne, he repaired to that place in the winter, and constructed a balloon at his majesty's expence.—He had waited at that place several months for a favourable wind, and there fell in love with a young lady (a Miss Dyer, a great fortune in Yorkshire) sent from England to learn the French language, and very lately returned home. His apprehension that her charms might produce the same effect in England induced him immediately to follow her, and he obtained the approbation of her friends, who, on enquiry, finding the connection would be advantageous and honourable, consented it should take place immediately on his return to England. Every tender mind must partake of the distress this poor young lady will feel from so horrid a catastrophe, when it comes to her knowledge.

The unfortunate Pilatre de Rosiere, a few days previous to his late departure

departure for France, sat for his portrait to Russell, by which circumstance a very striking likeness is preserved of that celebrated philosopher.

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*Extracts from Dr. Burney's Account of the Commemoration of Handel, in May 1784.*

“AT the general rehearsal in the abbey\*, more than 500 persons got admission, in spite of every endeavour to prevent it. This suggested the idea of turning the eagerness of the public to some profitable account for the charity, by fixing the price of admission at half a guinea each person. The pleasure and astonishment of the audience at the great effects of this first experiment, were not without their use; for the public in general did not manifest much eagerness in securing tickets until after this rehearsal, Friday May 21, which was reported to have astonished even the performers themselves. But the undertaking became so interesting by this favourable rumour, and the demand for tickets so great, that it was found necessary to close the subscription; which was done so rigorously, that Dr. Burney, on Monday 24th, could not obtain of the managers tickets of any kind, on any terms, for some friends, who had neglected to give in their names sooner.

So many families and individuals were attracted to the capital, that the town was never so full so late in the year, except at the coronation.

Many of the performers came unsolicited, from the remotest parts of the kingdom, at their own expence.

Foreigners, particularly the French, must have been astonished at so numerous a band, moving in such exact measure, without the assistance of a Coryphæus to beat time. Rousseau says, that “the more time is beaten, the less it is kept.” Certain it is, that the fury of the *musical-general* encreasing with the confusion of his troops, he becomes more violent, and his gesticulations more ridiculous, in proportion to their disorder. The celebrated Lulli may be said to have beat himself to death; for in regulating with his cane a *Te Deum*, for the recovery of Lewis XIV. in 1686, he wounded his foot in so violent a manner, that it mortified, and he expired at the age of fifty-four.

This is the first instance of any numerous band performing without the assistance of a *manu-ductor* to regulate the measure. The totality of sound seemed to proceed from one voice and one instrument.

These effects will be long remembered by the present public, perhaps to the disadvantage of all other choral performances; run the risk of being doubted by all but those who heard them; and the present description of being pronounced fabulous, should it survive the present generation.

#### *The Five Performances.*

Dr. Burney, in remarking on the first days performance, says, such stillness reigned, as perhaps never happened before in so large an as-

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\* As the commemoration of Handel is now intended to return annually, and as the years 1784 and 5 have so nearly resembled each other, both with respect to the music and the industry of the performers, we shall give this one account as for both.



sembly; and the midnight hour was never sounded in more perfect tranquillity, than every note of these compositions. During his travels in Europe, he never observed so much curiosity excited, attention bestowed, or satisfaction glow, in the countenances of those present, as on this occasion. The effects were such as modern times have never before experienced. The choral power of harmonic combinations affected some to tears and fainting; while others were melted and enrapt by the exquisite sweetness of single sounds. When the doctor happened to turn his eyes from the performers, he saw nothing but tears of extasy, and looks of wonder and delight.

At the second performance at the Pantheon, the audience were neither so attentive, nor so willing to be pleased, as at the abbey; though the band this night consisted of two hundred of the most select performers, with the addition of Signor Pacchierotti.

On the third day, when Mara was performing the affecting air with which the third part of the Messiah is opened, there was no eye within Dr. Burney's view which did not

"Silently a gentle tear let fall."

At the rehearsal of the fourth performance, upwards of 800 paid half a guinea each for admission.

During the fourth performance, at the second strain in the chorus in Esther, "Earth trembles," &c. there is a grandeur of expression and effect, which, as it was the first time Dr. Burney had heard it performed, acted on his feelings in a very uncommon manner.

The company on the fifth day seemed of a higher class than had yet appeared. In this performance, when the whole chorus from each side of the orchestra, joined by all the instruments, burst out, "He is the King of Glory;" the effect was so admirable, that tears came into the eyes of several of the performers; neither was this effect superficial, or confined to the orchestra.

For accuracy of execution, and grandeur of effect, the three last performances merited still warmer praise than the two first.

*Extract from Count Benincasa's \*  
Letter to Dr. Burney.*

"I shall long have before my eyes that beautiful temple, whose pointed vaults ascend to Heaven; that immense crowd of the most beautiful and wealthy inhabitants of the first city in the universe; the interesting spectacle of a royal family, whose beauty charms, and whose goodness captivates, every eye and heart; and that prodigious orchestra, which never before had existence on the earth; and which, by its admirable arrangement, seemed, like music itself, to descend from the skies.

"Since the inexhaustible riches and variety of harmony were first displayed, I believe that it has not been possible, till now, to assemble upwards of 500 musicians; and, which is still more extraordinary, without impeding, by their number, the most accurate and finished execution."

\* Count Benincasa is a Venetian nobleman, whose authority in the musical world stands very high.

Though



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [333

Though upwards of 500 musicians were employed in the Messiah, yet such is the musical strength of this country, that it could have furnished an equal number for the other end of the abbey, with Giardini, Barthelemon, Salomon, &c. &c. at their head.

## *Fund for decayed Musicians, and their Families.*

Dr. Burney, in an appendix, gives an account of the Musical Fund, instituted in 1738, for the support of decayed musicians and their families.

Previously to the grand accession of the commemoration money, the society had been honoured with but few benefactions. In 1758, Mr. Rojere, a professional subscriber, bequeathed to it 100l.; in 1760, Mr. Waldron ditto 50l.; in 1782, Mr. Mathias, a merchant and honorary subscriber, 50l.; but the chief bequest was from Handel, who left the society 1000l.

The society, in 45 years, accumulated a capital of 12,000l. South Sea annuities and three per cents, besides paying their indigent brethren and their families 24,814l. 14s. The society pays at present 65l. 16s. 8d. a month, or 790l. a year.

The commemoration has increased the capital to 22,000l. South Sea annuities and three per cents; which ascertains an income of 678l. a year, exclusive of benefit or subscriptions.

## *State of Money received, in consequence of the Five Commemoration Musical Performances. From Dr. Burney's Account.*

Received the first day at Westminster.

abbey, Wednesday,			
May 26, 1784	—	2966	5 0
Second performance in the Pantheon,			
Thursday, May 27		1690	10 0
Third performance in the abbey,			
Saturday, May 29		2626	1 0
Fourth performance, Thurf. June 3		1603	7 0
Fifth performance, Saturday, June 5		2117	17 0
At three several rehearsals in Westminster-abbey and Pantheon	—	944	17 10
His Majesty's most gracious donation		525	0 0
By sale of printed books of the words		262	15 0
Whole receipts		12,736	12 10

## *Disbursement of Sums expended and appropriated to Charitable Purposes.*

To Mr. James Wyatt, for building in the abbey and the Pantheon	—	1969	12 0
Mr. Ashley, for payment of the band, &c.	—	1976	17 0
Rent and illumination of the Pantheon	—	156	16 0
Advertising in town and country papers	—	236	19 0
Printing books of the words	—	289	2 0
Door-keepers	—	102	1 6
Use of the organ		100	0 0
High and petty constables	—	100	5 0
Gratifications	—	167	5 0
Engraving cheques			

and

# 334] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

and tickets, striking medals, drawings, guards, porters, and fundry incidents	351	8	10
To the society for decayed musicians	6000	0	0
To the Westminster hospital	1000	0	0
In the hands of Redmond Simpson, sub-treasurer, to answer subsequent demands	286	6	6
Whole disbursement, errors excepted	12,736	12	10

REDMOND SIMPSON.

## LIST of the DIRECTORS.

Earl of Exeter.  
Earl of Uxbridge.  
Earl of Sandwich.  
Sir W. W. Wynne, bart.  
Sir Richard Jebb, bart.

## ASSISTANT DIRECTORS.

Dr. Benjamin Cooke.  
Dr. Samuel Arnold.  
Red. Simpson, esq.  
T. S. Dupuis, esq.  
Mr. John Jones.  
Mr. Theo. Aylward.  
Mr. Wm. Parsons.  
Mr. Edward Ayrton.

CONDUCTOR, Joah Bates, esq.

*The following is a List of the principal Performers.*

## INSTRUMENTAL.

First violins.—Mess. Hay, Cramer, Richards, and 46 assistants. — 49  
Second violins.—Mess. Borghi, Dance, and 50 assistants. 52  
Tenors.—Mr. Napier, right

side; Mr. Hackwood, left side, and 30 assistants. — 32  
Oboes.—Mess. Vincent, Fischer, Eiffert, Parke, and 8 assistants. — 12  
Second oboes.—Mess. Arnult, Cornish, and 12 assistants. — 14  
Flutes.—Mr. Buckley, and 6 more. — 7  
Violoncellos.—Mess. Crofdill, Cervetto, Paxton, Mara, and 26 assistants. — 30  
Bassoons.—Mess. Baumgarten, Hogg, Lyon, Parkinson, and 21 assistants. — 25  
D. Bassoon.—Mr. Ashley. 1  
D. Basses.—Mess. Gariboldi, Rd. Sharp, Clagget, Pasquali, and 14 assistants. — 18  
Trumpets.—Mess. Serjeant, Jenkins, Vinicomb, and 11 assistants. — 14  
Trombones.—Mess. Zinck, Miller, and Neibuker — 3  
Horns.—Mr. English, and 11 more — 12  
Drums.—Mr. Nelson, and 3 more. — 4  
D. Drums.—M. Ashbridge 1

## VOCAL PERFORMERS.

Cantos.—Madam Mara, Miss Harwood, Cantelo, Abrams, S. Abrams, Sign. Bartolini, Pacchierotti, and 15 assistants. 22  
Altos.—Reverend M. Clark, Mess. Dyne, Knyvett, and 48 assistants. — 54  
Tenors.—Mess. Harrison, Norris-Oxford, Corse-Salisbury, and 63 assistants. — 66  
Basses.—Mess. Champness, Reinhold, Sign. Tafca, Mr. Matthews, and 65 assistants. — 69  
Total of the band 482

*West*

*West India Meeting, on the Irish Resolutions, March 9.*

**A**T a meeting of the West India planters and merchants, convened about ten days ago, for the purpose of considering the propositions respecting the final commercial settlement with Ireland, it was determined that a committee should be appointed, to take such measures as should appear to them best, for preventing any mischiefs which might arise from the importation of West India produce through the medium of Ireland. A committee was accordingly appointed \*; who, at their first meeting resolved, as the most respectful way of obtaining information, that a deputation from them should wait upon Mr. Pitt, to know what regulations and restrictions he proposed making, to prevent prejudice to their body. This deputation waited upon him, and were told that he had not formed any regulations in this business; but that he wished to have such as they could prepare. Accordingly, a select committee was directed to draw up such regulations as they should think best calculated to effectuate the proposed object; which sub-committee, after considering the business for some time, came to a resolution to the following effect:

First resolution in the sub-committee of last Saturday.

Resolved, "That after the most deliberate and mature consideration, this committee cannot suggest or point out any restrictions and regulations sufficient, in their opinion, to prevent the pernicious effects which will arise from the importation of West India produce into Great Britain, through the medium of Ireland."

This resolution was reported to the standing committee, who, after considerable debate, and long consideration, agreed to it, and confirmed it on Monday last, and of consequence came to a resolution to the following effect:

Resolved, "That it is the opinion of this committee, that an humble petition from the West India planters and merchants, should be forthwith presented to the house of commons, stating their alarms and apprehensions on the subject of the commercial adjustment between Great Britain and Ireland; and praying that so much of the said commercial adjustment, as proposes to allow the importation of West India produce, raw, or manufactured, from Ireland into Great Britain, may not pass into a law; but that the privilege of supplying her own markets with the produce of her own colonies, may be preserved inviolate to this country; and that the petitioners may, if necessary, be permitted to be heard by

\* The committee appointed by the general meeting of West India planters and merchants, to attend the proceedings of parliament in the Irish business, and to propose necessary regulations and restrictions from time to time, to the Chancellor of the Exchequer, consists of the twelve following persons: viz. Lord Penrhyn, member for Liverpool; Sir Thomas Charles Bunbury, late member for Suffolk; Mr. Beckford, member for Arundel; Mr. Fuller, agent for Jamaica; Mr. Neave, governor of the Bank; Mr. B. Long, Mr. Boddington, directors of the Bank; Mr. J. Hankey; Mr. Bryan Edwards; Mr. Edward Long; Mr. Vaughan; and Mr. Spooner.

counsel,

counsel, at the bar of the house, in support of their said petition."

March 18th.

*The following are the several Regulations and Restrictions proposed by way of Queries, to Mr. Pitt, by the deputation from the West India body, on Sunday Morning last, the 13th, with Mr. Pitt's Answers to them respectively.*

It being the opinion of the general meeting of West India planters and merchants, that the resolutions of the Irish house of commons will open the door for the clandestine importation of foreign West India produce into Great Britain, unless proper regulations and restrictions are established to prevent it;

The committee deputed by them to confer with Mr. Pitt on the subject, beg leave to submit to his consideration the following queries, to which they request the favour of his answer, that they may make a report to the general meeting for their concurrence.

I. Whether we may depend upon having such regulations for the West Indies, as may be necessary to prevent the introduction of foreign West India produce into and from our islands?

Answer. Yes, *as far as depends upon Mr. Pitt.*

II. Whether we may depend upon the Navigation Laws being complied with in Ireland respecting ships coming from the Islands, so that none but such as are *bona fide* British or Irish, or made free according to the regulations in Great Britain for that purpose, be admitted into Ireland?

Answer. The Navigation Act is

already in force. Mr. Pitt *has no doubt* that what new regulations may be necessary will be complied with.

III. Whether we can depend on having the same regulations at the custom-house in Ireland, as are in force in Great Britain, respecting certificates from the islands, and any other regulations that are adopted or may be thought necessary for preventing the importation of foreign West India produce into both countries?

Answer. Mr. Pitt will take care that effectual measures shall be *proposed* for that purpose.

IV. Whether we may depend on British and foreign West India produce being at all times imported into Ireland upon duties respectively equal to those paid in Great Britain; and that the laws in Ireland for these purposes shall be made permanent?

Answer. He has *no reason to doubt* of its being done.

V. Whether we can depend upon the same regulations with respect to the export of refined sugars from Ireland as from Great Britain, in order to prevent the smuggling of such into Great Britain, after the bounty is obtained? And,

VI. Whether we can depend upon Ireland adopting our regulations now in force against smuggling vessels?

Answer. He *imagines* there will be no difficulty to either of the two above regulations.

VII. Whether the above regulations cannot be made upon such a footing, that any infraction of them taking place on the part of Ireland, the present concessions made on the part of Great Britain, respecting



ing the West India trade, shall also become void?

Answer. YES.

*The following Address to the different trading Towns in Ireland, was unanimously agreed to at a Meeting of the Council of the Chamber of Commerce of the City of Dublin, on Thursday June the 9th.*

THE council of the chamber of commerce of the city of Dublin, viewing with the most anxious apprehension twenty resolutions, which have lately passed the British House of Commons, relative to a commercial arrangement with this kingdom, and which appear to this council likely to affect in a very important degree the rights and interests of Ireland, take this public method of earnestly recommending to their brethren in the several trading towns and ports throughout

the kingdom, to lose no time in taking the said resolutions into the most serious consideration, to the end that they may be prepared, as soon as possible, to lay their sentiments thereon, in the most respectful manner, before the parliament of Ireland. And the council take the liberty of suggesting the propriety of immediate petitions to the house of commons, expressive of the earnest wishes of the merchants and traders of Ireland, that the said resolutions may not be precipitated through that honourable assembly; and as every opportunity has been allowed to the merchants and manufacturers of the sister kingdom to urge their opinions to their representatives, humbly intreating that equal opportunities may be given to those of Ireland: and therefore most earnestly praying that the said resolutions be not adopted during this session of parliament.

## A GENERAL LIST

OF THE

## DISEASES and CASUALTIES,

From DECEMBER 14, 1784, to DECEMBER 13, 1785.

DISEASES.		CASUALTIES.	
<b>A</b> Bortive and Still-born 660	Diabetes 895	Measles 20	BIT by a mad dog 3
Abscess 2	Dropsy 8	Miscarriage 5	Broken Limbs 3
Aged 1355	Evil 8	Mortification 149	Bruised 1
Ague 8	Fever, malignant Fever, Scarlet Fever, Spotted Fever, and Purples 2310	Palsy 79	Burnt 12
Apoplexy and Sud-den 234	Fistula 6	Pleurisy 21	Choaked 101
Asthma and Phthi-sic 336	Flux 11	Rash 6	Drowned 101
Bed-ridden 11	French Pox 42	Rheumatism 5	Excessive Drinking 3
Bleeding 10	Gout 52	Rickets 1	Executed 32
Bloody Flux 4	Gravel, Stone, and Strangury 30	Rising of the Lights 1	Found Dead 6
Bursten and Rup-ture 7	Grief 4	Scald Head 1	Frighted 1
Cancer 40	Head-Ach 3	Scurvy 5	Killed by Falls and several other Ac-cidents 53
Canker 40	Headmouldshot, Hor-shoehead, and Wa-ter in the Head 22	Small Pox 1999	Killed themselves 31
Chicken Pox 161	Jaundice 63	Sore Throat 10	Murdered 1
Childbed 161	Impossthume 1	St. Anthony's Fire 2	Overlaid 2
Cholic, Gripes, twist-ing of the Guts 15	Inflammation 205	Stoppage in the Sto-mach 7	Poisoned 2
Cold 8	Itch 3	Surfeit 1	Scalded 2
Consumption 4569	Leprosy 3	Swelling 1	Shot 1
Convulsions 4552	Lethargy 1	Teeth 398	Smothered 2
Cough and Hooping-Cough 194	Liverrgrown 5	Thrush 65	Starved 4
	Lunatick 44	Tympany 1	Suffocated 5
		Vomiting and Loofe-ness 1	Total 260
		Worms 10	

Christened { Males 9085      Buried { Males 9447      Increased in the Burials  
                   Females 8834                              Females 9472      this Year, 1091.

Total Males and Females Christened 17919.—Total Males and Females Buried 18919.

Died under Two Years 6177	—Thirty and Forty 1772	—Eighty and Ninety 454
Between Two and Five 1626	—Forty and Fifty 1966	—Ninety and a Hundred 67
—Five and Ten 716	—Fifty and Sixty 1586	A Hundred 1
—Ten and Twenty 653	—Sixty and Seventy 1399	A Hundred and One 1
—Twenty and Thirty 1481	—Seventy and Eighty 1019	A Hundred and Three 1

The

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [339

The following authentic Extracts from the Corn-Register are taken from Accounts collected from the Custom-House Books, and delivered to Mr. John James Catherwood, by Authority of Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantities of all Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into England and Scotland, with the Bounties and Drawbacks paid, and the Duties received thereon, for one Year ended the 5th of January 1786.*

## E X P O R T E D.

1785. ENGLAND.	British. Quarters.	Foreign. Quarters.	Bounties and Drawbacks paid.
Wheat - - -	65,213	6,312	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour - -	59,564	116	
Rye - - -	12,492	397	
Barley - - -	58,427	108	
Malt - - -	91,042	-	22,465 17 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ Bo.
Oats - - -	13,120	1,605	
Oatmeal - - -	495	33	207 1 6 Dr.
Beans - - -	6,323	240	
Pease - - -	6,482	2,399	
SCOTLAND.			
Wheat - - -	569	- - -	3,848 8 10 Bo.
Wheat Flour - -	911		
Rye - - -	274		
Barley - - -	12,192		
Bar - - -	4,770		
Oats - - -	4,940		
Oatmeal - - -	5,080		
Pease and Beans -	460		
Malt - - -	4,678		

## I M P O R T E D.

1785. ENGLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
Wheat - - -	85,796	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour - -	11,778	
Rye - - -	28,738	
Barley - - -	63,666	
Oats - - -	281,018	6,249 15 6
Oatmeal - - -	4,431	
Beans - - -	9,355	
Pease - - -	6,736	
Indian Corn - -	15	

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SCOT.

# 340] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

1785. SCOTLAND.	Quarters.	Duties received.
Wheat - - -	13,277	£. s. d.
Wheat Flour - -	12	
Rye - - -	23	
Barley - - -	3,546	1,119 1 8
Oats - - -	37,681	
Oatmeal - - -	50,958	
Pease and Beans - -	722	

The following is an account of the average prices of corn in England and Wales, by the standard Winchester bushel, for the year 1785.

Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
5 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 6	3 0	2 1 $\frac{3}{4}$	3 10

N.B. The prices of the finest and coarsest sorts of grain generally exceed and reduce the average price as follows, viz.

	Wheat.	Rye.	Barley.	Oats.	Beans.
Per bushel,	6d.	3d.	3d.	3d.	6d.



# PRICES OF STOCK, FOR THE YEAR 1785.

N.B. The highest and lowest \* Prices which each Stock bore during the Course of any Month, are put down opposite to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 pr Ct. Reduc.	3 pr Ct. Confol.	4 pr Ct. Confol.	New 1777.	Long Ann.	Short 1778.	India Stock.	India Ann.	India Bonds	S. Sea Stock.	Old Ann.	3 p. c. 1751.	New Navy.	5 p. c. Navy.	3 p. c. Scrip.	Excheq. Bills.
January	116½	57	56½	—	73½	17½	12½	—	52½	6 dif.	—	54½	—	16½	89½	57½	3 s.
February	117½	55½	54½	—	70½	16½	11½	132½	—	1	—	54½	—	14½	88½	56½	2
March	116	56½	56½	—	73½	17½	12½	—	63½	3	64	55½	—	13½	88½	—	3
April	119½	56½	54½	—	73½	16½	11½	133	—	1	64	55½	—	16½	88½	—	2
May	117½	57½	57½	73½	73½	17½	12½	131½	—	5	—	55½	—	14½	88	—	1 par.
June	118½	56½	57½	73½	73½	17½	12½	133	—	3	—	55½	—	16½	92	—	3 s.
July	120½	56½	57½	73½	73½	17½	12½	135½	—	1	—	56½	—	10	88	—	—
August	123	57½	56½	74	74	17½	12½	132	—	5	—	56½	—	7	92	—	—
September	123½	58½	57½	75	75	17½	12½	133	53½	1	—	56½	—	7	91	—	6s. dif.
October	129½	59½	57½	76	76	17½	12½	136	53½	6	—	56½	—	7	91	—	3
November	137½	62	59½	80	80	17½	12½	147	—	1	—	57½	—	5	92	—	6s. if.
December	142	69	65	82	82	17½	12½	149	—	19 p.	—	57½	—	4	92	—	3
										6	68½	59½	—	4	96½	—	pre.
										22	57½	59½	—	4	96½	—	10
										17	57½	59½	—	3	96½	—	12
										27	57½	59½	—	4	96½	—	4
										13	—	64½	—	3	—	—	13
										42	—	67	—	2	—	—	5
										32	—	67	—	2	—	—	24
										45	—	67	—	2	—	—	18
										37	—	67	—	2	—	—	12
													68	2½	—	—	5
													61	2½	—	—	

\* In the bank stock only the highest price of each month is given.

## SUPPLIES granted by Parliament, for the Year 1785.

FEBRUARY 3, 1785.

<b>F</b> OR 18,000 seamen, including 3,620 marines, in the sea-service for 13 months, at the rate of 4 <i>l.</i> per man per month	—	—	—	<i>£.</i> <i>s.</i> <i>d.</i> 936,000    0    0
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FEBRUARY 17, 1785.

1. For the charge of 18,053 men, including 2,030 invalids for guards and garrisons	—	—	—	655,963    4    3
2. For maintaining forces and garrisons in the Plan- tations and Gibraltar	—	—	—	222,021    4    4
3. For the difference between the British and Irish establishment of 6 battalions of foot serving abroad				6,355    15    8
4. For pay to be advanced to troops in the East Indies	—	—	—	6,968    9    9
5. For the charge of full pay to reduced or super- numerary officers	—	—	—	25,784    8    9½
6. For the general and staff-officers in Great Bri- tain	—	—	—	6,236    10    6
7. For allowances to the paymaster-general, secre- tary at war, commissary-general of the musters, judge advocate general, comptrollers of army accounts, their deputies, clerks, &c. and for poundage to be returned to the infantry	—	—	—	74,221    14    5
8. For pay to 5 battalions of Hanoverian infantry, from 25th June 1784, to the respective times of their return	—	—	—	8,904    6    6
9. For the charge of the in and out-pensioners of Chelsea hospital, and the expences of that hospital				191,226    0    6½

FEBRUARY 21, 1785.

To pay off Exchequer bills made out pursuant to an act of last session	—	—	—	1,500,000    0    0
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MARCH 7, 1785.

1. For the ordinary of the navy for 1785, including half-pay to sea and marine officers	—	—	—	675,307    17    2
9				2. For

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [343

2. For building and repairs of ships of war, and other extra works	— — —	£.	s.	d.
		940,000	0	0

MARCH 11, 1785.

For the use of the Turkey company	—	3,000	0	0
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MARCH 14, 1785.

1. For the charge of the office of ordnance, land- service	— — —	350,820	1	9
2. For defraying the expences of services per- formed by the office of ordnance for land-service, and not provided for in 1784	— — —	42,035	13	8

APRIL 7, 1785.

To pay off Exchequer bills pursuant to an act of last session	— — —	1,000,000	0	0
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APRIL 18, 1785.

For extraordinaries of the army in 1784	—	683,116	8	3
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APRIL 25, 1785.

1. For subsidies to the landgrave of Hesse Cassel, and the duke of Brunswick, for 1785	— — —	69,291	9	6
2. For deficiency in the sum voted for the land- grave of Hesse Cassel, for 1784	— — —	50,989	2	7
3. For pensions to be paid to the widows of com- missioned officers, for 1785	— — —	13,027	7	6
4. For completing the road from Ballantrae to Stranraer	— — —	800	0	0

APRIL 28, 1785.

1. To make good the deficiency, on 5th July 1784, of the fund for paying annuities granted by Act 31 Geo. II. towards the supply for 1758	— — —	12,087	7	8½
2. To make good ditto, granted by Act 18 Geo. III. for 1778	— — —	159,620	1	9½
3. To make good ditto, granted by Act 19 Geo. III. for 1779	— — —	122,730	4	8
4. To make good ditto, granted by Act 20 Geo. III. for 1780	— — —	158,551	4	11
5. To make good ditto, granted by Act 22 Geo. III. for 1782	— — —	114,214	4	3½
6. To make good ditto, granted by Act 23 Geo. III. for 1783	— — —	617,466	10	0
7. To make good ditto, granted by Act 24 Geo. III. for 1784	— — —	24,044	0	0

# 344] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

MAY 5, 1785.

	£.	s.	d.
1. For pay to several battalions of foot at different periods in 1784	7,737	18	1 $\frac{3}{4}$
2. Upon account of reduced officers of land forces and marines, for 1785	197,703	7	10
3. For allowances to several officers and private gentlemen of the two troops of horse-guards reduced, and to the superannuated gentlemen of the 4 troops of horse-guards, for 1785	335	15	4
4. For account of the commissioned officers of British American forces, for 1785	57,800	1	11
5. For deficiency of the sum granted upon account of ditto, for 1783	736	11	6
6. Ditto — Ditto — Ditto, for 1784	4,308	11	3
7. Upon account of officers late in the service of the States General, for 1785	3,535	0	6

MAY 9, 1785.

For reimbursement to general Murray, late governor in chief of the island of Minorca, for his expences in consequence of a verdict obtained against him by Mr. Sutherland, for 5,000 l.	5,489	17	0
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JUNE 6, 1785.

1. For the salaries of civil officers of East Florida, from 24th June 1784 to 24th June 1785	2,950	0	0
2. To make good money issued to discharge bills drawn by the governor of Nova Scotia	8,395	2	5
3. For maintaining the colony in Nova Scotia, to 1st Jan. 1786	3,976	17	6
4. Ditto — Ditto, — island of St. John's, to ditto	1,900	0	0
5. Ditto — Ditto, — Cape Breton, to 24th June 1786	2,550	0	0
6. Ditto — Ditto, the Bahama Islands, to 1st Jan. 1786	2,370	0	0
7. For the salary of the chief justice of the Bahama Islands, one year due 24th June 1786; and arrears to the attornies-general, from 19th July 1773, to 18th April 1783	1,592	1	10
8. For the civil establishment of New Brunswick, to 24th June 1786	6,356	17	0
9. For the relief of American sufferers	36,819	19	0

JUNE 13, 1785.

1. For an annuity of 9,000 l. to be settled by his Majesty on the duke of Gloucester	9,000	0	0
2. To			



# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [345

2. To make good the sums charged on the duties of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. that remained unsatisfied, 5th April 1785	—	—	—	—	£.	s.	d.
					56,113	13	6 $\frac{3}{4}$

JUNE 21, 1785.

For relief of such persons who have given satisfactory proof of their losses in America, to the commissioners appointed by Act 23 Geo. III.	—	150,000	0	0
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JUNE 23, 1785.

1. For the commissioners of public accounts	—	9,000	0	0
2. To make good monies issued pursuant to addresses	—	7,066	13	3
3. To make good monies paid to the secretaries of the commissioners appointed to enquire into the losses of the American loyalists	—	3,200	0	0
4. Ditto, for the maintenance, &c. of the convicts on the Thames	—	13,578	14	4
5. For compensation to Mr. Cunninghame, for compiling a general index to the journals	—	3,000	0	0

JUNE 27, 1785.

1. Towards carrying on the buildings of Somerset-house	—	25,000	0	0
2. For support of African forts and settlements	—	13,000	0	0
Other miscellaneous services	—	432,567	9	1 $\frac{3}{8}$
Total of the aggregate supplies, as stated by Mr. Pitt	—	9,736,868	0	0

*Ways and Means for raising the above Supplies granted to his Majesty.*

1. Land-tax	—	2,000,000	0	0
2. Malt duty	—	750,000	0	0
		2,750,000	0	0

APRIL 7, 1785.

1. By loans, or exchequer bills, to be charged on the first aids granted next session	—	1,500,000	0	0
2. Ditto	—	1,000,000	0	0

MAY 10, 1785.

1. By application of the surplus of the sinking fund, remaining in the exchequer 5th April 1785, subject to the disposition of parliament	—	702,539	16	1 $\frac{1}{2}$
2. By				

# 346] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

2. By the sum remaining in the hands of the paymaster general being applied towards the extraordinaries of the army	—	—	—	£.	s.	d.
3. By loans or exchequer bills, to be charged upon the first aids granted next session	—	—	—	231,578	18	2
4. By overplus of the grants for 1784 remaining in the exchequer	—	—	—	1,000,000	0	0
5. By the growing produce of the sinking fund to be applied towards the supplies	—	—	—	66,161	3	5½
				2,297,460	3	10½

JUNE 23, 1785.

By a lottery, to consist of 50,000 tickets	—	650,000	0	0
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JUNE 28, 1785.

By application of the sum remaining in the exchequer for the disposition of parliament	—	238,928	16	3
Total of ways and means	—	10,436,668	17	10½
Total of supplies	—	9,736,868	0	0
Excess of ways and means	—	699,800	17	10½

## TAXES for the service of the Year 1785.

1. Additional tax on male servants, viz. 1, at 1 l. 5 s.;—2 to 4, 1 l. 10 s. each;—5 to 7, 1 l. 15 s. each;—8 to 10, 2 l. each;—11, &c. 3 l. each.—The whole calculated to produce, in addition to the former tax	—	—	—	35,000	0	0
2. Tax on female servants, viz. 1, 2 s. 6 d.—2, 5 s. each;—3, &c. 10 s. each.—Calculated to produce annually	—	—	—	140,000	0	0
3. Salt (a regulation)	—	—	—	12,000	0	0
4. Retail shops, viz. 1 s. in the pound on the rent of the house, from 4 l. to 10 l.—1 s. 3 d. from 10 l. to 15 l.—1 s. 6 d. from 15 l. to 20 l.—1 s. 9 d. from 20 l. to 25 l.—2 s. upon 25 l. and all above.—Calculated to produce	—	—	—	120,000	0	0
5. Post horses (all horses travelling for hire) one halfpenny per mile, calculated to produce annually	—	—	—	50,000	0	0
6. Gloves, viz. 1 d. per pair from 4 d. to 10 d.—2 d. from 10 d. to 1 s. 4 d.—3 d. all above 1 s. 4 d.—Calculated to bring in	—	—	—	50,000	0	0

7. Pawn-

# APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE. [347

7. Pawnbrokers' licences annually.—In London, 10l. each.—In the country, 5l. each.—Calculated	£.	s.	d.
to bring in — — —	15,000	0	0
Total — — —	422,000	0	0

*The following Taxes were brought into the House of Commons by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, after the opening of the Budget; and agreed to, without giving any particular Estimate of their expected annual produce,*

	£.	s.	d.
1. Annual licence for every coachmaker —	1	0	0
2. Annual certificate for every unqualified, as well as qualified person, for keeping a gun, or dog, &c. for killing game — — —	2	2	0
3. For every new four-wheel carriage (to be paid by the maker) — — —	1	0	0
4. For every new two-wheel carriage (to be paid by the maker) — — —	0	10	0
5. For every four-wheel carriage * now kept (to be paid annually by the owner) — — —	7	0	0
6. For every two-wheel carriage * now kept (to be paid annually by the owner) — — —	3	10	0
7. On all bachelors keeping one female servant	0	2	6
Two female servants, each — — —	0	5	0
Three ditto, or more, each — — —	0	10	0
[These taxes are in addition to the other tax on female servants,]			
8. On all bachelors for each male servant they keep (in addition to the former tax on male ser- vants.) — — —	1	5	0
9. Every attorney in London, to pay annually	5	0	0
10. Every attorney in the country, to pay an- nually — — —	3	0	0
11. Every warrant of attorney (except to receive stock) a stamp — — —	0	2	6

To these a lottery will be added, to raise 150,000l.; and it has been contracted for by Godschall Johnson, esq; who is to have half, and eighteen bankers are to have the other half.

Loan for the year 1785 —	1,000,000	0	0
Interest of which, at 5 per cent,	50,000	0	0
Amount of estimated taxes	422,000	0	0

\* These duties are in lieu of the former wheel-tax.

STAT<sup>E</sup>

# STATE PAPERS.

1785.

*His Majesty's Speech to both Houses of Parliament on their Meeting, January 26th, 1785.*

“ My lords and gentlemen,  
**A**FTER the laborious attendance of the last sessions of parliament, it has given me peculiar pleasure, that the situation of public affairs has admitted of so long a recess.

“ Among the objects which now require consideration, I must particularly recommend to your earnest attention the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, as are not yet finally arranged. The system which will unite both kingdoms the most closely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will, I am persuaded, best ensure the general prosperity of my dominions.

“ I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, that notwithstanding any appearance of differences on the continent, I continue uniformly to receive, from all foreign powers, the strongest assurances of their good disposition towards this country.

“ Gentlemen of the house of commons,

“ I have ordered the estimates of the ensuing year to be laid before you. I confide in your liberality and zeal to grant the necessary supplies, with a just regard as well to the œconomy requisite in every department, as to the maintenance of the national credit, and the real exigencies of the public service.”

“ My lords and gentlemen,

“ The success which has attended the measures taken in the last session towards the suppression of smuggling, and for the improvement of the revenue, will encourage you to apply yourselves, with continual assiduity, to those important objects. You will, I trust, also take into early consideration the matters suggested in the reports of the commissioners of public accounts, and such further regulations as may appear to be necessary in the different offices of the kingdom.

“ I have the fullest reliance on the continuance of your faithful and diligent exertions in every part of your public duty. You may at all times depend on my hearty concurrence



rence in every measure which can tend to alleviate our national burthens, to secure the true principles of the constitution, and to promote the general welfare of my people."

*The humble Address, to the above Speech, of the Right Honourable the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, in parliament assembled.*

*Die Martis, 25 Januarii, 1785.*

"Most gracious sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your Majesty's most gracious speech from the throne.

"Permit us to express to your Majesty our most grateful sense of your Majesty's regard for our private convenience, in not commanding from us an earlier attendance in Parliament.

"Your Majesty may rely on our faithful and diligent exertions in every part of our duty; and, truly sensible of the importance of the object, we beg leave to assure your Majesty, that it is our determination to give our immediate attention to the adjustment of such points in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland, as are not yet finally arranged; trusting that such a system may be formed as may best insure the prosperity of both kingdoms, by closely uniting them upon principles of reciprocal advantage.

"We desire to return to your Majesty our warmest thanks for your gracious communication of the assurances which your Majesty continues to receive of the good dispo-

sition of foreign powers towards this country, notwithstanding the differences which appear to prevail upon the continent.

"The information your Majesty is pleased to give us of the success which has attended the measures taken in the last session for the suppression of smuggling, and for the improvement of the revenue, affords us the greatest satisfaction: and your Majesty may be assured, that we will apply ourselves, with unremitting attention, to points of such great concern to the prosperity of this country; and that we will take into our early consideration the matters suggested in the several reports of the commissioners of public accounts, as well as such farther regulations as may appear to be necessary in the public offices of the kingdom.

"From the experience we have had of your Majesty's paternal regard for the interests of all your subjects, we beg leave humbly to express to your Majesty our fullest confidence in the gracious assurance of your Majesty's hearty concurrence in every measure which may tend to alleviate the national burthens, to secure the true principles of the constitution, and to promote the general happiness and welfare of your people."

*To which his Majesty was pleased to return this most gracious Answer.*

"My lords,

"I return you thanks for this dutiful and affectionate address.

"Nothing can give me more satisfaction, than your assurance that you will immediately enter into the consideration of the matters which I have laid before you.

"You

"You may depend upon the utmost care and attention on my part, to settle every thing, which concerns the interest of my kingdoms, upon a solid and durable foundation."

*The humble Address, to the above Speech, of the House of Commons to the King.*

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, beg leave to return your Majesty our humble thanks for your most gracious speech from the throne.

"We beg your Majesty will be assured that we shall resume the consideration of public business with the same principles of duty to your Majesty, and regard to the interests of our constituents, which we have endeavoured to manifest in all our proceedings.

"That we will not fail to give our most earnest attentions to the adjustment of such points as are not yet finally arranged in the commercial intercourse between Great Britain and Ireland; fully agreeing with your Majesty, in thinking that the system which will unite both kingdoms the most closely on principles of reciprocal advantage, will best ensure the general prosperity of your Majesty's dominions,

"We beg leave to assure your Majesty, that it affords us the truest pleasure to be informed that your Majesty continues to receive such satisfactory assurances of the good disposition of foreign powers towards this country.

"We beseech your Majesty to

believe, that we shall at all times be ready to grant such supplies as are necessary for the maintenance of the national credit, and the real exigencies of the public service.

"That we are deeply sensible of your Majesty's paternal goodness and care for your people, in recommending to us, at the same time, a just regard to the œconomy requisite in every department; a duty which your Majesty's faithful commons feel always incumbent upon them, and, at this time, peculiarly indispensable.

"We assure your Majesty, that we see the importance of every exertion which can tend to the suppression of smuggling, and the improvement of the revenue; and that we shall continue to apply ourselves, with unwearied assiduity, to those important objects.

"That we shall also proceed, with as much expedition as possible, to the consideration of the reports of the commissioners of accounts, as well as of such farther regulations in the different offices of this kingdom, as may appear likely to conduce to the public advantage.

"We intreat your Majesty to be assured, that our utmost endeavours shall not be wanting to justify your Majesty's gracious reliance on our diligent attention to every part of our public duty; and that we receive, with the warmest gratitude and satisfaction, the assurances of your Majesty's concurrence in every measure which can tend to alleviate the national burthens, to secure the true principles of the constitution, and to promote the general welfare of the people."

*"His*

*His Majesty's most gracious Answer to the Address of the Honourable House of Commons.*

"Gentlemen,

"I return you my thanks for your very loyal and affectionate address. I receive, with the utmost pleasure, the assurances of your disposition to resume the consideration of public business with the same principles which you have manifested in all your former proceedings; and I trust that the result of your deliberations will be productive of the most salutary effects."

#### IRISH HOUSE OF LORDS.

His Grace the Duke of Rutland opened the session by the following speech from the Throne:

*His Grace Charles, Duke of Rutland, Lord Lieutenant General, and General Governor of Ireland, his speech to both Houses of Parliament, at Dublin, on Thursday the 20th Day of January, 1785.*

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I Have his Majesty's commands to meet you in parliament, and to desire your advice and co-operation upon those affairs of importance, which in the present circumstances of the kingdom require your most serious attention.

"Whilst I lamented the lawless outrages and unconstitutional proceedings which had taken place since your last prorogation, I had the satisfaction to perceive that these excesses were confined to a few places, and even there condemned. And I have now the pleasure to ob-

serve that, by the salutary interposition of the laws, the general tranquillity is re-established.

"Gentlemen of the house of commons.

"I have ordered the public accounts to be laid before you. I have the fullest reliance on your approved loyalty to the king, and attachment to your country, that a due consideration of the exigencies of the state will lead you to make whatever provisions shall appear to be necessary for the public expences, and for the honourable support of his Majesty's government."

"My lords and gentlemen,

"I am to recommend in the king's name to your earnest investigation those objects of trade and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland which have not yet received their complete adjustment. In framing a plan with a view to a final settlement, you will be sensible that the interests of Great Britain and Ireland ought to be forever united and inseparable. And his Majesty relies on your liberality and wisdom for adopting such an equitable system for the joint benefit of both countries, and the support of the common interest, as will secure mutual satisfaction and permanency.

"The encouragement and extension of agriculture and manufactures, and especially of your linen manufacture, will, I am persuaded, engage your constant concern. Let me likewise direct your attention in a particular manner to the fisheries on your coasts, from which you may reasonably hope for an improving source of industry and wealth to this kingdom, and of strength to the empire.

"The



“The liberality which you have always shewn to the maintenance of your protestant charter-schools and other public institutions, makes it unnecessary for me to recommend them to your care. You cannot more beneficially exert this laudable spirit, than by directing your attention to improve, and to diffuse throughout the kingdom, the advantages of good education. Sensible of its essential consequence to the morals and happiness of the people, and to the dignity of the nation, I am happy to assure you of his Majesty’s gracious patronage; and shall be earnest to give every assistance in my power to the success of such measures as your wisdom may devise for this important purpose.

“It is the province of your prudence and discretion to consider what new provisions may be necessary for securing the subject against violence and outrage, for the regulation of the police, and the better execution of the laws, as well as for the general encouragement of peaceable subordination and honest industry. It will be a pleasing task for me to assist and promote your exertions for the tranquillity of the kingdom, for upholding the authority of the legislature, and supporting the true principles of our happy constitution both in church and state.

“The uniformity of laws and of religion, and a common interest in treaties with foreign states, form a sure bond of mutual connection and attachment between Great Britain and Ireland. It will be your care to cherish these inestimable blessings with that spirit and wisdom which will render them effectual

securities to the strength and prosperity of the empire.”

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*A Translation of a Letter from the Empress of all the Russias to his Prussian Majesty.*

“MY advantageous sentiments respecting the house of Prussia, sentiments of which I have given efficacious proofs, permit me to hope for the same on their part. I expect it the more, as I have ever been convinced of their reciprocal affection. The war which is preparing between the emperor of the Romans and the Hollanders excites the immediate attention of the cabinet of Berlin, of which the Dutch endeavour by all sorts of intrigues to secure the accession. Your wisdom acknowledges that the pretensions of the Emperor are equally just and moderate. Nature herself hath granted to the Austrian Low Countries the use and advantage of the river in dispute; Austria alone, by virtue of the law of nature and nations, is entitled to an exclusive right to the use of the river in question. So that the equity and disinterestedness of Joseph II. can only impart this right to other people, it belonging exclusively to his states. The sentiments of Austria merit esteem and attention, but the avidity of the Dutch, and the judgment which they permit themselves to assume on account of the treaty of Munster over the House of Austria, are notorious and blameable in every respect.

“Nothing can be alledged with foundation in favour of Holland, therefore she merits not the assistance of any foreign power. The consequences which these republicans



licans are drawing upon themselves by their obstinacy, must be submitted to the moderation of the emperor alone. I am firmly resolved to assist his pretensions with all my land and sea forces, with as much efficacy as if the welfare of my own empire was in agitation. I hope that this declaration of my sentiments will meet with the success which our reciprocal friendship deserves, and which hath never been interrupted.

CATHERINE."

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*Authentic Copy of the official Paper transmitted from his Most Christian Majesty to the Emperor, relative to the Navigation of the SCHELDT.*

“THE sincere friendship which attaches the king to the emperor, and the wishes of his majesty for the maintenance of public tranquillity, make it his duty to come to an explanation with his imperial Majesty on the difference between that monarch and the United Provinces.

“The king has the less hesitation in expressing his thoughts on this important subject, as the purity of his intentions cannot be called in question. His majesty while, in compliance with the solicitation of both parties, he employs his good offices to effect a reconciliation between the emperor and the United Provinces, has carefully abstained from giving any opinion on the foundation of his imperial majesty’s first pretensions. The king still prescribes to himself the same silence; but his concern for the glory of the emperor authorizes the observation, that his first pretensions, and the demand for the opening of

the Scheldt, cannot be considered under the same point of view.

“The Dutch, while they refused compliance with this demand, only supported a right which is secured to them by a solemn treaty, and which they look upon as the basis of their prosperity, and even existence.

“It seems to result from thence, that the refusal of the states-general ought to have no other effect than to bring back the negotiation begun at Brussels to the propositions in the summary table, and establish a discussion, on the result of which the respective titles ought naturally to depend.

“The king would more earnestly desire that this measure was adopted, as it would prevent hostilities, and might lead to equitable arrangements.

“By pursuing an opposite conduct, it is to be feared that the emperor will excite a general uneasiness, and that most of the powers will think themselves obliged to take such precautions and measures as the events may require. The king himself must be under the necessity of assembling troops on his frontiers. Besides, his majesty cannot by any means be indifferent to the fate of the United Provinces, or see them attacked by open force in their rights and possessions, especially at present, when he is on the point of concluding with the republic an alliance, the fundamental articles of which were agreed on before the late differences.

“If, by considerations of so great importance, the emperor can be induced to suspend all marks of hostility, and listen to the voice of moderation and humanity, the king

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king renews the offer of his mediation to procure an equitable and suitable accommodation, which he will the more zealously strive to bring about; as, while he obeys the dictates of his personal sentiments with regard to the emperor, he will have the satisfaction to concur in extinguishing, in its first seeds, a war, the consequences of which cannot be calculated."

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*An authentic Copy of the Preliminary Articles of Peace between their High Mightinesses the States General, and the Emperor of Germany, concluded under the Mediation of France.*

#### ARTICLE I.

IT is agreed, that the states-general shall pay 9,500,000 florins, current money of Holland, for the indemnity of Maestricht and its territory, the Ban of St. Servais included, as also the county of Vroenhoven; and 500,000 florins, same currency, for a compensation of the damage caused by the inundations. Three months after the ratification of the treaty the states general shall pay into the imperial chest of Brussels the sum of 1,250,000 florins of Holland; six months after, a similar sum; and thus, every six months until the total extinction of the said two sums, making together that of ten millions of florins, current money of Holland.

II. Their high mightinesses shall cede to his imperial majesty the Ban of Aulne, situated in Dutch Dahlem, and its dependencies, and the Lordship or Chief Ban of Bligny-

le-Trembleur, with St. Andre, the Ban and Lordship of Bombay, the city and castle of Dahlem with its appurtenances, except Oost and Cadier; under a reserve that a compensation shall be made for them in the exchanges of respective conveniencey to be made in the country of Outre-Meuse.

III. The limits of Flanders shall remain on the terms of the convention of 1664, and if, through the lapse of time, there should have been, or be now any of them obscured, commissioners shall be appointed on one side and the other to re-establish them.

IV. Their high mightinesses shall regulate, in the most convenient manner, to the satisfaction of the emperor, the draining of the waters from his Majesty's country in Flanders, and on the side of the Meuse, in order to prevent, as much as possible, the inundations, by consenting, for that end, that use shall be made, on a reasonable footing, of the land necessary, even under the dominion of their high mightinesses. The sluices that shall be constructed for that purpose, on the territory of the states general, shall remain under their sovereignty; and none shall be made in any place that might obstruct the defence of their frontiers. Commissioners shall respectively be appointed, who shall be charged to determine the most convenient scite for the said sluices. They shall agree together about those that are to be subjected to a common rule.

V. Their high mightinesses having declared, by one of their resolutions, that their intention was to indemnify those of his imperial majesty's subjects who have suffered by

by inundations, they appropriate to that object the 500,000 florins of Holland, mentioned in article I.

VI. Their high mightinesses acknowledge the full right of absolute and independent sovereignty of his imperial majesty over all the part of the Escaut, from Antwerp to the end of the country of Saffingen, conformably to the line of 1664, which it is agreed shall be cut, as the yellow line S. T. indicates, which falls back in T. on the limit of 1664, on the side of Brabant; as is indicated by the chart signed by the respective ambassadors. The states general renounce in consequence, the receiving and levying of any toll and impost in that part of the Escaut, on any tide, or under any form whatsoever; as also the obstructing in any manner the navigation and trade of his imperial majesty's subjects; nor shall the latter be permitted to extend it further than is granted by the treaty of Munster of the 30th of January 1648, which shall, in that respect, remain in full force and vigour.

VII. Their high mightinesses shall evacuate and demolish the forts of Kruis-Schand, and of Frederick Henry, and cede the soil to his imperial majesty.

VIII. Their high mightinesses, willing to give to his majesty the emperor a fresh proof of their desire to re-establish the most perfect harmony between the two states, consent to evacuate and give up to the disposal of his imperial majesty the forts of Lillo and of Liekenshoek, with their fortifications, in the state they are now in; the states general reserving to themselves to withdraw from them the artillery, and the ammunition of every kind.

IX. The execution of the two

articles above mentioned shall take place six weeks after the exchange of the ratification.

X. The states general having yielded to the desire which the emperor had intimated to them, of having the forts of Lillo and Liekenshoek in their present state, their high mightinesses expect, from the friendship of his imperial majesty, that he will be pleased to cede and give up to them all the rights he may have formed on the villages, called of Redemption, other than those of which he may have already disposed by exchanges with the principality of Liege. The count de Mercy, not being sufficiently instructed, was pleased, at the request and prayer of the mediator to take this proposal, *ad referendum*.

XI. His majesty renounces the pretensions he had formed on the Ban and villages of Bladel and Reussel.

XII. The count de Mercy demands that the village of Postel, which, he says, is already subject to the dominion of the emperor, be ceded to his imperial majesty by the states general, who, to that effect, shall renounce all pretensions; be it understood, that the effects of the Abbey of Postel, secularized by the states general, shall not be claimed. The ambassadors of Holland have been pleased, on the prayer of the mediator, to take this article, *ad referendum*.

XIII. It is agreed, that the pecuniary pretensions from sovereign to sovereign are compensated and abolished; and, as to those which individuals may claim on one part and the other, commissioners shall be appointed to liquidate them.

XIV. Commissioners shall also  
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be nominated to reconnoitre the limits of Brabant, and to agree in a friendly manner about such exchanges as might be of mutual convenience.

XV. The treaty of Munster, of the 30th of January 1648, shall be the basis of the future definitive treaty, which is to be concluded in the space of six weeks; and all the stipulations of the said treaty of Munster shall be retained, so far as nothing has derogated from them. The ambassadors of the states general demand the repeal of the treaty of 1731, and namely of the article V.—the Count de Mercy has not thought proper to yield thereto.

“The above articles have been digested in the presence of the Count de Vergennes, nominated by his Most Christian Majesty to fill the function of mediator, and have been subscribed by the ambassadors, under the approbation of the Emperor and of the States General.”

Done at Paris, the 20th of September, 1785.

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*A correct Copy of the Prohibitory Act lately passed by the Legislature of Massachusetts in North America; which at this time is well worth the attention of all the trading interests of this country.*

*Commonwealth of Massachusetts:*

*In the year of our Lord 1785.*

*An Act for the Regulation of Navigation and Commerce.*

**W**HEREAS it is become expedient and necessary for this commonwealth to make some

commercial regulations for the encouragement of their own trade:

Therefore be it enacted, by the senate and house of representatives, in general court assembled, and by the authority of the same, that from and after the first day of August next, and during the continuance of this act, there shall not be exported, from any port, harbour, creek, bay, or inlet, river, or shore, or any other place within this commonwealth, any goods, wares, or merchandize, the growth, manufacture, or produce of this, or any of the United States, in any ship, vessel, or craft of any kind, belonging (either in whole or in part) to, or being the property of, any of the subjects of the king of Great Britain.

Provided nevertheless, and where-as proclamations and orders have been issued by the governors of several parts of the British dominions, for prohibiting vessels belonging to any of the United States from entering their ports, or trafficking there;

Be it further enacted, that in case the said proclamations and orders shall be reversed, and open trade allowed to such vessels, and the governor of this commonwealth being certified thereof, shall by advice of council publicly signify the same by his proclamation, then shall the foregoing clause of this act be discontinued, and shall cease to operate during the time such open trade shall be allowed.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that from and after the said first day of August next, if any ship, vessel, or craft of any kind, as aforesaid, be found in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, taking on board, or having taken



taken on board while in this commonwealth, any of the articles aforesaid, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, every such ship, vessel, or craft, together with their lading, shall be forfeited, and shall and may be seized by any naval officer, collector of excise, or his deputy, or by any other citizen or citizens of the United States, and the same may be sued for, prosecuted, and recovered, in any court of record within this commonwealth, proper to try the same; and after deducting the charges of prosecuting the same from the gross produce thereof, the remainder shall be given, one moiety to the person or persons who shall have made the seizure, and prosecuted the same, and the other moiety shall be paid into the treasury of the commonwealth, for the use of the same.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the first day of August next, there shall not be taken out or landed from on board any ship, vessel, or craft, not wholly belonging to, or the property of the citizens of the United States, any goods, wares, or merchandize in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, except the Ports of Boston, Falmouth (in Casco Bay) and Dartmouth; and if any ship, vessel, or craft, not wholly owned as aforesaid, shall be found in any port, harbour, or creek, or any other place within this commonwealth, except the ports of Boston, Falmouth (in Casco Bay) and Dartmouth, aforesaid, discharging her loading, or any part thereof, or having discharged her loading, or any part thereof, otherwise than above-mentioned, the said ship, vessel, or craft, together with her loading, shall be seized

and forfeited, to be recovered and appropriated as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that from and after the first day of August next, there shall be paid by the master, owner, or consignee of every ship, vessel, or craft, owned either in part or in whole by any foreigner, at the time of entering the said ship, vessel, or craft, into the hands of the naval officer of the ports of Boston, Falmouth, and Dartmouth aforesaid, for the use and benefit of this commonwealth, a duty of five shillings per ton, for each and every ton said vessel may measure by carpenters measurement, and a farther duty of two shillings and eightpence per ton, as light money, in addition to what by law they are now subject to pay, for the use and service of the light-houses; and likewise pay unto the collector of impost or excise, for the counties of Suffolk, Cumberland, and Bristol, double the duty on the goods imported in said vessel, as is or may be paid at that time upon the like goods imported in a vessel belonging wholly to the citizens of the United States; and a further duty of sixpence shall be paid upon every bushel of salt imported in any ship, vessel, or craft, owned either in whole or in part by any of the subjects of the king of Great Britain; and previous to their breaking bulk, they shall give bond to the said collector for the payment of the same.

Provided nevertheless, that the said duty of sixpence per bushel on salt shall not be paid in case an open trade shall be permitted in the British dominions, and during the continuance of such open trade; such permission to be signified by the governor's proclamation as aforesaid.

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And

And whereas some persons, for the sake of enjoying more extensive privileges in commerce, have had double sets of papers for their vessels, in order that they might appear the property of one nation or another, as might best answer their purposes; for the prevention of which impositions,

Be it enacted, that from and after the first day of August next, any vessel which may appear to have two sets of papers, by the one of which she may appear to be the property of the citizens of the United States, and by the other the property of foreigners; or if it shall be made to appear that any vessel that has cleared at any naval office in this commonwealth, as the property of the citizens of these states, shall afterwards enter and discharge her cargo taken in and cleared as aforesaid, in any foreign port, as the property of a foreigner; said vessel, upon her return into this commonwealth, shall be forfeited, and may be seized by the naval officer of the port where she may be found, or by any other person or persons, who may prosecute for the same, to be recovered, and the money arising from such forfeiture to be applied as aforesaid, and the master of such vessel, so offending, shall forfeit and pay, for the use of this commonwealth, a sum of 100*l.* to be recovered as aforesaid.

And be it further enacted, that each naval officer in this commonwealth, previous to his admitting any vessel to an entry, shall administer the following oath or affirmation to the master, or one of the principal owners thereof (provided said vessel shall appear to be the property of the citizens of these

states) and certify it on the back of the register (if not done before) in the following words:

Port of 178

Then personally appeared before me one of the principal owners (or the commander, as the case may be) of the and made solemn oath (or affirmation) that the said is the sole property of the citizens of the United States, and that no foreigner, directly or indirectly, hath any part or share therein.

Naval Officer.

And be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that if any naval officer, or his deputy, shall presume to enter or clear any vessel, contrary to the true intent and meaning of this act, or if any naval officer, collector of impost and excise, or their deputies, shall neglect any of the duties required of them by this act, he or they, so offending or neglecting their respective duties, shall forfeit and pay the sum of 300*l.* one moiety thereof for the use of this commonwealth, and the other moiety thereof for the use of the person or persons who may prosecute for the same, to be sued for and recovered in any court of record in this commonwealth, proper to try the same; and in addition thereto shall be rendered incapable of any further exercise of his or their respective offices.

Provided nevertheless, that nothing in this act shall be construed to prevent any ship or vessel built in this commonwealth, and owned either in whole or in part by any of the subjects of the king of Great Britain, from taking a cargo upon her first departure from this commonwealth,

monwealth, upon the same terms, and no further restrictions than if said vessel was owned by the citizens of these states.

And be it further enacted, that this act shall continue in full force until the United States in congress assembled shall be vested with competent power for the purpose, and shall have passed an ordinance for the regulation of the commerce of these states; and the period may arrive when the said ordinance is to take effect, and no longer.

In the house of representatives, June 23, 1785.—This bill having had three several readings, passed to be enacted.

NATHANIEL GORHAM, Speaker.

In senate, June 23, 1785. This bill having had two several readings, passed to be enacted.

SAMUEL PHILIPS, jun. President.

By the Governor, Approved.

JAMES BOWDOIN.

True copy.

Attest.

*An authentic Copy of the Irish Resolutions, with Amendments, as proposed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer.*

*Die Jovis, 12 Maii, 1785.*

1. **T**HAT it is highly important to the general interest of the British empire, that the intercourse and commerce between Great Britain and Ireland should be finally regulated on permanent and equitable principles, for the mutual benefit of both countries.

2. That a full participation of commercial advantages should be permanently secured to Ireland, whenever a provision equally permanent and secure shall be made by the parliament of that kingdom, towards defraying, in proportion to

its growing prosperity, the necessary expences in time of peace, of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

3. That towards carrying into full effect so desirable a settlement, it is fit and proper that all articles, not the growth or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, should be imported into each kingdom from the other reciprocally, under the same regulations, and at the same duties, if subject to duties, to which they are liable when imported directly from the place of their growth, product, or manufacture; and that all duties originally paid on importation into either country respectively, “except on arrack “and foreign brandy, and on rum, “and all sorts of strong waters, not “imported from the British colonies in the West Indies or America,” shall be fully drawn back on exportation to the other.

4. That it is highly important to the general interests of the British empire, that the laws for regulating trade and navigation should be the same in Great Britain and Ireland; and therefore, that it is essential towards carrying into effect the present settlement, that all laws which have been made, or shall be made in Great Britain, for securing exclusive privileges to the ships and mariners of Great Britain, Ireland, and the British colonies and plantations, and for regulating and restraining the trade of the British colonies and plantations, shall be in force in Ireland in the same manner as in Great Britain; and that proper measures should from time to time be taken, for effectually carrying the same into execution.

5. That it is further essential to this settlement, that all goods and commodities



commodities of the growth, produce, or manufacture of British or foreign colonies, in America or the West Indies, and the British or foreign settlements on the coasts of Africa, imported into Ireland, should, on importation, be subject to the same duties as the like goods are, or from time to time shall be subject to, upon importation into Great Britain.

6. That in order to prevent illicit practices, injurious to the revenue and commerce of both kingdoms, it is expedient that all goods, whether of the growth, produce, or manufacture of Great Britain or Ireland, or of any foreign country, which shall hereafter be imported into Great Britain from Ireland, or into Ireland from Great Britain, should be put, by laws to be passed in the parliament of the two kingdoms, under the same regulations with respect to bonds, cockets, and other instruments, to which the like goods are now subject, in passing from one port of Great Britain to another; and that all goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of Ireland, imported into Great Britain, be accompanied with a like certificate, as is now required by law, on the importation of Irish linsens into Great Britain.

7. That for the like purpose it is also expedient, that when any goods, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the British West India islands, shall be shipped from Ireland for Great Britain, they should be accompanied with such original certificates of the revenue officers of the British sugar colonies, as shall be required by law on importation into Great Britain; and that when the whole quantity included in one certificate shall not be shipped at any

one time, the original certificate, properly endorsed as to quantity, should be sent with the first parcel; and to identify the remainder, if shipped at any future period, new certificates should be granted by the principal officers of the ports in Ireland, extracted from a register of the original documents, specifying the quantities before shipped from thence, by what vessels, and to what port.

8. That it is essential for carrying into effect the present settlement, that all goods exported from Ireland to the British colonies in the West Indies or America, should from this time be made liable to such duties and drawbacks, and put under such regulations, as may be necessary, in order that the same may not be exported with less incumbrance of duties or impositions; than the like goods shall be burthened with when exported from Great Britain.

9. That it is essential to the general commercial interest of the empire, that no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of any countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope, should be importable into Ireland from any foreign European country; and that so long as the parliament of this kingdom shall think it advisable that the commerce to the countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope shall be carried on solely by an exclusive company, no goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of the said countries should be allowed to be imported into Ireland, but through Great Britain, and that the ships going from Great Britain to any of the said countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope should not be restrained from touching at any of the ports in Ireland,

and



and taking on board there any of the goods of the growth, produce, or manufacture of that kingdom.

10. That it is necessary, for the general benefit of the British empire, that no prohibition should exist in either country against the importation, use, or sale of any article, the growth, produce, or manufacture of the other ("except such as either kingdom may judge expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits,") and that the duty on the importation of every such article, if subject to duty in either country, should be precisely the same in the one country as in the other, except where an addition may be necessary, in either country, in consequence of an internal duty on any such article of its own consumption.

11. That in all cases where the duties on articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of either country, are different on the importation into the other, it is expedient that they should be reduced, in the kingdom where they are the highest, to the amount payable in the other; and that all such articles should be exportable from the kingdom into which they shall be imported, as free from duty as any similar commodities or home manufactures of the same kingdom.

12. That it is also proper, that in all cases where the articles of the consumption of either kingdom shall be charged with an internal duty on the manufacture, the same manufacture, when imported from the other, may be charged with a further duty on importation, adequate to countervail the internal duty on the manufacture, except in the case of beer imported into Ireland; such farther duty to continue so long only

as the internal consumption shall be charged with the duty or duties, to balance which it shall be imposed, and that where there is a duty on the importation of the raw material of any manufacture, in one kingdom, greater than the duty on the like raw material in the other, or where the whole or part of such duty on the raw material is drawn back, or compensated, on exportation of the manufacture from one kingdom to the other, such manufacture may, on its importation, be charged with a countervailing duty as may be sufficient to subject the same, so imported, to the same burdens as the manufacture composed of the like raw material is subject to, in consequence of duties on the importation of such material in the kingdom into which such manufacture is so imported; and the said manufactures, so imported, shall be entitled to such drawbacks or bounties on exportation, as may leave the same subject to no heavier burden than the home-made manufacture.

13. That in order to give permanency to the settlement now intended to be established, it is necessary that no prohibition, or new or additional duties should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom, on the importation of any article of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other, except such additional duties as may be requisite to balance duties on internal consumption, pursuant to the foregoing resolution.

14. That for the same purpose, it is necessary, farther, that no prohibition, or new or additional duty, should be hereafter imposed in either kingdom on the exportation of any article of native growth, product, or manufacture, from thence  
to

to the other; except such as either kingdom may deem expedient, from time to time, upon corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits.

15. That for the same purpose it is necessary that no bounties whatsoever should be paid or payable in either kingdom, on the exportation of any article to the other, except such as relate to corn, meal, malt, flour, and biscuits, beer, and spirits distilled from corn, and such as are in the nature of drawbacks, or compensations for duties paid; and that no bounty should be granted on the exportation of any article to any British colonies or plantations, or on the exportation of any article imported from the British plantations, or any manufacture made of such article, unless in cases where a similar bounty is payable in Great Britain, on exportation from thence, or where such bounty is merely in the nature of a drawback, or compensation of or for duties paid, over and above any paid thereon in Britain.

16. That it is expedient, for the general benefit of the British empire, that the importation of articles from foreign states should be regulated from time to time in each kingdom, on such terms as may afford an effectual preference to the importation of similar articles of the growth, product, or manufacture of the other.

17. That it is expedient, that the copy-rights of the authors and booksellers of Great Britain should continue to be protected in the manner they are at present, by the laws of Great Britain; and that it is just that measure should be taken by the parliament of Ireland, for giving the like protection to the copy-

rights of the authors and booksellers of that kingdom.

18. That the appropriation of whatever sum the gross hereditary revenue of the kingdom of Ireland (the due collection thereof being secured by permanent provision) shall produce, after deducting all drawbacks, re-payments, or bounties granted in the nature of drawbacks, over and above the sum of six hundred and fifty-six thousand pounds in each year, towards the support of the naval force of the empire, to be applied in such manner as the parliament of Ireland shall direct, by an act to be passed for that purpose, will be a satisfactory provision, proportioned to the growing prosperity of that kingdom, towards defraying, in time of peace, the necessary expences of protecting the trade and general interests of the empire.

The 4th, 5th, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th, and 17th resolutions, are *NEW*.

The 12th and 18th resolutions are *ALTERED*.

The words marked with inverted commas, in the 3d and 10th resolutions, are *NEW*.

*The Manchester Petition, signed by One hundred and Twenty thousand Persons, presented to the House of Lords, 17th June.*

To the right honourable the lords spiritual and temporal, in parliament assembled,

SH EW E T H,

**T**HAT your petitioners, justly alarmed at the injurious tendency of the propositions, moved in the Irish house of commons by Mr. Orde, humbly petitioned the honourable

nourable the commons of Great Britain, upon their introduction into that honourable house, that they would be pleased to reject the same, as unjust, unwise, unreasonable, and impolitic, not having either equity, equality, or reciprocity for their basis; nor do they conceive, notwithstanding the many and great alterations which they have undergone in that honourable house, that THAT reciprocity is by any means established, which can alone make them permanent; because, as far as your petitioners are able to comprehend, the principles upon which they are founded are by no means either equal or equitable, as not affording a sufficient protection to the manufactures of the country, in proportion to the very heavy burdens with which they are loaded, and from which those of Ireland are so nearly exempted; added to which, linens, the staple manufacture of Ireland, are for ever to be admitted duty-free into this country, whilst not only the staple, but also every other manufacture of Great Britain, except that of linen, is to be charged with a duty of ten and an half per cent. upon their importation into Ireland, at the same time that the amount of Irish linens, imported into Great Britain, is nearly equal in value to the whole of the British manufactures exported to that country.

Your petitioners humbly beg leave to state to this right honourable house, the disadvantages they labour under now, and have for some time suffered in their foreign markets, through the partial, not to say impolitic laws, in favour of Irish linens, to the exclusion of foreign linens from our market, and the depression of the British linen manufacture. In Russia there is now ex-

isting an impost of thirty per cent. ad valorem, upon some of our English manufactures; and in Germany a prohibitory edict has either already taken place, or is upon the point of so doing, and which in all probability the determination of the British legislature on the Irish propositions will tend to annul, or for ever confirm; if, therefore, instead of leaving an opening for a commercial regulation for those states who are so able, and have hitherto shewn themselves so willing, upon the true principles of reciprocity, to increase in a very considerable degree the consumption of British manufactures, the legislature of this country should preclude themselves from the power of hearkening to fair and advantageous offers, and should for ever bind themselves from doing so, it may merit the most serious consideration of this right honourable house, what measures your petitioners, as subjects and manufacturers of this nation, are to expect from powers so circumstanced.

But your petitioners do not confine their views to the danger arising immediately and directly from these propositions, as affecting the manufactures of the town and neighbourhood of Manchester only; but feel themselves equally entitled as subjects of this country, to protest against all the propositions, taken aggregately, as a new and destructive system of policy, which, by universally undermining the commercial interests of Great Britain, must consequently affect every interest, trade, and manufacture within it, the prosperity of which depends evidently upon the general wealth, commerce, and prosperity of the whole nation.

Your petitioners humbly beg leave  
to



to observe to this right honourable house, that if the propositions had passed in the state in which they were originally introduced into the British house of commons, it is evident, from the alterations which that honourable house has since judged it expedient to make in them, the most fatal consequences must have ensued to the landed, funded, and commercial interests of Great Britain; and though something has been done, much more remains to be effected, and which your petitioners hope for, from the wisdom, integrity, and independence of your lordships.

Your petitioners are fully convinced that no system but what prescribes a participation of burthens, as well as advantages, can either be fair, equitable, or permanent, and therefore they are of opinion, that a complete union in commerce, policy, and legislation, is the most probable means of establishing a lasting harmony and good-will between the two nations, and preventing that jealousy and discord which the present propositions are so very likely to promote and encourage: but such system, they humbly apprehend, can only be the result of mature deliberation, and which your petitioners presume there is not time to establish at this advanced period of the session.

Your petitioners therefore most humbly beseech your lordships, that they may be heard by themselves or counsel at the bar of this right honourable house, against the said propositions: and that your lordships will grant them such relief as to this right honourable house shall seem meet.

And your petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

This petition was signed by one hundred and twenty thousand persons.

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*The following is the letter written by the King of Prussia to the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries, relative to the Prince of Orange.*

“High and mighty lords, and particularly good friends and neighbours, &c.

“**W**E, Frederic, by the grace of God, king of Prussia, margrave of Brandenburg, &c. &c. &c.

“After having communicated to your high mightinesses our uneasiness and intentions by our ample letter of the 29th of February, of the last year, respecting the disagreeable situation for some time before of the lord hereditary stadtholder prince of Orange and Nassau; and having received on that head, on the part of your high mightinesses, by your answer of the 31st of August of the same year, assurances so agreeable respecting that affair, we did hope that these circumstances would not have taken place any more; but, on the contrary, that the said lord hereditary stadtholder would have been left in the quiet exercise of the incontestible prerogatives appertaining to his dignity of hereditary stadtholder.

“But since we learn the contrary, and even some very unfavourable advices from some of the provinces of your high mightinesses, this has excited us to dispatch to the lords states of the province of Holland and West Friseland, a letter of which a copy is inclosed.

“Being



“ Being convinced of your high mightinesses love of equity, and of your affection for the house of Orange and Nassau, which has merited it, in all the states of the United Provinces, we most earnestly pray your high mightinesses, by the present, as a neighbour and friend, to interpose in the present disagreeable events, and that you will address with zeal, both the lords, states of Holland and West Friseland, and the states of the other provinces, where necessary, in order that the lord hereditary stadtholder may peaceably enjoy the right belonging to him hereditarily, that those taken from him may be restored, and that a perfect harmony may be re-established.

“ Thus we recommend by the present, in the most serious manner to your high mightinesses, the welfare and interests of the lord hereditary stadtholder, of our dear niece, and of their family, which gives so much hopes; that your high mightinesses therefore will vouchsafe to take into deliberation, and make the lords of the respective states consider, that we cannot be indifferent respecting the cruel and unmerited fate of persons so nearly related to us; but, on the contrary, that we shall watch over the preservation of the welfare due to them, and to which we ought to contribute by every possible means. To that effect, we effectually present our impartial mediation, in quality of friend and neighbour, and with the best intentions,

“ We hope to see, in consequence, that our wishes will be fulfilled in that respect; and in this expectation we remain at all times, affectionate

to your high mightinesses as a friend and a neighbour.

FREDERICK.

Berlin, Sept. 18, 1785.

and underneath

HERTSBERG.

FINCKENSTEIN.

*Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament, passed in the Year 1784.*

**A**N act for establishing certain regulations concerning the portage and conveyance of letters and packets by the post between Great Britain and Ireland.

An act for further continuing, for a limited time, an act made in the twenty-third year of the reign of his present majesty, intituled, “ An act for preventing certain instruments from being required from ships belonging to the United States of America; and to give to his majesty, for a limited time, certain powers for the better carrying on trade and commerce between the subjects of his majesty’s dominions, and the inhabitants of the said United States.”

An act for the better regulation and management of the affairs of the East India company, and of the British possessions in India; and for establishing a court of judicature, for the more speedy and effectual trial of persons accused of offences committed in the East Indies.

An act to enable his majesty to grant to the heirs of the former proprietors, upon certain terms and conditions, the forfeited estates in Scotland, which were put under the management of a board of trustees, by an act passed in the twenty-fifth year

year of the reign of his late majesty king George the Second; and to repeal the said act.

An act for the effectual transportation of felons, and other offenders; and to authorize the removal of prisoners in certain cases; and for other purposes therein mentioned.

An act for granting to his majesty certain additional rates of postage for conveyance of letters and packets by the post, within the kingdom of Great Britain; for preventing frauds in the revenue carried on by the conveyance of certain goods in letters and packets; and for further preventing frauds and abuses in relation to the sending and receiving of letters and packets free from postage.

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*Heads of the principal Acts of Parliament passed in 1785.*

**F**OR confining, for a limited time, the trade between the ports of the United States of America, and his majesty's subjects in the island of Newfoundland, to bread, flour, and live stock, to be imported in none but British-built ships, actually belonging to British subjects, and navigated according to law, clearing out from the ports of his majesty's European dominions,

and furnished with a licence according to a form thereunto annexed.

For appointing commissioners to enquire into the fees, gratuities, perquisites, and emoluments, which are or have been lately received in the several public offices therein mentioned; to examine into any abuses which may exist in the same, and to report such observations as shall occur to them for the better conducting and managing the business transacted in the said offices.

For the better regulating the office of the treasurer of his majesty's navy.

For the better examining and auditing the public accounts of this kingdom.

For appointing commissioners further to enquire into the losses and services of all such persons who have suffered in their rights, properties, and professions, during the late unhappy dissensions in America, in consequence of their loyalty to his majesty, and attachment to the British government.

To limit the duration of polls and scrutinies, and for making other regulations, touching the election of members to serve in parliament for places within England and Wales, and for Berwick upon Tweed; and also for removing difficulties which may arise for want of returns being made of members to serve in parliament.

CHARACTERS.





# CHARACTERS.

*Account and Character of the natives of the Friendly Islands: From Vol. I. of Captain Cook's last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1780.*

THE natives of the Friendly Islands seldom exceed the common stature (though we have measured some, who were above six feet); but are very strong, and well made; especially as to their limbs. They are generally broad about the shoulders; and though the muscular disposition of the men, which seems a consequence of much action, rather conveys the appearance of strength than of beauty, there are several to be seen, who are really handsome. Their features are very various; insomuch, that it is scarcely possible to fix on any general likeness, by which to characterize them, unless it be a fullness at the point of the nose, which is very common. But, on the other hand, we met with hundreds of truly European faces, and many genuine Roman noses, amongst them. Their eyes and teeth are good; but the last neither so remarkably white, nor so well set as is often found amongst Indian nations; though, to balance that, few of them have any uncommon thickness about the lips, a defect as frequent as the other perfection.

VOL. XXVII.

The women are not so much distinguished from the men by their features as by their general form, which is, for the most part, destitute of that strong fleshy firmness that appears in the latter. Though the features of some are so delicate, as not only to be a true index of their sex, but to lay claim to a considerable share of beauty and expression, the rule is, by no means, so general as in many other countries. But, at the same time, this is frequently the most exceptionable part; for the bodies and limbs of most of the females are well proportioned; and some, absolutely, perfect models of a beautiful figure. But the most remarkable distinction in the women, is the uncommon smallness and delicacy of their fingers, which may be put in competition with the finest in Europe.

The general colour is a cast deeper than the copper brown; but several of the men and women have a true olive complexion; and some of the last are even a great deal fairer; which is probably the effect of being less exposed to the sun; as a tendency to corpulence, in a few of the principal people, seems to be the consequence of a more indolent life. It is also amongst the last, that a soft clear skin is most frequently observed. Amongst the bulk of the people, the skin is, more commonly, of a dull hue,

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with

with some degree of roughness, especially the parts that are not covered; which, perhaps, may be occasioned by some cutaneous disease. We saw a man and boy at Happaee, and a child at Annamooka, perfectly white. Such have been found amongst all black nations; but I apprehend that their colour is rather a disease, than a natural phenomenon.

There are, nevertheless, upon the whole, few natural defects or deformities to be found amongst them; though we saw two or three with their feet bent inward; and some afflicted with a sort of blindness, occasioned by a disease of the *cornea*. Neither are they exempt from some other diseases. The most common of which is the tetter, or ring-worm, that seems to affect almost one half of them, and leaves whitish serpentine marks, every where, behind it. But this is of less consequence than another disease, which is very frequent, and appears on every part of the body, in large broad ulcers with thick white edges, discharging a thin, clear matter; some of which had a very virulent appearance, particularly those on the face, which were shocking to look at. And yet we met with some who seemed to be cured of it, and others in a fair way of being cured; but this was not effected without the loss of the nose, or of the best part of it. As we know for a certainty\* (and the fact is acknowledged by themselves), that the people of these islands were subject to this loathsome disease before the English first visited them, notwithstanding the

similarity of symptoms, it cannot be the effect of the venereal contagion; unless we adopt a supposition, which I could wish had sufficient foundation in truth, that the venereal disorder was not introduced here from Europe, by our ships in 1773. It, assuredly, was now found to exist amongst them; for we had not been long there, before some of our people received the infection; and I had the mortification to learn from thence, that all the care I took, when I first visited these islands, to prevent this dreadful disease from being communicated to their inhabitants, had proved ineffectual. What is extraordinary, they do not seem to regard it much; and as we saw few signs of its destroying effects, probably the climate, and the way of living of these people, greatly abate its virulence. There are two other diseases frequent amongst them; one of which is an indolent firm swelling, which affects the legs and arms, and increases them to an extraordinary size in their whole length. The other is a tumour of the same sort, in the testicles, which sometimes exceed the size of the two fists. But, in other respects, they may be considered as uncommonly healthy; not a single person having been seen, during our stay, confined to the house, by sickness of any kind. On the contrary, their strength and activity are, every way, answerable to their muscular appearance; and they exert both, in their usual employment, and in their diversions, in such a manner, that there can be no doubt of their being, as yet,

\* See Vol. ii. p. 20. of Captain Cook's Voyage, where he gives a particular account of meeting with a person afflicted with this disease, at Annamooka, on his landing there in 1773.

little debilitated by the numerous diseases that are the consequence of indolence, and an unnatural method of life.

The graceful air and firm step with which these people walk, are not the least obvious proof of their personal accomplishments. They consider this as a thing so natural, or so necessary to be acquired, that nothing used to excite their laughter sooner, than to see us frequently stumbling upon the roots of trees, or other inequalities of the ground.

Their countenances very remarkably express the abundant mildness, or good-nature which they possess; and are entirely free from that savage keenness which marks nations in a barbarous state. One would, indeed, be apt to fancy that they had been bred up under the severest restrictions, to acquire an aspect so settled, and such a command of their passions, as well as steadiness in conduct. But they are, at the same time, frank, cheerful, and good-humoured; though, sometimes, in the presence of their Chiefs, they put on a degree of gravity, and such a serious air as becomes stiff and awkward, and has an appearance of reserve.

Their peaceable disposition is sufficiently evinced, from the friendly reception all strangers have met with, who have visited them. Instead of offering to attack them openly, or clandestinely, as has been the case with most of the inhabitants of these seas, they have never appeared, in the smallest degree, hostile; but on the contrary, like the most civilized people, have courted an intercourse with their visitors, by bartering, which is the only medium that unites all nations in a sort of friendship. They un-

derstand barter (which they call *suk-katou*) so perfectly, that, at first, we imagined they might have acquired this knowledge of it by commercial intercourse with the neighbouring islands; but we were afterwards assured, that they had little or no traffic, except with Feejee, from which they get the red feathers, and the few other articles, mentioned before. Perhaps, no nation in the world traffic with more honesty and less distrust. We could always safely permit them to examine our goods, and to hand them about, one to another; and they put the same confidence in us. If either party repented of the bargain, the goods were re-exchanged with mutual consent and good-humour. Upon the whole, they seem possessed of many of the most excellent qualities that adorn the human mind; such as industry, ingenuity, perseverance, affability, and, perhaps, other virtues which our short stay with them might prevent our observing.

The only defect fullying their character, that we know of, is a propensity to thieving; to which, we found, those of all ages, and both sexes, addicted; and to an uncommon degree. It should, however, be considered, that this exceptionable part of their conduct seemed to exist merely with respect to us; for, in their general intercourse with one another, I had reason to be of opinion, that thefts do not happen more frequently (perhaps less so) than in other countries, the dishonest practices of whose worthless individuals are not supposed to authorize any indiscriminate censure on the whole body of the people. Great allowances should be made for the foibles of these poor natives of the Pacific Ocean,



whose minds we overpowered with the glare of objects, equally new to them, as they were captivating. Stealing, amongst the civilized and enlightened nations of the world, may well be considered as denoting a character deeply stained with moral turpitude, with avarice unrestrained by the known rules of right, and with profligacy producing extreme indigence, and neglecting the means of relieving it. But at the Friendly and other islands which we visited, the thefts, so frequently committed by the natives, of what we had brought along with us, may be fairly traced to less culpable motives. They seemed to arise, solely, from an intense curiosity or desire to possess something which they had not been accustomed to before, and belonging to a sort of people so different from themselves. And, perhaps, if it were possible, that a set of beings, seemingly as superior in our judgment, as we are in theirs, should appear amongst us, it might be doubted, whether our natural regard to justice would be able to restrain many from falling into the same error. That I have assigned the true motive for their propensity to this practice, appears from their stealing every thing indiscriminately at first sight, before they could have the least conception of converting their prize to any one useful purpose. But, I believe, with us, no person would forfeit his reputation, or expose himself to punishment, without knowing, before hand, how to employ the stolen goods. Upon the whole, the pilfering disposition of these islanders, though certainly disagreeable and troublesome to strangers, was the means of affording us some information, as to the quickness of their

intellects. For their small thefts were committed with much dexterity; and those of greater consequence with a plan or scheme suited to the importance of the objects. An extraordinary instance of the last sort, their attempts to carry away one of the Discovery's anchors, at mid-day, has been already related.

Their hair is, in general, straight, thick, and strong; though a few have it bushy or frizzled. The natural colour, I believe, almost without exception, is black; but the greatest part of the men, and some of the women, have it stained of a brown, or purple colour; and a few of an orange cast. The first colour is produced by applying a sort of plaster of burnt coral, mixed with water; the second, by the raspings of a reddish wood, which is made up with water into a poultice, and laid over the hair; and the third is, I believe, the effect of *turmeric* root.

When I first visited these islands, I thought it had been an universal custom for both men and women to wear the hair short; but, during our present longer stay, we saw a great many exceptions. Indeed, they are so whimsical in their fashions of wearing it, that it is hard to tell which is most in vogue. Some have it cut off from one side of the head, while that on the other side remains long; some have only a portion of it cut short, or, perhaps, shaved; others have it entirely cut off, except a single lock, which is left commonly on one side; or, it is suffered to grow to its full length, without any of these mutilations. The women, in general, wear it short. The men have their beards cut short; and both men and wo-

men



men strip the hair from their arm-pits. The operation by which this is performed has been already described. The men are stained from about the middle of the belly, to about half way down the thighs, with a deep blue colour. This is done with a flat bone instrument, cut full of fine teeth, which, being dipped in the staining mixture, prepared from the juice of the *doe dooe*, is struck into the skin with a bit of stick; and, by that means, indelible marks are made. In this manner they trace lines and figures, which, in some, are very elegant, both from the variety, and from the arrangement. The women have only a few small lines or spots, thus imprinted, on the inside of their hands. Their kings, as a mark of distinction, are exempted from this custom, as also from inflicting on themselves any of those bloody marks of mourning, which shall be mentioned in another place.

The men are all circumcised, or rather supercised; as the operation consists in cutting off only a small piece of the fore-skin, at the upper part; which, by that means, is rendered incapable, ever after, of covering the *glans*. This is all they aim at; as they say, the operation is practised from a notion of cleanliness.

The dress of both men and women is the same; and consists of a piece of cloth or matting (but mostly the former), about two yards wide, and two and half long; at least, so long as to go once and a half round the waist, to which it is confined by a girdle or cord. It is double before, and hangs down, like a petticoat, as low as the middle of the leg. The upper part of the garment, above the girdle, is plaited

into several folds; so that, when unfolded, there is cloth sufficient to draw up and wrap round the shoulders; which is very seldom done. This, as to form, is the general dress; but large pieces of cloth, and fine matting, are worn only by the superior people. The inferior sort are satisfied with small pieces; and, very often, wear nothing but a covering made of leaves of plants, or the *maro*, which is a narrow piece of cloth, or matting, like a sash. This they pass between the thighs, and wrap round the waist; but the use of it is chiefly confined to the men. In their great *baivus*, or entertainments, they have various dresses made for the purpose; but the form is always the same; and the richest dresses are covered, more or less, with red feathers. On what particular occasion their Chiefs wear their large red feather-caps, I could not learn. Both men and women sometimes shade their faces from the sun with little bonnets, made of various materials.

As the cloathing, so are the ornaments, worn by those of both sexes, the same. The most common of these are necklaces, made of the fruit of the *pandanus*, and various sweet-smelling flowers, which go under the general name of *kabulla*. Others are composed of small shells, the wing and leg-bones of birds, shark's teeth, and other things; all which hang loose upon the breast. In the same manner, they often wear a mother-of-pearl shell, neatly polished, or a ring of the same substance carved, on the upper part of the arm; rings of tortoise-shell on the fingers; and a number of these, joined together, as bracelets on the wrists.

The lobes of the ears (though,

most frequently, only one) are perforated with two holes, in which they wear cylindrical bits of ivory, about three inches long, introduced at one hole, and brought out of the other; or bits of reed of the same size, filled with a yellow pigment. This seems to be a fine powder of *turmeric*, with which the women rub themselves all over, in the same manner as our ladies use their dry rouge upon the cheeks.

Nothing appears to give them greater pleasure than personal cleanliness; to produce which, they frequently bathe in the ponds, which seem to serve no other purpose\*. Though the water in most of them stinks intolerably, they prefer them to the sea; and they are so sensible that salt water hurts their skin, that when necessity obliges them to bathe in the sea, they commonly have some cocoa-nut shells, filled with fresh water, poured over them, to wash it off. They are immoderately fond of cocoa-nut oil for the same reason; a great quantity of which they not only pour upon their head and shoulders, but rub the body all over, briskly, with a smaller quantity. And none but those who have seen this practice, can easily conceive how the appearance of the skin is improved by it. This oil, however, is not to be procured by every one; and the inferior sort of people, doubtless, appear less smooth for the want of it."

*Account and Character of the Natives of Otaheite; from Vol. II. of the same Work.*

"NOTHING could make a stronger impression, at first sight, on our arrival here, than the remarkable contrast between the robust make and dark colour of the people of Tongataboo †, and a sort of delicacy and whiteness, which distinguish the inhabitants of Otaheite. It was even some time before that difference could preponderate in favour of the Otaheiteans; and then only, perhaps, because we became accustomed to them, the marks which had recommended the others began to be forgotten. Their women, however, struck us as superior in every respect; and as possessing all those delicate characteristics, which distinguish them from the other sex in many countries. The beard which the men here wear long, and the hair which is not cut so short, as is the fashion at Tongataboo, made also a great difference; and we could not help thinking, that, on every occasion, they shewed a greater degree of timidity and sickleness. The muscular appearance, so common amongst the Friendly Islanders, and which seems a consequence of their being accustomed to much action, is lost here, where the superior fertility of their country enables the inhabitants to lead a more indolent life; and its place is supplied by a plumpness and smoothness of the skin; which,

\* So at the Caroline Islands. "Ils sont accoutumés à se baigner trois fois, le jour, le matin, à midi, et sur le soir." *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses*, Tom. xv. p. 314.

† One of the Friendly Islands.

though,

though, perhaps, more consonant with our ideas of beauty, is no real advantage; as it seems attended with a kind of languor in all their motions, not observable in the others. This observation is fully verified, in their boxing and wrestling, which may be called little better than the feeble efforts of children, if compared to the vigour with which these exercises are performed at the Friendly Islands.

Personal endowments being in great esteem amongst them, they have recourse to several methods of improving them, according to their notions of beauty. In particular, it is a practice, especially amongst the *Erreoes*, or unmarried men of some consequence, to undergo a kind of physical operation to render them fair. This is done by remaining a month or two in the house; during which time they wear a great quantity of clothes, eat nothing but bread-fruit, to which they ascribe a remarkable property in whitening them. They also speak, as if their corpulence and colour, at other times, depended upon their food; as they are obliged, from the change of seasons, to use different sorts at different times.

Their common diet is made up of, at least, nine-tenths of vegetable food; and, I believe, more particularly, the *mabeé*, or fermented bread-fruit, which enters almost every meal, has a remarkable effect upon them, preventing a colicive habit, and producing a very sensible coolness about them, which could not be perceived in us who fed on animal food. And it is, perhaps, owing to this temperate course of life that they have so few diseases among them.

They only reckon five or six,

which might be called chronic, or national disorders; amongst which are the dropfy, and the *sefai*, or indolent swellings before mentioned, as frequent at Tongataboo. But this was before the arrival of the Europeans; for we have added to this short catalogue, a disease which abundantly supplies the place of all the others, and is now almost universal. For this they seem to have no effectual remedy. The priests, indeed, sometimes give them a medley of simples; but they own that it never cures them. And yet, they allow that, in a few cases, nature, without the assistance of a physician, exterminates the poison of this fatal disease, and a perfect recovery is produced. They say, that if a man is infected with it, he will often communicate it to others in the same house, by feeding out of the same utensils, or handling them; and that, in this case, they frequently die, while he recovers; though we see no reason why this should happen.

Their behaviour, on all occasions, seems to indicate a great openness and generosity of disposition. Omai, indeed, who, as their countryman, should be supposed rather willing to conceal any of their defects, has often said, that they are sometimes cruel in punishing their enemies. According to his representation, they torment them very deliberately; at one time, tearing out small pieces of flesh from different parts; at another, taking out the eyes; then cutting off the nose; and lastly, killing them by opening the belly. But this only happens on particular occasions. If cheerfulness argues a conscious innocence, one would suppose that their life is seldom sullied by crimes. This,



however, I rather impute to their feelings, which, though lively, seem in no case permanent; for I never saw them, in any misfortune, labour under the appearance of anxiety, after the critical moment was past. Neither does care ever seem to wrinkle their brow. On the contrary, even the approach of death does not appear to alter their usual vivacity. I have seen them, when brought to the brink of the grave by disease, and when preparing to go to battle; but, in neither case, ever observed their countenances overclouded with melancholy, or serious reflection.

Such a disposition, leads them to direct all their aims only to what can give them pleasure and ease. Their amusements all tend to excite and continue their amorous passions; and their songs, of which they are immoderately fond, answer the same purpose. But as a constant succession of sensual enjoyments must cloy, we found, that they frequently varied them to more refined subjects, and had much pleasure in chanting their triumphs in war, and their occupations in peace; their travels to other islands and adventures there; and the peculiar beauties, and superior advantages of their own island over the rest, or of different parts of it over other less favourite districts. This marks, that they receive great delight from music; and though they rather expressed a dislike to our complicated compositions, yet were they always delighted with the more melodious sounds produced singly on our instruments, as approaching nearer to the simplicity of their own.

Neither are they strangers to the soothing effects produced by particular sorts of motion; which, in

some cases, seem to allay any perturbation of mind, with as much success as music. Of this, I met with a remarkable instance. For on walking, one day, about Matavai Point, where our tents were erected, I saw a man paddling, in a small canoe, so quickly, and looking about with such eagerness, on each side, as to command all my attention. At first, I imagined that he had stolen something from one of the ships, and was pursued; but, on waiting patiently, saw him repeat his amusement. He went out from the shore, till he was near the place where the swell begins to take its rise; and, watching its first motion very attentively, paddled before it, with great quickness, till he found that it overtook him, and had acquired sufficient force to carry his canoe before it, without passing underneath. He then sat motionless, and was carried along, at the same swift rate as the wave, till it landed him upon the beach. Then he started out, emptied his canoe, and went in search of another swell. I could not help concluding, that this man felt the most supreme pleasure, while he was driven on, so fast and so smoothly, by the sea; especially as, though the tents and ships were so near, he did not seem, in the least, to envy, or even to take any notice of, the crowds of his countrymen collected to view them as objects which were rare and curious. During my stay, two or three of the natives came up, who seemed to share his felicity, and always called out, when there was an appearance of a favourable swell, as he sometimes missed it, by his back being turned, and looking about for it. By them I understood, that this exercise, which is called *ahoroo*, was frequent amongst



amongst them; and they have probably more amusements of this sort, which afford them at least as much pleasure as skating, which is the only one of ours, with whose effects I could compare it.

The language of Otaheite, though doubtless radically the same with that of New Zealand and the Friendly Islands, is destitute of that guttural pronunciation, and of some consonants, with which those latter dialects abound. The specimens we have already given, are sufficient to mark wherein the variation chiefly consists, and to shew, that, like the manners of the inhabitants, it has become soft and soothing. During the former voyage, I had collected a copious vocabulary, which enabled me the better to compare this dialect with that of the other islands; and, during this voyage, I took every opportunity of improving my acquaintance with it, by conversing with Omai, before we arrived, and by my daily intercourse with the natives, while we now remained there\*. It abounds with beautiful and figurative expressions, which, were it perfectly known, would, I have no doubt, put it upon a level with many of the languages that are most in esteem for their warm and bold images. For instance; the Otaheiteans express their notions of death very emphatically, by saying, "That the soul goes into darkness; or rather into night." And, if you seem to entertain any doubt, in asking the question, "if such a person is their mother?" they immediately

reply, with surprize, "Yes, the mother that bore me." They have one expression that corresponds exactly with the phraseology of the scriptures, where we read of the "yearning of the bowels." They use it on all occasions, when the passions give them uneasiness; as they constantly refer pain from grief, anxious desire, and other affections, to the bowels, as its seat; where they likewise suppose all operations of the mind are performed. Their language admits of that inverted arrangement of words, which so much distinguishes the Latin and Greek from most of our modern European tongues, whose imperfections require a more orderly construction, to prevent ambiguities. It is so copious, that for the bread-fruit alone, in its different states, they have above twenty names; as many for the taro root; and about ten for the coconut. Add to this, that, besides the common dialect, they often expostulate, in a kind of stanza or recitative, which is answered in the same manner."

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*Character of Captain Cook: from Vol. III. of the same Work, written by Captain King; being a Continuation of the Voyage from the Death of Captain Cook, to the Return of the Resolution and Discovery to England.*

*CAPTAIN King, after relating the manner of Captain Cook's death, proceeds as follows:*

\* See this vocabulary, at the end of the second volume of Captain Cook's second voyage. Many corrections, and additions to it, were now made by this indefatigable inquirer; but the specimens of the language of Otaheite, already in the hands of the Public, seem sufficient for every useful purpose.

“ THUS fell our great and excellent Commander ! After a life of so much distinguished and successful enterprize, his death, as far as regards himself, cannot be reckoned premature ; since he lived to finish the great work for which he seems to have been designed ; and was rather removed from the enjoyment, than cut off from the acquisition, of glory. How sincerely his loss was felt and lamented, by those who had so long found their general security in his skill and conduct, and every consolation, under their hardships, in his tenderness and humanity, it is neither necessary nor possible for me to describe ; much less shall I attempt to paint the horror with which we were struck, and the universal dejection and dismay which followed so dreadful and unexpected a calamity. The reader will not be displeased to turn from so sad a scene, to the contemplation of his character and virtues, whilst I am paying my last tribute to the memory of a dear and honoured friend, in a short history of his life, and public services.

Captain James Cook was born near Whitby, in Yorkshire, on the 27th of October, 1728 ; and, at an early age, was put apprentice to a shopkeeper in a neighbouring village. His natural inclination not having been consulted on this occasion, he soon quitted the counter from disgust, and bound himself, for nine years, to the master of a vessel in the coal trade. At the breaking out of the war in 1755, he entered into the king's service, on board the *Eagle*, at that time commanded by Captain Hamer, and afterward by Sir Hugh Palliser, who soon discovered his merit, and introduced him on the quarter-deck.

In the year 1758, we find him master of the Northumberland, the flag ship of Lord Colville, who had then the command of the squadron stationed on the coast of America. It was here, as I have often heard him say, that, during a hard winter, he first read Euclid, and applied himself to the study of mathematics and astronomy, without any other assistance, than what a few books, and his own industry, afforded him. At the same time, that he thus found means to cultivate and improve his mind, and to supply the deficiencies of an early education, he was employed in most of the busy and active scenes of the war in America. At the siege of Quebec, Sir Charles Saunders committed to his charge the execution of services, of the first importance in the naval department. He piloted the boats to the attack of Montmorency ; conducted the embarkation to the heights of Abraham ; examined the passage, and laid buoys for the security of the large ships in proceeding up the river. The courage and address with which he acquitted himself in these services, gained him the warm friendship of Sir Charles Saunders and Lord Colville, who continued to patronize him, during the rest of their lives, with the greatest zeal and affection. At the conclusion of the war, he was appointed, through the recommendation of Lord Colville and Sir Hugh Palliser, to survey the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and the coasts of Newfoundland. In this employment he continued till the year 1767, when he was fixed on by Sir Edward Hawke, to command an expedition to the South Seas, for the purpose of observing the transit of *Venus*, and prosecuting

prosecuting discoveries in that part of the globe.

From this period, as his services are too well known to require a recital here, so his reputation has proportionably advanced to a height too great to be affected by my panegyrick. Indeed, he appears to have been most eminently and peculiarly qualified for this species of enterprize. The earliest habits of his life, the course of his services, and the constant application of his mind, all conspired to fit him for it, and give him a degree of professional knowledge, which can fall to the lot of very few.

The constitution of his body was robust, inured to labour, and capable of undergoing the severest hardships. His stomach bore, without difficulty, the coarsest and most ungrateful food. Indeed, temperance in him was scarcely a virtue; so great was the indifference with which he submitted to every kind of self-denial. The qualities of his mind were of the same hardy, vigorous kind with those of his body. His understanding was strong and perspicuous. His judgment, in whatever related to the services he was engaged in, quick and sure. His designs were bold and manly; and both in the conception, and in the mode of execution, bore evident marks of a great original genius. His courage was cool and determined, and accompanied with an admirable presence of mind in the moment of danger. His manners were plain and unaffected. His temper might perhaps have been justly blamed, as subject to hastiness and passion, had not these been disarmed by a disposition the most benevolent and humane.

Such were the outlines of Captain Cook's character; but its most distinguishing feature was, that unremitting perseverance in the pursuit of his object, which was not only superior to the opposition of dangers, and the pressure of hardships, but even exempt from the want of ordinary relaxation. During the long and tedious voyages in which he was engaged, his eagerness and activity were never in the least abated. No incidental temptation could detain him for a moment; even those intervals of recreation, which sometimes unavoidably occurred, and were looked for by us with a longing, that persons, who have experienced the fatigues of service, will readily excuse, were submitted to by him with a certain impatience, whenever they could not be employed in making further provision for the more effectual prosecution of his designs.

It is not necessary, here, to enumerate the instances in which these qualities were displayed, during the great and important enterprizes in which he was engaged. I shall content myself with stating the result of those services, under the two principal heads to which they may be referred, those of geography and navigation, placing each in a separate and distinct point of view.

Perhaps no science ever received greater additions from the labours of a single man, than geography has done from those of Captain Cook. In his first voyage to the South Seas, he discovered the straits which separate the two islands, and are called after his name; and made a complete survey of both. He afterwards explored the Eastern coast of New Holland, hitherto unknown; an extent of twenty-seven degrees  
of



of latitude, or upwards of two thousand miles.

In his second expedition, he resolved the great problem of a Southern continent; having traversed that hemisphere between the latitudes of  $40^{\circ}$  and  $70^{\circ}$ , in such a manner, as not to leave a possibility of its existence, unless near the pole, and out of the reach of navigation. During this voyage, he discovered New Caledonia, the largest island in the Southern Pacific, except New Zealand; the island of Georgia; and an unknown coast, which he named Sandwich Land, the *thule* of the Southern hemisphere; and having twice visited the tropical seas, he settled the situations of the old, and made several new discoveries.

But the voyage we are now relating, is distinguished, above all the rest, by the extent and importance of its discoveries. Besides several smaller islands in the Southern Pacific, he discovered, to the North of the equinoctial line, the group called the Sandwich Islands; which, from their situation and productions, bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence, in the system of European navigation, than any other discovery in the South Sea. He afterwards explored what had hitherto remained unknown of the Western coast of America, from the latitude of  $43^{\circ}$  to  $70^{\circ}$  North, containing an extent of three thousand five hundred miles; ascertained the proximity of the two great continents of Asia and America; passed the straits between them, and surveyed the coast on each side, to such a height of northern latitude, as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage, in that hemisphere, from

the Atlantic into the Pacific ocean, either by an Eastern or a Western course. In short, if we except the sea of Amur, and the Japanese Archipelago, which still remain imperfectly known to Europeans, he has completed the hydrography of the habitable globe.

As a navigator, his services were not perhaps less splendid; certainly not less important and meritorious. The method which he discovered, and so successfully pursued, of preserving the health of seamen, forms a new era in navigation, and will transmit his name to future ages, amongst the friends and benefactors of mankind.

Those who are conversant in naval history, need not be told, at how dear a rate the advantages which have been sought through the medium of long voyages at sea, have always been purchased. That dreadful disorder which is peculiar to this service, and whose ravages have marked the tracks of discoveries with circumstances almost too shocking to relate, must, without exercising an unwarrantable tyranny over the lives of our seamen, have proved an insuperable obstacle to the prosecution of such enterprizes. It was reserved for Captain Cook, to shew the world, by repeated trials, that voyages might be protracted to the unusual length of three or even four years, in unknown regions, and under every change and rigour of climate, not only without affecting the health, but even without diminishing the probability of life in the smallest degree. The method he pursued has been fully explained by himself, in a paper which was read before the Royal Society, in the year 1776\*; and whatever improve-

\* Sir Godfrey Copley's gold medal was adjudged to him, on that occasion.



ment, the experience of the present voyages has suggested, are mentioned in their proper places.

With respect to his professional abilities, I shall leave them to the judgment of those who are best acquainted with the nature of the services in which he was engaged. They will readily acknowledge, that to have conducted three expeditions of so much danger and difficulty, of so unusual a length, and in such a variety of situation, with uniform and invariable success, must have required not only a thorough and accurate knowledge of his business, but a powerful and comprehensive genius, fruitful in resources, and equally ready in the application of whatever the higher and inferior calls of the service required.

Having given the most faithful account I have been able to collect, both from my own observation, and the relation of others, of the death of my ever honoured friend, and also of his character and services; I shall now leave his memory to the gratitude and admiration of posterity; accepting, with a melancholy satisfaction, the honour, which the loss of him hath procured me, of seeing my name joined with his; and of testifying that affection and respect for his memory, which, whilst he lived, it was no less my inclination, than my constant study to shew him."

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*General Account and Character of the Natives of the Sandwich Islands; from the same Volume.*

THE natives of these islands are, in general, above the middle size, and well made; they walk very gracefully, run nimbly,

and are capable of bearing great fatigue; though, upon the whole, the men are somewhat inferior, in point of strength and activity, to the Friendly islanders, and the women less delicately limbed than those of Otaheite. Their complexion is rather darker than that of the Otaheiteans, and they are not altogether so handsome a people. However, many of both sexes had fine open countenances; and the women, in particular, had good eyes and teeth, and a sweetness and sensibility of look, which rendered them very engaging. Their hair is of a brownish black, and neither uniformly straight, like that of the Indians of America, nor uniformly curling, as amongst the African negroes, but varying, in this respect, like the hair of Europeans. One striking peculiarity, in the feature of every part of this great nation, I do not remember to have seen any where mentioned; which is, that, even in the handsomest faces, there is always a fulness of the nostril, without any flatness or spreading of the nose, that distinguishes them from Europeans. It is not improbable that this may be the effect of their usual mode of salutation, which is performed by pressing the ends of their noses together.

Notwithstanding the irreparable loss we suffered from the sudden resentment and violence of these people, yet, in justice to their general conduct, it must be acknowledged, that they are of the most mild and affectionate disposition; equally remote from the extreme levity and fickleness of the Otaheiteans, and the distant gravity and reserve of the inhabitants of the Friendly Islands. They appear to live in the utmost harmony and

\* Viz. in the death of Captain Cook.

friendship

friendship with one another. The women, who had children, were remarkable for their tender and constant attention to them; and the men would often lend their assistance in those domestic offices, with a willingness that does credit to their feelings.

It must, however, be observed, that they fall very short of the other islanders, in that best test of civilization, the respect paid to the women. Here they are not only deprived of the privilege of eating with the men, but the best sorts of food are *tabooed*, or forbidden them. They are not allowed to eat pork, turtle, several kinds of fish, and some species of the plantains; and we are told that a poor girl got a terrible beating, for having eaten on board our ship, one of these interdicted articles. In their domestic life, they appear to live almost entirely by themselves, and though we did not observe any instances of personal ill-treatment, yet it was evident that they had little regard or attention paid them.

The great hospitality and kindness, with which we were received by them, have been already frequently remarked; and indeed they make the principal part of our transactions with them. Whenever we came on shore, there was a constant struggle who should be most forward in making us little presents, bringing refreshments, or shewing some other mark of their respect. The old people never failed of receiving us with tears of joy; seemed highly gratified with being allowed to touch us, and were constantly making comparisons between themselves and us, with the strongest marks of humility. The young women were not less kind and engaging, and, till they found, not-

withstanding our utmost endeavours to prevent it, that they had reason to repent of our acquaintance, attached themselves to us without the least reserve.

In justice, however, to the sex, it must be observed, that these ladies were probably all of the lower class of the people; for I am strongly inclined to believe, that, excepting the few, whose names are mentioned in the course of our narrative, we did not see any woman of rank during our stay among them.

Their natural capacity seems, in no respect, below the common standard of mankind. Their improvements in agriculture, and the perfection of their manufactures, are certainly adequate to the circumstances of their situation, and the natural advantages they enjoy. The eager curiosity, with which they attended the armourer's forge, and the many expedients they had invented, even before we left the islands, for working the iron they had procured from us, into such forms as were best adapted to their purposes, were strong proofs of docility and ingenuity."

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*Character of Catharine the Ist. Wife of Peter the Great, and after his death Empress of Russia; from "Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, by William Coxe, A. M. F. R. S." Vol. 1st.*

"CATHARINE was in her person under the middle size, and in her youth delicate and well-formed, but inclined to corpulency as she advanced in years. She had a fair complexion, dark eyes, and light hair, which she was always accustomed

customed to die with a black colour\*. She could neither read nor write †; her daughter Elizabeth usually signed her name for her, and particularly to her last will and testament; and count Osterman generally put her signature to the public decrees and dispatches. Her abilities have been greatly exaggerated by her panegyrists. Gordon, who had frequently seen her, seems, of all writers, to have represented her character with the greatest justness, when he says, "She was a very pretty, well-lookt woman, of good sense, but not of that sublimity of wit, or rather that quickness of imagination, which some people have believed. The great reason why the czar was so fond of her, was her exceeding good temper; she never was seen peevish or out of humour; obliging and civil to all, and never forgetful of her former condition; withal, mighty grateful." Catharine maintained the pomp of majesty with an air of ease and grandeur united; and Peter used frequently to express his admiration at the propriety with which she supported her high sta-

tion, without forgetting that she was not born to that dignity ‡.

The following anecdotes will prove that she bore her elevation meekly; and was never, as Gordon asserts, forgetful of her former condition. When Wurmb, who had been tutor to Gluck's children at the time that Catharine was a domestick in that clergyman's family, presented himself before her after her marriage with Peter had been publicly solemnized, she recollected and addressed him with great complacency, "What, thou good man, art thou still alive! I will provide for thee." And she accordingly settled upon him a pension. She also was no less attentive to the family of her benefactor Gluck, who died a prisoner at Moscow: she pensioned his widow; made his son a page; portioned the two eldest daughters; and advanced the youngest to be one of her maids of honour. If we may believe Weber, she frequently enquired after her first husband, and, when she lived with prince Menzikof, used secretly to send him small sums of money, until, in 1705, he was killed in a skirmish with the

\* Busching says, "Ihr schwarzes haar war nicht natuerlich sondern gefaerbt," &c. Hist. Mag. vol. iii. p. 190.

† Her black hair was not natural, but coloured. On her first rise the coarseness of her hands proved that she had been used to hard labour, but they gradually grew whiter and whiter." These circumstances we may readily believe, because the lady from whom Busching received the information could easily know whether Catharine's hair was black, or her hands coarse, although she might be deceived in what relates to her family.

‡ Bassevits says, "Elle n'apprit jamais à écrire. La princesse Elizabeth signa tout pour elle, quand elle fût sur le trône, même son testament." p. 295.

§ The Austrian minister says, count Osterman used to sign her name to all the dispatches. Busf. xi. p. 481.

¶ "Son épouse était avec lui étalant, conformément à la volonté du monarque, la pompe impériale, qui le genait, et la soutenant avec un air surprenant de grandeur et d'aisance. Le czar ne pouvait se laisser d'admirer les talens qu'elle possédait, selon son expression, de se créer impératrice, sans oublier qu'elle ne le naquit point." Bassevitz in Busf. p. 338.

§ Life of Peter, vol. iii. p. 258.



enemy. In a conference with general Schlippenback, who, in 1702, commanded the Swedish army, when she was taken captive by the Russians, she asked him, "whether her spouse John was not a brave soldier?" Schlippenback returning, "am not I one also?" her majesty answered in the affirmative: but, repeating the question, he replied, "yes, please your majesty; and I may boast to have had the honour of having him under my command \*."

But the most noble part of her character was her peculiar humanity and compassion for the unfortunate. Motraye has paid an handsome tribute to this excellence. "She had in some sort the government of all his (Peter's) passions; and even saved the lives of a great many more persons than Le Fort was able to do: she inspired him with that humanity, which, in the opinion of his subjects, nature seemed to have denied him. A word from her mouth in favour of a wretch, just going to be sacrificed to his anger, would disarm him; but if he was fully resolved to satisfy that passion, he would give orders for the execution when she was absent, for fear she should plead for the victim †." In a word, to use the expression of the celebrated Munich, "*Elle étoit proprement la médiatrice entre le monarque et ses sujets* ‡."

*Character of Dr. Johnson; from the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides, by James Boswell, Esq.*

"**D**R. Samuel Johnson's character, religious, moral, political, and literary, nay, his figure and manner, are, I believe, more generally known than those of almost any man; yet it may not be superfluous here to attempt a sketch of him. Let my readers then remember that he was a sincere and zealous christian, of the high-church of England and monarchical principles, which he would not tamely suffer to be questioned; steady and inflexible in maintaining the obligations of piety and virtue, both from a regard to the order of society, and from a veneration for the Great Source of all order; correct, nay stern in his taste; hard to please, and easily offended; impetuous and irritable in his temper, but of a most humane and benevolent heart; having a mind stored with a vast and various collection of learning and knowledge, which he communicated with peculiar perspicuity and force, in rich and choice expression. He united a most logical head with a most fertile imagination, which gave him an extraordinary advantage in arguing; for he could reason close or wide, as he saw best for the moment. He could, when he chose it, be the greatest sophist that ever wielded a weapon in the schools of declamation; but he indulged this only in conversation;

\* Busching had the above anecdote from a lady who was present at this conference. Hist. Mag. vol. iii. p. 190.

† Motraye's Travels, vol. iii. p. 131.

‡ Ebauche, &c. p. 54. "She was the mediatrix between the monarch and his subjects."



for he owned he sometimes talked for victory: he was too conscientious to make error permanent and pernicious by deliberately writing it. He was conscious of his superiority. He loved praise when it was brought to him; but was too proud to seek for it. He was somewhat susceptible of flattery. His mind was so full of imagery, that he might have been perpetually a poet. It has been often remarked, that in his poetical pieces, which it is to be regretted are so few, because so excellent, his style is easier than in his prose. There is deception in this: it is not easier, but better suited to the dignity of verse; as one may dance with grace, whose motions, in ordinary walking,—in the common step, are awkward. He had a constitutional melancholy, the clouds of which darkened the brightness of his fancy, and gave a gloomy cast to his whole course of thinking: yet, though grave and awful in his deportment, when he thought it necessary or proper,—he frequently indulged himself in pleasantry and sportive fallies. He was prone to superstition, but not to credulity. Though his imagination might incline him to a belief of the marvelous, and the mysterious, his vigorous reason examined the evidence with jealousy. He had a loud voice, and a slow deliberate utterance, which no doubt gave some additional weight to the sterling metal of his conversation. Lord Pembroke said once to me at Wilton,

with a happy pleasantry and some truth, that, “Dr. Johnson’s sayings “ would not appear so extraordinary, were it not for his *bow-wow way*.” but I admit the truth of this only on some occasions; the *Messiah*, played upon the *Canterbury organ*, is more sublime than when played upon an inferior instrument: but very slight music will seem grand, when conveyed to the ear through that majestic medium. *While therefore Doctor Johnson’s sayings are read, let his manner be taken along with them.* Let it however be observed, that the sayings are generally great; that, though he might be an ordinary composer at times, he was for the most part a Handel.—His person was large, robust, I may say approaching to the gigantick, and grown unwieldy from corpulency. His countenance was naturally of the cast of an ancient statue, but somewhat disfigured by the scars of that *evil*, which it was formerly imagined the *royal touch* could cure. He was now in his sixty-fourth year, and was become a little dull of hearing. His sight had always been somewhat weak; yet, so much does mind govern and even supply the deficiency of organs, that his perceptions were uncommonly quick and accurate. His head, and sometimes also his body, shook with a kind of motion like the effect of a palsy: he appeared to be frequently disturbed by cramps, or convulsive contractions\*, of the nature of that distemper called *St. Vitus’s dance*.

\* Such they appeared to me; but since the former edition, Sir Joshua Reynolds has observed to me, “that Dr. Johnson’s extraordinary gestures were only habits, in which he indulged himself at certain times. When in company where he was not free, or when engaged earnestly in conversation, he never gave way to such habits, which proves that they were not involuntary.” I still however think that these gestures were involuntary; for surely had not that been the case, he would have restrained them in the public streets.

He wore a full suit of plain brown cloaths, with twisted hair buttons of the same colour, a large bushy greyish wig, a plain shirt, black worsted stockings, and silver buckles. Upon this tour, when journeying, he wore boots, and a very wide brown cloth great coat, with pockets which might have almost held the two volumes of his folio dictionary; and he carried in his hand a large English oak stick. Let me not be censured for mentioning such minute particulars. Every thing relative to so great a man is worth observing. I remember Dr. Adam Smith, in his rhetorical lectures at Glasgow, told us he was glad to know that Milton wore latches in his shoes, instead of buckles.

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*Particulars relative to the Person, Habits, and Manners of Ayder Ali Khan: From the History of Ayder Ali Khan, Nabob-Bahader, by M. Le Maitre de la Tour, General of Ten thousand Men in the Army of the Mogol Empire, and formerly Commander in Chief of the Artillery of Ayder Ali, and of a Body of European Troops in the service of that Nabob.*

**A**YDER Ali Khan, whose precise age is not known, ought to be about fifty-four or fifty-six years of age, if we may depend on those who have known him from his infancy. He is about five feet six inches high, and very lusty, though active, and capable of bearing fatigue as well on foot as on horseback. His complexion is very brown, as is that of all Indians who expose themselves to the air and the sun. His features are coarse, his nose small and turned up, his lower lip rather thick; and he wears nei-

ther beard nor whiskers, contrary to the custom of the Orientals, especially the Mahometans. His habits, like those of all the natives of India, are of white muslin, with a turban of the same. His robe is fashioned nearly the same as those of the European ladies, which are called *à l'Angloise*. The body and sleeves fit neatly, and are drawn close by strings; the rest of the robe being ample, and in folds: so that when the Indian great men walk, a page supports their train, from their first stepping off the carpet to their entering into their carriages.

In the army, Ayder Ali wears a military habit invented by himself for his generals. It is an uniform composed of a vest of white sattin, with gold flowers, faced with yellow, and attached by cords or strings of the same colour: the drawers are of the same materials; and the boots of yellow velvet. He wears a scarf of white silk about his waist; and, with the military habit, his turban is of a red or aurora colour. When he is on foot, he commonly uses a gold-headed cane; and sometimes on horseback he wears a sabre, hanging by a belt of velvet embroidered with gold, and fastened over his shoulder by a clasp of gold, enriched with some precious stones.

He never wears jewelry either on his turban or his cloaths; and never uses either neck-lace, ear-pendants, or bracelets. His turban is very long, and flat at top. In this particular he follows the ancient mode; as well as in his slippers, which are very large, and have a long point turned back, resembling the roofs of the buildings in some countries up the Levant; or those slippers anciently worn in France, and called *Souliers à la poulaine*. The *petits maîtres* of

of his and other Indian courts affect to wear little bonnets which scarcely cover the tops of their heads, and slippers so small as scarce to admit the points of their feet: but though in these and other respects their taste is so different from that of Ayder and his son, yet to imitate him as much as possible in the article of beard and whiskers, without infringing the precepts of the Alcoran, they reduce their beards and moustaches to a moustache scarcely discernible.

The countenance of Ayder, though not handsome, is open, and calculated to inspire confidence. He has not acquired the habit of disguising his aspect, which is either gay or overspread with chagrin, according to the occasions that present themselves. He possesses a facility of conversing on any subject; and has none of that stateliness and taciturnity, which almost all the other princes of the East affect to preserve. When he receives a stranger, he is reserved, and appears to speak with gravity; but soon recovers his usual ease, and converses with all the world, repeating himself the news and common conversation of the day, with the greatest affability. It is most astonishing, that this sovereign asks questions, gives answers, hears a letter read, and dictates an answer to another, beholds a theatrical exhibition, and even seems to attend to the performance,—at the same instant that he decides concerning things of the utmost importance.

There is no sovereign more easy of access to every one that has business with him, whether strangers or subjects; and the former, whatever

may be their quality are always sure to be introduced into his presence, by demanding an audience, by a Souquedar, or macebearer, of which there is always a sufficient number at the gate of his palace. The Fakirs, a species of begging monks, are alone excluded from this indulgence; but when one of these appears, he is conducted to the Pirjaja, or grand almoner, who supplies his wants. The court of Ayder is, in this point, absolutely different from those of all the other princes of India; who hold these Fakirs in such high veneration, that they suffer them to enter their palaces at any hour, and even admit them to their table. They have the assurance to take the first place at table, nearest the prince; though they are most commonly disgusting, filthy, and covered with vermin.

When business or parties of pleasure do not prevent Ayder Ali from going to rest at his usual time, which is after midnight, he rises with the sun, that is to say, about six o'clock. As soon as he is risen, the majors of the army\*, who have been on duty the preceding day and night, and likewise those who relieve them, enter, make their reports, and receive orders to be transmitted to the ministers and generals, who themselves have the privilege of entering his dressing-room, if they have any thing extraordinary or pressing to communicate. The couriers that have arrived during the night, or in the morning, also come and lay their dispatches at his feet. It may be esteemed a weakness in a prince so occupied, that his toilet takes up

\* These majors of the army are like adjutants-general. They are not persons of distinction, but men of approved diligence and fidelity, chosen out of the subaltern officers of cavalry and infantry.

a considerable part of his time. It lasts commonly two or three hours; and is chiefly taken up by his barbers, who pluck the hairs from his beard.

But justice requires us likewise to observe, that when any military operation requires his attention, the toilet is no more thought of.

Between eight and nine in the morning he quits his apartment, and repairs to a saloon, where a number of secretaries wait for his appearance. Into their hands, according to their respective departments, he puts the letters received; giving them at the same time instructions for the answers. His sons, his relations, and those lords who are honoured with his intimacy, enter; and if it be nine o'clock, they take the usual refreshment. If he has leisure, he appears at a balcony, and receives the salute of his elephants\*, that are led before him, as well as his horses. His tygers of chace likewise pay him a visit. They are led by hand, and are covered with a mantle of green and gold hanging to the ground, and a bonnet on their head, of cloth embroidered with gold, with which their eyes can be immediately covered, if they should chance to prove mischievous. Ayder himself gives each of them a ball of sweetmeats, which they take very adroitly with their paws, being exceedingly tame. These are the spotted tygers, and their keepers lead them every day into those places where the greatest crowds are: but the grand tyger, or tyger royal, has never been tamed by any attempts yet made.

After the repast, which ends about half after ten, Ayder enters into the hall of audience; or the grand tent, if at the army. He is seated on a sofa beneath a canopy, and very often in some balcony that fronts an open place or court of the palace; and some of his relations sit on each side of him. All persons who have permission or access, of which the number is very great, may come to this audience; and those who have affairs to transact, may either request admittance by means of the Souquedars, or put their request into the hands of those officers, by whom it is carried to their chief, who is always present, and who places it at the feet of the prince, where it is immediately read and answered. It is not customary here to stop the prince by the offer of petitions, when he goes out, unless the affair be very urgent and extraordinary, or the petitioner has been prevented from forwarding his request at the usual hours of audience; a circumstance that very rarely happens.

At this audience thirty or forty secretaries are seated along the wall to his left, who write continually. Couriers arrive almost every instant, and are conducted with great noise and bustle to the feet of the prince, where they lay their dispatches. A secretary kneeling takes the packet; and sitting on his hams before the prince, opens it and reads the letter. Ayder immediately dictates the particulars of the answer, and the letter is carried to the office of a minister. Contrary to the customs of the princes of the East, who affix their names

\* When the prince appears at the balcony, his officers cry out. "Your elephants salute your Majesty:" And at the same time those animals, who are ranged in a semicircle round the palace, make three genuflections.



by means of a seal, Ayder signs the dispatches in order as they are completed, as well as a number of private orders. Many writers report the contrary to this; which only proves that they have never seen Ayder half an hour at a time. The orders that issue from the offices of the ministers, have no other signature than that of the great seal, of which they are the depositories; and the dispatch is closed with the private seal of the minister. The letters signed by Ayder are closed by the seal of the sovereign, of which the principal secretary is guardian. When this Nabob writes any interesting letter, or gives an order of importance, he affixes a particular or private seal, which he always wears on his finger; and in that case he himself carries the packet to one of his couriers, who conveys it as far as the first station. To the packet is joined a paper, denoting the hour it was sent off; and at every station the time of its arrival is marked. We shall afterwards have occasion to speak of these posts, which have been since imitated by the English.

If Ayder purchases horses or elephants, or if new pieces of cannon have been founded or brought from any port or arsenal, he inspects them during this audience; the animals or pieces of cannon being brought into the court or square of the palace.

Ministers, generals, ambassadors, and other great men, rarely appear at this audience, unless commanded, or unless urged by extraordinary affairs. It is peculiar to their dignity to see the prince only in the evening, when none but men of consequence are admitted; and nothing else is thought of but to make their

court to the sovereign, or to share his pleasures. The great have agents, who are usually Bramins, who solicit their affairs either with the prince or his ministers; and these agents, who have the title of Ouaquils, or envoys, have their leave of admission to the presence when they have been presented by their masters, and are honourably received. The ministers send one of the principal secretaries of their department to the prince; who, sitting before him in the same posture as the other secretaries, communicate their business, and converse with him.

A great ambassador, or other person of consequence, is announced in a loud voice by the chief of the ushers, in these terms, "Your majesty, the lord of ——— salutes you." Ministers, secretaries, ouaquils, or other men of business, are not announced, but go in and out without particular observation, except that they are careful to salute the Nabob. When a great man is announced, the prince returns the salute, and begs him to be seated: the friends and other great men, who surround the sovereign, salute him also; and, in proportion to the esteem or favour he is in with the Nabob, they give place, that he may approach him. A person of ordinary rank, who has requested an audience, makes three reverences in entering, by moving his hand from his forehead almost to the ground; and afterwards places himself on one side of the chief usher, continuing silent, with his hands joined before him. The Nabob returns the salute by simply touching his turban with his hand, and affects to continue the discourse with those about him: after which he makes a sign for the person to advance, and demands,

mands, in an engaging and affectionate manner, the subject of his visit: and upon the exposition of the affair by the suppliant, he receives a decisive answer. If he be a stranger of a genteel rank or employment, as a trader or merchant of consequence, he receives orders to sit; and his place is usually on the right, fronting the secretaries. The Nabob asks him some questions respecting his state of life, his country, or his voyage, and appoints a time when he will see his merchandizes. Betel is then presented to the stranger, and is understood as equivalent to a permission to retire; which is done with the same ceremony as at the entrance.

This audience continues till after three o'clock, which is the hour he returns to his apartment to sleep, or make the siesta, as it is called in Italy.

About half past five, the prince returns into the hall of audience, or some other large apartment, where he places himself in a balcony to see his troops exercise, and his cavalry desfile before him. He is, as in the morning, surrounded by some of his friends or relations; and the secretaries are busied in reading letters, or writing.

About half after six, when the day closes in, a great number of Manefalgis, or bearers of flambeaux, appear in the court of the palace, and salute the prince as they pass on the side of the apartment where he is. They illuminate all the apartments in a moment, especially that in which the Nabob is, with tapers in chandeliers of exquisite workmanship, ornamented with festoons of flowers of the utmost lightness and delicacy. These chandeliers, on account of the wind, are covered

with large shades of English glass. There are likewise in some parts of the palace, large glass lanthorns, painted with flowers of all colours. The great men, ministers, and ambassadors, visit the Nabob only at night. They are usually perfumed with the most costly perfumes. Besides the men in power and employment, the apartments are filled with young nobility; and every body assumes the most polite and engaging manners. After having saluted the prince, the salute is paid to his sons and relations, his ministers, and others, in an easy, unaffected manner. Among the young nobility, there are a certain number who have the title of Arabsbequi; which answers nearly to that of chamberlain, in Germany. There are ordinarily four in waiting each day: they are distinguished by their sabre, which they carry in their hand in the sheath, using it nearly as a walking stick. All the other company leave their arms in the hands of their pages and other attendants, who are very numerous, and fill the avenues of the palace. The pages alone are permitted to enter: they follow their master, bearing his train into the apartments, till they quit their slippers at their stepping on the carpet: the pages then let fall the train, and put the slippers in a bag. Ayder, who sets no great value on these ceremonies, permits the Europeans to come in with their shoes on; though his apartments are commonly covered with white muslin, spread upon the most superb Persia carpets. He has such a predilection for white, that he causes wainscoting, that is painted, gilt, and varnished, to be covered with white muslin; and even chairs and sofas of embroidered velvet or gold  
stuff.

*Buffi*. The Europeans deceive themselves exceedingly in supposing, that it is by way of distinction or pre-eminence that they are permitted to enter the apartments in shoes. This permission, given them in some of the Indian courts, is occasioned by a notion the Indian princes have, that the Europeans are obstinate, and bigotted to their own customs, however repugnant to decency and propriety. *M. de Buffi*, to conciliate the Indian customs with those of the French, carried velvet slippers to the court of the Suba of Decan, which he put on; and made use of a kind of pantoufle in passing from his carriage to the border of the carpet, where he threw them off. We may often avoid offending strangers by little attentions that cost nothing, and tend exceedingly to conciliate their affections.

There is, for the most part, a comedy every night, that commences about eight in the evening, and lasts till eleven: it is intermixed with dances and songs. During this comedy, the Arabiquei continue near the strangers, and politely inform them of every thing they may desire to know; as the subject of the comedy, the news of the day, &c. They are careful to ask, if he chooses to drink or eat; in which case, they cause sherbet, warm milk, fruits, or confectionary to be presented to him; but they seldom eat. If the stranger chooses to play chess, they play with him, or propose a party. *Ayder*, to whom the entertainments of the stage are very indifferent, discourses with his ministers or ambassadors, sometimes passing into a cabinet to speak with more secrecy; and continues, as in the morning, to dispatch business, without seeming to be busy. Al-

most always, before the end of the performance, flowers are brought to him in a basket of filigree, out of which he himself gives a few to the lords who are about him; and afterwards the basket is carried into the apartments of the theatre, every one taking a small flower from them, and returning a profound reverence to the prince. This takes place even to the lowest secretary. When *Ayder* wishes to give a particular mark of his esteem, he himself makes a collar of jasmine flowers, knotting them with silk as he converses, which he himself adjusts round the neck of the happy mortal to whom he gives this glorious mark of his esteem and favour. He has several times conferred this honour on the chiefs of his Europeans, knowing well that the French, above all nations, esteem themselves well paid by this sort of money. He who has received this honour, is visited the following day by the first people of the court to compliment him.

If a battle has been gained, or any other glorious event has happened in favour of the prince, the poet of the court arrives, announcing himself, at his first entering the apartments, by the pompous and extravagant titles he bestows on the prince: as, "Health to the greatest  
" king on earth, whose name alone  
" causes his enemies to tremble," &c. All the world, at the voice of the poet, becomes silent and attentive. The comedy or dance is interrupted; the poet enters, seats himself in the place immediately opposite the prince, and recites a poem, which every body affects to hear with the utmost attention, except the prince, who seems at that time to be more particularly busied

in conversing with his ministers. The poet usually, after speaking of the prince, proceeds to his relations, and the generals or principal officers; not forgetting the ministers and favourites. The young courtiers, or *basas à demi*, who are usually included altogether in the praises bestowed by the poet, often turn it into ridicule; and their derision extends even to those who are the highest spoken of. They and the secretaries, or other inferior courtiers, often parody the words of the poem very pleasantly, sparing no body but the prince and his son: but as they have no printing, both the poem and the criticism are of short duration. We cannot speak of their public entertainments, without mentioning the Bayaderes, of whom the Abbé Raynal has drawn so advantageous a portrait in his *Histoire Philosophique*.

At the present time, the court of Ayder is the most brilliant in India; and his company of performers is without contradiction the first, as well on account of its riches, as because the Bayaderes are the women to whom he gives the preference. Being sovereign of part of Visapour, he has every facility of procuring among this class of women, those who are most remarkable for their beauty and talents.

The comedians of the court are all women. A directress, who is likewise manager, purchases young girls at the age of four or five years, who are chosen on account of their beauty. She causes them to be inoculated, and then provides them with masters both for dancing and music. They are taught every accomplishment that can inspire the prince and his court with the love of

pleasure; and their success is such, that they delight and seduce the most insensible of men. They begin to appear in public at the age of about ten or eleven years. They have generally the most delicate features, large dark eyes, beautiful eye-brows, small mouth, and the finest teeth; their cheeks are dimpled, and their black hair hangs in flowing tresses to the ground; their complexion is a clear brown, not such as that of the mulatto women, who are incapable of blushing; but like that of a country girl in the flow of health, who has preserved the roses, after suffering the lilies to fade. These are the yellow women, that the Orientals prefer to all others: they give themselves that tinge by painting their cheeks of a jonquil colour, in the same manner as the French women use rouge; and it is remarkable that in a very short time one becomes habituated to this colour, and finds it agreeable. Their habit is always a fine gauze, very richly embroidered with gold; and they are covered with jewels: their head, their neck, their ears, their breasts, their arms, fingers, legs, and toes, have their jewels; and even their nose is ornamented with a small diamond, that gives them an arch look, which is far from being displeasing.

The comedies are all pieces of intrigue. They personate either women who league together to deceive a jealous husband, or young girls that conspire to deceive their mother. It is impossible to play with more art or with more natural ease. Their songs are gay and agreeable. The words that are sung by a single voice are almost always the complaint of a lover. Those which are  
sung



sung in chorus are much gayer; but they have no second parts, and are always repeated.

The dancers are superior in their performance to the comedians and singers: it may even be affirmed that they would afford pleasure on the theatre of the opera at Paris. Every part is employed when these girls dance; their heads, their eyes, their arms, their feet, and all their body seem to move only to enchant and surprise. They are very light, and very strong in the legs; turning round on one foot, and springing up immediately after with a surprising force. They have so much accuracy in their movements, that they accompany the instruments with bells that are on their feet; and as they are of the most elegant figures, all their motions are graceful. No Bayadere of the prince's company is more than seventeen years old. At this age they are dismissed; and either travel over the province, or attach themselves to the Pagods\*.

The directress of this company is paid by the prince; but her emoluments are not known. She has always a number of pieces ready in rehearsal to be played at a moment's notice. Though there is every reason to think she is well paid by Ayder for the pleasures she procures him, the emoluments she receives from private individuals of fortune, are still more advantageous to her. When a great man gives a set supper, he has usually a comedy ornamented with songs and dances. The directress of the prince's company is paid one hundred rupees for every actress that plays, sings, or dances.

The number of these actresses is often more than twenty, the instrumental music not being charged.

If a supper is given to a few private friends, the singers and dancers are likewise employed at the same price of one hundred rupees. Besides which, they must be furnished with supper, and abundance of fruits, sweetmeats, and warm milk. If the friends are retained to sleep (as is often done, where their suppers are more friendly than ceremonious) they chuse each a companion for the night among the performers, for which the directress is likewise paid one hundred rupees each; and the master of the house must present his friend with some trinket, or piece of stuff, to be given to the damsel when she is sent away in the morning.

Besides the prince's company, there are several others in the town where the court is kept, and in the armies. There are even some that are composed of men only: but the people of the court never have recourse to any but the prince's company.

At eleven o'clock, or about midnight, every one retires but those that sup with the Nabob; who, except on grand festivals, are always his friends and relations.

This mode of life pursued by Ayder, is, as may be easily imagined, interrupted in the army. It is likewise occasionally interrupted by hunting parties, by excursions on foot or horseback, or by his attending to assist at the exercises and evolutions made by considerable bodies of his troops.

When he is obliged to remain a

\* Every Pagod maintains a number of Bayaderes, whose charms produce one of the most certain revenues of the Bramins.

month in camp, or in any town, he usually goes to the chace twice a week. He hunts the stag, the roe-buck, the antelope, and sometimes the tyger. When notice arrives that this last animal has been observed to quit the forests, and appear in the plain, he mounts his horse, followed by all his Abyssinians, his spear-men on foot, and almost all the nobility armed with spears and bucklers. The traces of the beast being found, the hunters surround

his hiding-place, and contract the circle by degrees. As soon as the creature, who is usually hid in some rice ground, perceives his enemies, he roars, and looks every where to find a place of escape; and when he prepares to spring on some one to force a passage, he is attacked by Ayder himself, to whom the honour of giving the first stroke is yielded, and in which he seldom fails. Thus the pleasures of the sovereign are varied to infinity.

# NATURAL HISTORY.

*On a new Method of preparing a Test Liquor to shew the Presence of Acids and Alkalies in Chemical Mixtures. By Mr. James Watt, Engineer; communicated by Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. F. R. S. From Vol. lxxiv. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

THE syrop of violets was formerly the test of the point of saturation of mixtures of acids and alkalies, which was principally used; but since the late improvements in chemistry, it has been found not to be sufficiently accurate, and the infusion of tounesol, or of an artificial preparation called litmus, have been substituted in the place of it.

The infusion of litmus is blue, and becomes red with acids. It is sensible to the presence of one grain of common oil of vitriol, though it be mixed with 100,000 grains of water; but as this infusion does not change its colour on being mixed with alkaline liquors, in order to discover whether a liquor be neutral or alkaline, it is necessary to add some vinegar to the litmus, so as just to turn the infusion red, which will then be restored to its blue colour, by being mixed with any alkaline liquor. The blue infusion of litmus is also a test of the presence of fixed air in water, with which it turns red, as it does with other acids.

The great degree of sensibility of this test would leave very little reason to search for any other, were there reason to believe that it is always a test of the exact point of saturation of acids and alkalies, which the following fact seems to call in question.

I have observed, that a mixture of phlogisticated nitrous acid with an alkali will appear to be acid, by the test of litmus, when other tests, such as the infusion of the petals of the scarlet rose, of the blue iris, of violets, and of other flowers, will shew the same liquor to be alkaline, by turning green so very evidently as to leave no doubt.

At the time I made this discovery, the scarlet roses and several other flowers, whose petals change their colour by acids and alkalies, were in flower. I stained paper with their juices, and found that it was not affected by the phlogisticated nitrous acid, except in so far as it acted the part of a neutralizing acid; but I found also, that paper, stained in this manner, was by no means so easily affected by acids of any kind as litmus was, and that in a short time it lost much of that degree of sensibility it possessed. Having occasion in winter to repeat some experiments, in which the phlogisticated nitrous acid was concerned, I found my stained paper almost useless, I was, therefore, obliged to search

search for some substitute among the few vegetables which then existed in a growing state; of these I found the red cabbage (*brassica rubra*) to furnish the best test, and in its fresh state to have more sensibility both to acids and alkalies than litmus, and to afford a more decisive test, from its being naturally blue, turning green with alkalies, and red with acids; to which is joined the advantage of its not being affected by phlogisticated nitrous acid any farther than as it acts as a real acid.

To extract the colouring matter, take those leaves of the cabbage which are freshest, and have most colour; cut out the larger stems, and mince the thin parts of the leaves very small; then digest them in water, about the heat of 120 degrees for a few hours, and they will yield a blue liquor, which, if used immediately as a test, will be found to possess great sensibility. But as this liquor is very subject to turn acid and putrid, and to lose its sensibility, when it is wanted to be preserved for future use the following processes succeed the best.

1. After having minced the leaves, spread them on paper, and dry them in a gentle heat; when perfectly dry, put them up in glass bottles well corked; and when you want to use them, acidulate some water with vitriolic acid, and digest, or infuse, the dry leaves in it until they give out their colour; then strain the liquor through a cloth, and add to it a quantity of fine whiting or chalk, stirring it frequently until it becomes of a true blue colour, neither in-

clining to green or purple; as soon as you perceive that it has acquired this colour, filter it immediately, otherwise it will become greenish by longer standing on the whiting.

This liquor will deposit a small quantity of gypsum, and by the addition of a little spirit of wine will keep good for some days, after which it will become a little putrid and reddish. If too much spirit is added, it destroys the colour. If the liquor is wanted to be kept longer, it may be neutralized by means of a fixed alkali instead of chalk.

2. But as none of these means will preserve the liquor long without requiring to be neutralized afresh, just before it is used; and as the putrid and acid fermentation which it undergoes, and perhaps the alkalies or spirit of wine mixed with it, seem to lessen its sensibility; in order to preserve its virtues while it is kept in a liquid state, some fresh leaves of the cabbage, minced as has been directed, may be infused in a mixture of vitriolic acid and water, of about the degree of acidity of vinegar; and it may be neutralized, as it is wanted, either by means of chalk, or of the fixed or volatile alkali. But it is necessary to observe, that if the liquor has an excess of alkali, it will soon lose its colour, and become yellow, from which state it cannot be restored; therefore care should be taken to bring it very exactly to a blue, and not to let it verge towards a green\*.

3. By the same process I have

\* Since writing the above, I have found, that the infusions of red cabbages and of various flowers in water acidulated by means of vitriolic acid, are apt to turn mouldy in the summer season, and also that the moulding is prevented by the addition of spirits of wine. The quantity of spirit which is necessary for this purpose I have not been able to ascertain; but I add it by little at a time, until the progress of the moulding is prevented.



made a red infusion of violets, which, on being neutralized, forms at present a very sensible test; but how long it will preserve its properties I have not yet determined. Probably the coloured infusions of other flowers may be preserved in the same manner by the antiseptic power of the vitriolic acid, so as to lose little of their original sensibility. Paper, fresh stained with these tests in their neutral state, has sufficient sensibility for many experiments; but the allum and glue which enter into the preparation of writing-paper seem in some degree to fix the colour; and paper which is not sized becomes somewhat transparent, when wetted, which renders small changes of colour imperceptible; so that where accuracy is required, the test should be used in a liquid state\*.

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*An extraordinary Case of a Dropsy of the Ovarium, with some Remarks. By Mr. Philip Meadows Martineau, Surgeon to the Norfolk and Norwich Hospital; communicated by John Hunter, Esq. F. R. S. From the same Work.*

SARAH KIPPUS, a pauper in the city of Norwich, was, for many years, a patient of my father's, and, at his decease, was under the care of Mr. Scott, as city surgeon, who obliged me many times by taking me to the poor woman, from whom I received the account of the early part of her disease.

Her complaints came on first after a miscarriage at the age of 27. She had never been pregnant be-

fore; and her discharges at that time were so great as to bring her into a very weak condition. She soon perceived some uneasiness, attended with a swelling, on one side, which, after a few months, became too large to distinguish whether it was greater on one side or the other. As the swelling was found to arise from water, it was drawn off, which was in the year 1757. She was never afterwards pregnant; but the catamenia continued regularly till the usual period of their cessation. When I first saw her, which was in the year 1780, she had been many times tapped, and she was then full of water. Her appearance was truly deplorable, not to say shocking. She was rather a low woman, and her body so large as almost wholly to obscure her face, as well as every other part of her: with all she was tolerably chearful, and seldom regarded the operation. I saw her just before we took away 106 pints of water, and I begged leave to take a measure of her. She was sixty-seven inches and a half in circumference, and from the cartilago ensiformis to the os pubis thirty-four inches. Her legs were now greatly swelled; but this, and every other symptom of which she complained, evidently arose from the quantity and weight of water. She neither ate nor drank much, and made but a small quantity of urine.

The operation of drawing off the water was generally performed on a Sunday, as the most convenient day for her neighbours to assist her, and before the latter end of the week she was able to walk very well. She was first tapped in the year 1757, and died in August 1783.

\* I have found that the petals of the scarlet rose, and those of the pink-coloured lychnis, treated in this manner, afford very sensible tests.

Thus

# 30] ANNUAL REGISTER, 1784-5.

Thus she lived full twenty-five years, with some intervals of ease, having eighty times undergone the operation, and in all had taken from her 6631 pints of water, or upwards of thirteen hogsheads.

I will subjoin the account of the dates, and the quantity drawn off at each time, as given me by Mr. Scott, observing that till 1769 no exact memorandum was kept, except of the *number* of times, although the quantity of water drawn off was always measured. By my father she was tapped twenty-six times, averaged at 70 pints each time: by Mr. Donne once, 73 pints, which makes 1683 pints from some parts of the year 1757 to 1769. By Mr. Scott as follows:

	1769	Pints.
Mar. 16.	— —	70
July 17.	— —	72
Nov. 20.	— —	78
Dec. 31.	— —	70
		— 290
	1770.	
April 15.	— —	70
Aug. 11.	— —	73
Dec. 4.	— —	76
		— 219
	1771.	
Mar. 22.	— —	74
July 14.	— —	78
Nov. 3.	— —	79
		— 231
	1772.	
Feb. 22.	— —	79
June 6.	— —	73
Sept. 12.	— —	74
Dec. 12.	— —	82
		— 308
	1773.	
Mar. 7.	— —	78
May 29.	— —	71
Aug. 29.	— —	79
Dec. 5.	— —	81
		— 309

	1774.	Pints.
Mar. 13.	— —	77
June 26.	— —	89
Oct. 23.	— —	92
		— 258
	1775.	
Jan. 24.	— —	94
May 28.	— —	91
Sept. 13.	— —	72
Dec. 16.	— —	80
		— 337
	1776.	
April 9.	— —	84
July 28.	— —	82
Nov. 27.	— —	85
		— 251
	1777.	
Mar. 16.	— —	89
July 27.	— —	90
Nov. 9.	— —	93
		— 277
	1778.	
Mar. 8.	— —	96
July 5.	— —	99
Nov. 5.	— —	105
		— 300
	1779.	
Feb. 28.	— —	106
June 13.	— —	108
Aug. 17.	— —	92
Oct. 24.	— —	99
Dec. 10.	— —	90
		— 495
	1780.	
Feb. 6.	— —	73
April 23.	— —	102
July 24.	— —	106
Sept. 10.	— —	95
Nov. 12.	— —	98
		— 474
	1781.	
Jan. 1.	— —	100
Mar. 11.	— —	94
June 25.	— —	100
Oct. 14.	— —	100
		— 394
	1782. Jan.	

1782.	Pints.
Jan. 13. — —	99
Mar. 18. — —	64
June 2. — —	74
Aug. 25. — —	98
Nov. 17. — —	90
	— 425
1783.	
Feb. 14. — —	104
May 11. — —	100
July 20. — —	98
Aug. 11. on opening	78
	— 380
	—
Total — Pints	6631
	—

In looking over this account it appears, that 108 pints was the greatest quantity ever taken away at any one time; that she was never tapped more than five times in any one year; and the largest quantity in a year was 495 pints. The most collected in the shortest space of time was 95 pints in seven weeks, from July 24th to September 10th in 1780, which is very nearly two pints a day. It appears also, that in the last 14 years of her life, when a regular account was kept, she increased faster in the winter than in the summer months. If the six summer months from April to September inclusive are reckoned, she lost in the 14 years in 23 operations 1972 pints, and in the winter months from October to March inclusive, by 30appings, 2596 pints; and it will be found that 30 is to 2596 rather more than 23 to 1972, so that seven moreappings were at least necessary in the winter than in the summer. In the months of March and November she oftener underwent the operation than in any other. In these calculations the three months in 1783 are not included, as the year was not finished.

If we compare the famous case of Lady Page, related by Dr. Mead, the quantity of water taken from her ladyship appears small when opposed to the number of pints drawn from Sarah Kippus. The one lost 1920, the other 6631. It must be confessed, however, that Lady Page collected faster than the poor woman whose case I have related.

I come now to speak of the dissection, and to make some observations on the whole. On the 10th of August 1783 the poor woman died; and the following day Dr. Dack, an eminent physician of this place, accompanied me to open the body. I first drew off 78 pints of clear water: supposing, therefore, all the water to have been taken away at the last operation, then in three weeks she had collected 78 pints, which is more than three pints and a half in each day: a quantity far exceeding what she had taken. I then opened into the cavity from which the water came, and separated the sac from the peritoneum, and found the sac had arisen in the ovarium of the left side. After this, I dissected out the uterus, with the right ovarium in a natural state, and thus obtained every part necessary to show the disease, *viz.* the uterus, the right ovarium found, and the left enlarged into an immense pouch. The cyst itself was not very thick, but lined in almost every part of it, but more especially in the fore part, with small ossifications. The peritoneum was *prodigiously* thickened, and thus, by its additional strength, became the chief support of the water. There was something singular in the sac itself; for it was rather two than one, from there being an opening in the side of what appeared at first the only cavity, which led to another cavity, almost equally

equally large with the first, so that if all the water in any operation had not been evacuated, it must probably have been owing to a difficulty in its passage from the second into the first or more external cyst. From the size, however, of the poor woman after each operation, it is evident, that in her there being two sacs did not prevent the total drawing off of the water. The other viscera appeared all in a natural state. The intestines were quite empty, and pushed up under the ribs, so as to have left but very little room for the expansion of the lungs within the thorax. The bladder was contracted, or rather I should say appeared lessened. The kidneys were healthy, and both ureters in a natural state. The sac is in the collection of John Hunter, esq.

In reflecting upon this case, an obvious question arises; from whence proceeded this immense collection of water? At different periods of this poor woman's life the quantity drawn off, without considering the urine she made, was much greater than the fluids she drank, which appeared from measuring whatever she took. It appears then pretty certain, that this superabundant quantity must have been taken into the body by absorption; and if we allow the bodies of animals to have this power of absorbing, which we very well know vegetables are possessed of, it will account for many appearances in the animal œconomy. This poor woman collected faster in the wet moist months of winter, than in summer.

From all this a happy conclusion may be drawn, that although human art is at present insufficient to the perfect cure of diseases similar to the poor woman's case I have related,

yet nature is continually defending herself from sudden death; and such relief may be granted as to protract life a long time without much pain, and often with intervals of great ease and comfort.

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*An Account of the sensitive Quality of the Tree Averrhoa Carambola. In a Letter from Robert Bruce, M. D. to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. F. R. S. From Vol. lxxv. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

THE Averrhoa Carambola of LINNÆUS, a tree called in Bengal the Camruc or Camruna, is possessed of a power somewhat similar to those species of Mimosa which are termed sensitive plants; its leaves, on being touched, move very perceptibly.

In the Mimosa the moving faculty extends to the branches; but, from the hardness of the wood, this cannot be expected in the Camruna. The leaves are alternately pinnated, with an odd one; and in their most common position in the day-time are horizontal, or on the same plane with the branch from which they come out. On being touched, they move themselves downwards, frequently in so great a degree that the two opposite almost touch one another by their under sides, and the young ones sometimes either come into contact or even pass each other.

The whole of the leaves of one pinna move by striking the branch with the nail of the finger, or other hard substance; or each leaf can be moved singly, by making an impression that shall not extend beyond that leaf. In this way, the leaves of one side of the pinna may be made



made to move, one after another, whilst the opposite continue as they were; or you may make them move alternately, or, in short, in any order you please, by touching in a proper manner the leaf you wish to put in motion. But if the impression, although made on a single leaf, be strong, all the leaves on that pinna, and sometimes on the neighbouring ones, will be affected by it.

What at first seemed surprising was, that notwithstanding this apparent sensibility of the leaf, I could with a pair of sharp scissars make large incisions in it, without occasioning the smallest motion; nay, even cut it almost entirely off; and the remaining part still continue unmoved; and that then, by touching the wounded leaf with the finger or point of the scissars, motion would take place as if no injury had been offered. But, on further examination, I found, that although the leaf was the ostensible part which moved, it was in fact entirely passive, and that the petiolus was the seat both of sense and action: for although the leaf might be cut in pieces, or squeezed with great force, provided its direction was not changed, without any motion being occasioned; yet, if the impression on the leaf was made in such a way as to affect the petiolus, the motion took place. When, therefore, I wanted to confine the motion to a single leaf, I either touched it so as only to affect its own petiolus, or, without meddling with the leaf, touched the petiolus with any small-pointed body, as a pin or knife.

By compressing the universal petiolus near the place where a partial one comes out, the leaf moves in a few seconds, in the same manner as

if you had touched the partial petiolus.

Whether the impression be made by puncture, percussion, or compression, the motion does not instantly follow; generally several seconds intervene, and then it is not by a jerk, but regular and gradual. Afterwards, when the leaves return to their former situation, which is commonly in a quarter of an hour or less, it is in so slow a manner as to be almost imperceptible.

On sticking a pin into the universal petiolus at its origin, the leaf next it, which is always on the outer side, moves first; then the first leaf on the opposite side, next the second leaf on the outer, and so on. But this regular progression seldom continues throughout; for the leaves on the outer side of the pinna seem to be affected both more quickly, and with more energy, than those of the inner, so that the fourth leaf on the outer side frequently moves as soon as the third on the inner; and sometimes a leaf, especially on the inner side, does not move at all, whilst those above and below it are affected in their proper time. Sometimes the leaves at the extremity of the petiolus move sooner than several others which were nearer the place where the pin was put in.

On making a compression with a pair of pincers on the universal petiolus, between any two pair of leaves, those above the compressed part, or nearer the extremity of the petiolus, move sooner than those under it, or nearer the origin; and frequently the motion will extend upwards to the extreme leaf, whilst below it perhaps does not go farther, than the nearest pair.

If the leaves happen to be blown by the wind against one another, or against the branches, they are frequently put in motion; but when a branch is moved gently, either by the hand or the wind, without striking against any thing, no motion of the leaves takes place.

When left to themselves in the day-time, shaded from the sun, wind, rain, or any disturbing cause, the appearance of the leaves is different from that of other pinnated plants. In the last a great uniformity subsists in the respective position of the leaves on the pinna; but here some will be seen on the horizontal plane, some raised above it, and others fallen under it; and in an hour or so, without any order or regularity, which I could observe, all these will have changed their respective positions. I have seen a leaf, which was high up, fall down; this it did as quickly as if a strong impression had been made on it, but there was no cause to be perceived.

Cutting the bark of the branch down to the wood, and even separating it about the space of half an inch all round, so as to stop all communication by the vessels of the bark, does not for the first day affect the leaves, either in their position or their aptitude for motion.

In a branch, which I cut through in such a manner as to leave it suspended only by a little of the bark no thicker than a thread, the leaves next day did not rise so high as the others; but they were green and fresh, and, on being touched, moved, but in a much less degree than formerly.

After sun-set the leaves go to sleep, first moving down so as to touch one another by their under sides; they therefore perform rather

more extensive motion at night of themselves than they can be made to do in the day-time by external impressions. With a convex lens I have collected the rays of the sun on a leaf, so as to burn a hole in it, without occasioning any motion. But when the experiment is tried on the petiolus, the motion is as quick as if from strong percussion, although the rays were not so much concentrated as to cause pain when applied in the same degree on the back of the hand, nor had the texture of the petiolus been any ways changed by this; for next day it could not be distinguished, either by its appearance or moving power, from those on which no experiment had been made.

The leaves move very fast from the electrical shock, even although a very gentle one; but the state of the atmosphere was so unfavourable for experiments of this kind, that I could not pursue them so far as I wished.

There are two other plants mentioned as species of this genus by Linnæus. The first, the *Averrhoa Bilimbi*, I have not had an opportunity of seeing. The other, or *Averrhoa Acida*, does not seem to belong to the same class; nor do its leaves possess any of the moving properties of the *Carambola*. Linnæus's generic description of the *Averrhoa*, as of many other plants in this country which he had not an opportunity of seeing fresh, is not altogether accurate. The petals are connected by the lower part of the lamina, and in this way they fall off whilst the ungues are quit distinct. The stamina are in five pairs, placed in the angles of the germen. Of each pair only one stamen is fertile, or furnished with an anthera. The filaments are curved, adapted to the shape

shape of the germen. They may be pressed down gently, so as to remain; and then, when moved a little upwards, rise with a spring. The fertile are twice the length of those destitute of antheræ.

Calcutta, Nov. 23, 1783.

*Account of the celebrated Salt Mines of Wielitska in Poland; from Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, by W. Coxe, A.M. F. R. S.*

“**B**EFORE we quitted this part of Poland, we visited the celebrated salt-mines of Wielitska, which are situated within eight miles of Cracow. These mines are excavated in a ridge of hills at the Northern extremity of the chain which joins to the Carpathian mountains: they take their appellation from the small village of Wielitska; but are sometimes called in foreign countries the mines of Cracow, from their vicinity to that city.

Upon our arrival at Wielitska, we repaired to the mouth of the mine\*. Having fastened three separate hammocks in a circle round the great rope that is employed in drawing up the salt, we seated ourselves in a commodious manner, and were let down gently without the least apprehension of danger, about 160 yards below the first layer of salt. Quitting our hammocks, we passed a long and gradual descent, sometimes through broad passages or galleries capable of admitting several carriages abreast; sometimes down steps cut in the solid salt, which had

the grandeur and commodiousness of the stair-case in a palace. We each of us carried a light, and several guides preceded us with lamps in their hands: the reflection of these lights upon the glittering sides of the mine was extremely beautiful, but did not cast that luminous splendour, which some writers have compared to the lustre of precious stones.

The salt dug from this mine is called *Ziebna* or Green Salt, for what reason I cannot determine; for its colour is an iron grey; when pounded it has a dirty ash colour like what we call brown salt. The quality improves in proportion to the depth of the mine: towards the sides and surface it is mixed with earthy or stony particles; lower down it is said to be perfectly pure, and requires no other process before it is used than to be pounded. The finest of this grey salt, however, is of a weak quality when compared with our common sea-salt: it is therefore undoubtedly by no means perfectly pure, but is blended with extraneous mixtures, though it serves very well for common purposes. Being almost as hard as stone, the miners hew it with pick-axes and hatchets, by a tedious operation, into large blocks, many of which weigh six or seven hundred pounds. These large masses are raised by a windlass, but the smaller pieces are carried up by horses along a winding gallery, which reaches to the surface of the earth.

Beside grey salt, the miners sometimes discover small cubes of white salt, as transparent as crystal, but not in any considerable quantity; they find likewise occasionally pieces

\* There are two other openings, down one of which the miners descend by stairs, down the other by ladders.



of coal and petrified wood buried in the salt.

The mine appears to be inexhaustible, as will easily be conceived from the following account of its dimensions. Its known breadth is 1115 feet; its length 6691 feet; and depth 743; and the best judges on the spot suppose, with the greatest appearance of probability, this solid body of salt to branch into various directions, the extent of which cannot be known: of that part which has been perforated, the depth is only calculated as far as they have hitherto dug; and who can ascertain how much farther it may descend?

Our guide did not omit pointing out to us, what he considered as one of the most remarkable curiosities of the place, several small chapels excavated in the salt, in which mass is said on certain days of the year; one of these chapels is above 30 feet long and 25 broad; the altar, the crucifix, the ornaments of the church, the statues of several saints, are all carved out of the salt.

Many of the excavations or chambers, from whence the salt has been dug, are of an immense size; some are supported with timber. Others by vast pillars of salt, which are left standing for that purpose: several of vast dimensions are without any support in the middle. I remarked one of this latter sort in particular, which was certainly 80 feet in height, and so extremely long and broad, as almost to appear amid the subterraneous gloom without limits. The roofs of these vaults are not arched, but flat. The immense size of these chambers, with the spacious

passages or galleries, together with the chapels above-mentioned, and a few sheds built for the horses which are foddered below, probably gave rise to the exaggerated accounts of some travellers, that these mines contain several villages inhabited by colonies of miners, who never see the light. It is certain that there is room sufficient for such purposes; but the fact is, that the miners have no dwellings under ground, none of them remaining below more than eight hours at a time, when they are relieved by others from above. In truth, these mines are of a most stupendous extent and depth, and are sufficiently wonderful without the least exaggeration. We found them as dry as a room, without the least damp or moisture; observing only in our whole progress one small spring of water, which is impregnated with salt, as it runs through the mine.

Such an enormous mass of salt exhibits a wonderful phenomenon in the natural history of this globe. Monsieur Guetard, who visited these mines with great attention, and who has published a treatise upon the subject, informs us, that the uppermost bed of earth at the surface immediately over the mines is sand, the second clay occasionally mixed with sand and gravel, and containing petrefactions of marine bodies, the third calcareous stone. From all these circumstances he conjectures that this spot was formerly covered by the sea, and that the salt is a gradual deposit formed by the evaporation of its waters \*."

\* See *Memoire sur les Mines de Sel de Wallisla*, in *Hist. de l'Acad. des Sciences* for 1762.



*Account of the Plica Polonica; from the same Work.*

“ According to the observations of Dr. Vicat, an ingenious Swiss physician long resident in Poland, and who has published a satisfactory treatise \* upon this subject; the *Plica Polonica* is supposed to proceed from an acrid viscid humour penetrating into the hair, which is tubular †: it then exudes either from its sides or extremities, and clots the whole together, either in separate folds, or in one undistinguished mass. Its symptoms, more or less violent, according to the constitution of the patient, or malignity of the disease, are itchings, swellings, eruptions, ulcers, intermitting fevers, pains in the head, languor, lowness of spirits, rheumatism, gout, and sometimes even convulsions, palsy, and madness. These symptoms gradually decrease as the hair becomes affected. If the patient is shaved in the head, he relapses into all the dreadful complaints which preceded the eruption of the *Plica*; and he continues to labour under them, until a fresh growth of hair absorbs the acrid humour. This disorder is thought hereditary; and is proved to be contagious when in a virulent state.

Many physical causes have been supposed to concur in rendering the *Plica* more frequent in these regions than in other parts: it would be an endless work to enumerate the various conjectures with which each

person has supported his favourite hypothesis: the most probable are those assigned by Dr. Vicat. The first cause is the nature of the Polish air, which is rendered insalubrious by numerous woods and morasses; and occasionally derives an uncommon keenness even in the midst of summer from the position of the Carpathian mountains; for the southern and south-easterly winds, which usually convey warmth in other regions, are in this chilled in their passage over their snowy summits. The second is unwholesome water; for although Poland is not deficient in good springs, yet the common people usually drink that which is nearest at hand, taken indiscriminately from rivers, lakes, and even stagnant pools. The third cause is the gross inattention of the natives to cleanliness; for experience shews, that those who are not negligent in their persons and habitations, are less liable to be afflicted with the *plica*, than others who are deficient in that particular. Thus persons of higher rank are less subject to this disorder than those of inferior stations: the inhabitants of large towns than those of small villages; the free peasants than those in an absolute state of vassalage; the natives of Poland Proper than those of Lithuania. Whatever we may determine as to the possibility that all, or any of these causes, by themselves, or in conjunction with others, originally produced the disorder; we may venture to assert, that they all, and particularly the last, assist its

\* *Memoire sur la Plique Polonoise,*

† The dilatation of the hair is sometimes so considerable as to admit small globules of blood; this circumstance, which however very rarely happens, has probably given rise to the notion, that the patient, if his hair is cut off, bleeds to death.

propagation, inflame its symptoms, and protract its cure.

In a word, the *Plica Polonica* appears to be a contagious distemper; which, like the leprosy, still prevails among a people ignorant in medicine, and inattentive to check its progress; but is rarely known in those countries, where proper precautions are taken to prevent its spreading."

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*Description of, and Observations upon, the Cock-Chaffer, both in its Grub and Beetle State: From Letters and Papers on Agriculture, &c. addressed to the Bath Society; by the Secretary of the Society.*

AS there are few insects more prejudicial to the farmer than that generally known by the name of the *Cock-Chaffer*, I beg leave to make a few observations thereon.

In different parts of this kingdom these insects are called by different names, such as, the *Chaffer*, the *Cock-Chaffer*, the *Jeffrey-Cock*, the *May-bug*, and (in Norfolk) the *Dor*.

In what class Linnæus ranks them, I do not remember; but they seem to be the *Scarabæus arboreus vulgaris major*, of Ray.

When full grown in their grub-state, they are near an inch and a half long, and as big as a child's little finger. Their heads are red, their bodies soft, white, and shining, with a few hairs on the back. They have three hairy legs on each side, all placed near the head, in which are two forceps or jaws, like the hornet; with these they cut asunder the roots of grass, corn, &c. and frequently destroy whole fields in a short time. In this *eruca* or grub-state, they continue three and sometimes four years.

†

In their beetle-state they have two pair of wings; the one filmy, and the other scaly. The *interior* pair are folded up in a curious manner, and remain hid, unless when expanded for flight. The *elytra*, or case-wings, are of a reddish brown colour, and sprinkled over with a fine white powder, like the auricula. The legs and tail (which is pointed) are whitish. The body is brown, except at each joint on the sides of the belly, which is indented with white. The circles round the eyes are yellowish; the antenna short, and terminated by fine lamellated spreading tufts, which the creature expands more or less as it is brisk and lively or otherwise.

The first account I find of these destructive insects, is given by *Monfett*, who tells us, that in the year 1574, such a multitude of them fell into the Severn, that they clogged, and even stopped, the wheels of the water-mills.

There is also an account in the Transactions of the Dublin Society, that the country people suffered so much in one county, by the devastation these insects made, that they set fire to a wood several miles in length, to prevent their further progress.

In the day-time they seldom fly about, but conceal themselves beneath the leaves of oak, sycamore, maple, hazel, lime, and some other trees, which they soon eat to a skeleton; but about sun-set they are all on the wing, and fly about the trees and hedges as thick as a swarm of bees.

While in their grub-state, they entirely destroy all the grass, corn, or turneps, where they harbour.

I have seen fine meadows, which in May and June have been all withered, and as brown as thatch.

These

These grubs generally lie near two inches below the surface, and eat the roots of the grafs so regularly, that I have rolled up many yards of the withered turf as easy as tho' it had been cut for a garden.

When they attack turneps, they eat only the middle of the small root; but by that means, kill all they bite without remedy.

Neither the severest frosts in our climate, nor even keeping them in water, will kill them. I have kept some in water near a week; they appeared motionless; but on exposing them to the sun and air a few hours, they recovered, and were as lively as ever: Hence, it is evident, they can live without air. On examining them with a microscope, I could never discover any organs for respiration, or perceive any pulsation.

Hogs will root up the land for them, and at first eat them greedily; but seldom meddle with them a second time. To rooks and crows they seem to be a high regale. When numerous, they are not destroyed without great difficulty; the best method is, to plow up the land in thin furrows, and employ children to pick them up in baskets; and then strew salt and quick-lime, and harrow in.

About thirty years since, I remember many farmer's crops in Norfolk were almost ruined by them in their grub-state; and in the next season when they took wing, the trees and hedge-rows in many parishes were stripped bare of their leaves as in winter. At first the people used to brush them down with poles, and then sweep them up and burn them. One farmer made oath, that he gathered eighty bushels; but their number seemed not much lessened, except just in his own fields.

Their mode of *coupling* is singular; and the time of their continuance in that act, sometimes two or three days. I have seen one of them fly in that state, with the other hanging pendant from its tail; and am in some doubt whether (like snails) they are not *hermaphrodites*, as there seems to be mutual insertion.

They deposit their eggs in the earth. The first year the grubs are very small, and do little mischief; the second year they are increased to the size of a goose quill, and are very injurious to the herbage; the third year they attain full size, and fly.

I am, &c.

E. RACK.

Bath, March 26, 1780.

*List of the Animals found in Kamtschatka, communicated by Mr. Pennant † :  
From Vol. III. of Captain Cook's last Voyage.*

** ARGALI, wild sheep, Arct. }				Capra ammon, Lin. Syst.	-	97.
Zool. Vol. I. p. 12. }						
Ibex, or wild goat	-	16.	Capra ibex	-	-	90.
* Rein	-	22.	Cervus tarandus	-	-	93.
* Wolf	-	38.	Canis lupus	-	-	58.

† The quadrupeds and birds mentioned in this part of the voyage are marked in this list with a double asterisk.

D 4

\*\* Dog

** Dog	-	-	40.			
** Arctic fox	-	-	42.	<i>Canis lagopus</i>	-	57.
** European fox	-	-	45.	<i>Canis vulpes</i>	-	59.
	a. black		45.			
	b. cross		ib.			
** Polar bear, in the Frozen sea				<i>Ursus arctos</i>	-	69.
only	-	-	55.			
** Bear	-	-	57.	<i>Ursus arctos</i>	-	
** Wolverine	-	-	66.	<i>Ursus luscus</i>	-	71.
** Common weasel	-	-	75.	<i>Mustela nivalis</i>	-	69.
** Stoat, or ermine	-	ibid.		<i>Mustela erminea</i>	-	68.
** Sable	-	-	79.	<i>Mustela zibellina</i>	-	68.
Common otter	-	-	86.	<i>Mustela lutra</i>	-	66.
** Sea otter	-	-	88.	<i>Mustela lutris</i>	-	66.
** Varying hare	-	-	94.	<i>Lepus timidus</i>		
Alpine hare	-	-	97.			
** Earless marmot	-	-	113.	<i>Mus citellus</i>	-	113.
Bobak marmot	-	-	115.			
Water rat	-	-	130.	<i>Mus amphibius</i>	-	82.
Common mouse	-	-	131.	<i>Mus musculus</i>	-	83.
Oeconomic mouse	-	-	134.			
Red mouse	-	-	136.			
Ichelag mouse	-	-	138.			
Fœtid shrew	-	-	139.	<i>Sorex araneus</i>	-	74.
** Walrus. Icy sea	-	-	144.	<i>Trichechus rosmarus</i>	-	49.
** Common seal	-	-	151.	<i>Phoca vitulina</i>	-	56.
Great seal	-	-	159.			
Leporine seal	-	-	161.			
Harp seal	-	-	163.			
Rubbon seal. Kurile idles	-	-	165.			
Ursine seal	-	-	ibid.	<i>Phoca ursina</i>	-	58.
Leonine seal	-	-	172.			
** Whale-tailed manati			177.			

There were no domestic animals in Kamtschatka, till they were introduced by the Russians. The dogs, which seem to be of wolfish descent, are aboriginal.

## B I R D S.

### Land Birds.

I.	Sea eagle. Vol. II. p. 194.	<i>Falco ossifragus</i>	-	-	12.
**	Cinereous eagle - 214.	<i>Vultur albiulla</i>	-	-	11.
**	White-headed eagle 196.	<i>Falco leucocephalus</i>	-	-	ib.
	Crying eagle - 215.				
	Otprey - 199.	<i>Falco baliaetus</i>	-	-	19.
					Peregrine



# NATURAL HISTORY.

41

	Peregrine falcon	-	202.	(Latham, I. 73†.)		
	Goshawk	-	204.	<i>Falco palumbarius</i>	-	130.
II.	Eagle owl	-	228.	<i>Strix bubo</i>	-	131.
	Snowy owl	-	233.	<i>Strix nyctea</i>	-	132.
III.	Rayn	-	246.	<i>Corvus corax</i>	-	155.
	Magpye	-	147.	<i>Corvus pica</i>	-	157.
	Nutcracker	-	252.	<i>Corvus caryocatactes</i>	-	157.
IV.	Cuckoo	-	266.	<i>Cuculus canorus</i>	-	168.
V.	Wryneck	-	267.	<i>Jynx torquilla</i>	-	172.
VI.	Nuthatch	-	281.	<i>Sitta Europea</i>	-	177.
VII.	White grouse	-	308.	<i>Tetrao lagopus</i>	-	274.
	Wood grouse	-	312.	<i>Tetrao urogallus</i>	-	273.
VIII.	Water ouzel	-	332.	<i>Sturnus cinclus</i>		
IX.	Fieldfare	-	340.	<i>Turdus pilaris</i>		291.
	Redwing thrush	-	341.	<i>Turdus iliacus</i>	-	292.
	Kamtschatkan	-	343.	(Latham, III. 28.)		
X.	Greenfinch	-	353.	<i>Loxia chloris</i>	-	304.
XI.	Golden bunting	-	367.	(Latham, II. 201.)		
XII.	Lesser red-headed lin-			} (Latham, II. 305.)		
	net	-	379			
XIII.	Dun fly-catcher	-	390.	(Latham, II. 351.)		
XIV.	Sky lark	-	394.	A. <i>Alauda arvensis</i>	-	287.
	Wood lark	-	395.	B. <i>Alauda arborea</i>	-	287.
XV.	White wagtail	-	396.	E. <i>Motacilla alba</i>	-	331.
	Yellow wagtail	-	396.	F. <i>Motacilla flava</i>	-	331.
	Tschutski wagtail	-	397.	H. (Latham, IV. 407.)		
XVI.	Yellow wren	-	413.	<i>Motacilla trochilus</i>	-	338.
	Redstart	-	416.	<i>Motacilla phænicurus</i>	-	335.
	Longbilled	-	420.			
	Stapazina	-	421.	<i>Motacilla flappazina</i>	-	331.
	Awatka	-	422.			
XVII.	Marsh titmouse	-	427.	<i>Parus palustris</i>	-	341.
XVIII.	Chimney swallow	-	429.	<i>Hirundo rustica</i>	-	343.
	Martin	-	430.	<i>Hirundo urbica</i>	-	344.
	Sand martin	-	430.	<i>Hirundo riparia</i>	-	344.
XIX.	European goatsucker	-	437.	<i>Caprimulgus Europeanus</i>	-	346.

## Water Fowl,

### Clayen-footed Water Fowl.

Great tern	-	No. 448.	<i>Sterna hirundo</i>		
Kamtschatkan	-	P. 525.	A.		
Black-headed gull	No. 455.	<i>Larus ridibundus</i>	-		225.
Kittiwake gull	No. 456.	<i>Larus rissa</i>	-		224.

† The birds which are not described by Linnaeus, are referred to the History of Birds, now publishing by Mr. Latham, Surgeon, in Dartford, Kent.

Ivory

Ivory gull	-	No. 457.		
Arctic gull	-	No. 459.		
Tarrock	-	P. 533.	<i>D. Larus tridactylus</i>	- 224.
Red-legged	-	P. 533.	<i>E.</i>	
Fulmar petrel	-	No. 464.	<i>Procellaria glacialis</i>	- 213.
Stormy petrel	-	No. 464.	<i>Procellaria pelagica</i>	- 212.
Kurile petrel	-	P. 536.	<i>A.</i>	
Blue petrel †.	Preface			
Goosander merganser	No. 465.	<i>Mergus merganser</i>	-	208.
Smew	-	No. 468.	<i>Mergus albellus</i>	- 209.
Whistling Swan	-	No. 469.	<i>Anas Cygnus ferus</i>	- 194.A.
Great goose	-	P. 570.		
Chinese goose	-	P. 571.	<i>Anas cygnoides</i>	- 194.B.
Snow goose	-	No. 477.		
Brent goose	-	No. 478.	<i>Anas bernicla</i>	- 198.
Rider duck	-	No. 480.	<i>Anas mollissima</i>	- 198.
Black duck	-	No. 483.	<i>Anas spectabilis</i>	- 195.
Velvet duck	-	No. 481.	<i>Anas fusca</i>	- 196.
Shoveler	-	No. 485.	<i>Anas clypeata</i>	- 200.
Golden eye	-	No. 486.	<i>Anas clangula</i>	- 201.
Harlequin	-	No. 490.	<i>Anas bistronica</i>	- 204.
Mallard	-	No. 494.	<i>Anas boschas</i>	- 205.
Western	-	No. 497.		
Pintail	-	No. 500.	<i>Anas acuta</i>	- 202.
Long-tailed	-	No. 501.	<i>Anas glacialis</i>	- 203.
Morillon	-	P. 573.	<i>F. Anas glaucion</i>	- 201.
Shieldrake	-	P. 572.	<i>D. Anas tadorna</i>	- 195.
Tufted	-	P. 573.	<i>G. Anas fuligula</i>	- 207.
Falcated	-	P. 574.	<i>I.</i>	
Garganey	-	P. 576.	<i>O. Anas querquedula</i>	- 263.
Teal	-	P. 577.	<i>P. Anas crecia</i>	- 204.
Corvorant	-	No. 509.	<i>Pelecanus carvo</i>	- 216.
Violet Corvorant	-	P. 584.	<i>B.</i>	
Red-faced corvorant	-	P. 584.	<i>C.</i>	
Crane	-	P. 453.	<i>A. Ardea grus</i>	- 334.
Curlew	-	P. 462.	<i>A. Scolopax arquata</i>	- 242.
Whimbrel	-	P. 462.	<i>B. Scolopax phaeopus</i>	- 243.
Common sandpiper	No. 388.	<i>Tringa hypoleucos</i>	-	250.
Gambet	-	No. 394.	<i>Tringa gambetta</i>	- 248.
Golden plover	-	No. 399.	<i>Charadrius plumbealis</i>	- 254.
Pied oyster-catcher.	No.		<i>Hematopus ostralegus</i>	- 257.

*With pinnated Feet.*

Plain phalarope

† I never saw this, but it is mentioned by Mr. Ellis. I had omitted it in my zoologic part.

W. 11b

*With webbed Feet.*

Wandering albatross	No. 423.	<i>Diomedea exulans</i>	214.
Razor-bill auk	No. 425.	<i>Alca torda</i>	210.
Puffin	No. 427.	<i>Alca arctica</i>	211.
Antient	No. 430.		
Pygmy	No. 431.		
Tufted	No. 432.		
Parroquet	No. 433.		
Crested	No. 434.		
Dusky	No. 345.		
Foolish guillemot	No. 436.	<i>Colymbus troille</i>	220.
Black guillemot	No. 437.	<i>Colymbus grylle</i>	220.
Marbled guillemot	No. 438.		
Imber diver	No. 440.	<i>Colymbus immer</i>	222.
Speckled diver	No. 441.		
Red-throated diver	No. 443.	<i>Colymbus septentrionalis</i>	220.

*A particular Account of Peter the Wild Boy; extracted from the Parish Register of North Church, in the County of Hertford.*

“**P**ETER\* commonly known by the name of *Peter the Wild Boy*, lies buried in this church-yard †, opposite to the porch.—In the year 1725 he was found in the woods near Hamelen, a fortified town in the electorate of Hanover, when his Majesty George I. with his attendants, was hunting in the forest of Hertswold. He was supposed to be then about 12 years of age, and had subsisted in those woods upon the bark of trees, leaves, berries, &c. for some considerable length of time. How long he had continued in that wild state is altogether uncertain; but that he had formerly been under the care of some person was evident from the remains of a shirt collar about his neck at the time when he was found. As Ha-

melen was a town where criminals were confined to work upon the fortifications, it was then conjectured at Hanover, that Peter might be the issue of one of those criminals, who had either wandered into the woods, and could not find his way back again, or, being discovered to be an idiot, was inhumanly turned out by his parents, and left to perish, or shift for himself. In the following year, 1726, he was brought over to England, by the order of Queen Carolina, then Princess of Wales, and put under the care of Dr. Arbuthnot, with proper masters to attend him. But, notwithstanding there appeared to be no natural defect in his organs of speech, after all the pains that had been taken with him he could never be brought distinctly to articulate a single syllable, and proved totally incapable of receiving any instruction. He was afterwards intrusted to the care of Mrs. Titch-

\* A very short account of this remarkable person is given in the Annual Register for the year 1757; but the one here inserted we are happy to lay before our readers, as both equally full and authentic.

† Viz. the church-yard of North Church.

bourn, one of the Queen's bed-chamber women, with a handsome pension annexed to the charge. Mrs. Titchbourn usually spending a few weeks every summer at the house of Mr. James Fenn, a yeoman farmer, at Axter's End, in this parish, Peter was left to the care of the said Mr. Fenn, who was allowed 35*l.* a year for his support and maintenance. After the death of James Fenn he was transferred to the care of his brother, Thomas Fenn, at another farm-house in this parish, called Broadway, where he lived with the several successive tenants of that farm, and with the same provision allowed by government, to the time of his death, Feb. 22, 1785, when he was supposed to be about 72 years of age.

“ Peter was well made, and of the middle size. His countenance had not the appearance of an idiot, nor was there any thing particular in his form, except that two of the fingers of his left hand were united by a web up to the middle joint. He had a natural ear for music, and was so delighted with it, that, if he heard any musical instrument played upon, he would immediately dance and caper about till he was almost quite exhausted with fatigue; and though he could never be taught the distinct utterance of any word, yet he could easily learn to hum a tune.—All those idle tales which have been published to the world about his climbing up trees like a squirrel, running upon all fours like a wild beast, &c. are entirely without foundation; for he was so exceedingly timid and gentle in his nature, that he would suffer himself to be governed by a child. There have been also many false stories propagated of his incontinence;

but, from the minutest inquiries among those who constantly lived with him, it does not appear that he ever discovered any natural passion for women, though he was subject to the other passions of human nature, such as anger, joy, &c. Upon the approach of bad weather he always appeared sullen and uneasy. At particular seasons of the year, he shewed a strange fondness for stealing away into the woods, where he would feed eagerly upon leaves, beech-mast, acorns, and the green bark of trees; which proves evidently that he had subsisted in that manner for a considerable length of time before he was first taken. His keeper therefore at such seasons generally kept a strict eye over him, and sometimes even confined him, because, if he ever rambled to any distance from his home, he could not find his way back again; and once in particular, having gone beyond his knowledge, he wandered as far as Norfolk, where he was taken up, and, being carried before a magistrate, was committed to the house of correction in Norwich, and punished as a sturdy and obstinate vagrant, who would not (for indeed he could not) give any account of himself: but Mr. Fenn having advertised him in the public papers, he was released from his confinement, and brought back to his usual place of abode.

“ Notwithstanding the extraordinary and savage state in which Peter was first found greatly excited the attention and curiosity of the public; yet, after all that has been said of him, he was certainly nothing more than a common idiot without the appearance of one. But as men of some eminence in the literary world have in their works  
published



published strange opinions and ill-founded conjectures about him, which may seem to stamp a credit upon what they have advanced; that posterity may not, through their authority, be hereafter misled upon the subject, this short and true account of Peter is recorded in the parish register by one who constantly resided above 30 years in his neighbourhood, and had daily opportunities of seeing and observing him."

A brass plate is fixed up in the parish church of North-Church, on the top of which is a sketch of the head of Peter, drawn from a very good engraving of Bartolozzi, and underneath it is the following inscription:

"To the memory of PETER, known by the name of the *Wild Boy*, having been found wild in the forest of Hertswold, near Hanover, in the year 1725. He then appeared to be about 12 years old. In the following year he was brought to England by the order of the late Queen Carolina, and the ablest masters were provided for him. But, proving incapable of speaking, or of receiving any instruction, a comfortable provision was made for him at a farm-house in this parish, where he continued to the end of his inoffensive life. He died on the 22d day of February, 1785, supposed to be aged 72.

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

*An Account of an Artificial Spring of Water, made by Erasmus Darwin, M. D. F. R. S. From Vol. lxxv. of the Philosophical Transactions.*

To the President and Fellows of the Royal Society.

Derby, July 16, 1784.

Gentlemen,

CONFIDENT that every atom which may contribute to increase the treasure of useful knowledge, which you are so successfully endeavouring to accumulate, will be agreeable and interesting to the Society, I send you an account of an Artificial Spring of Water, which I produced last summer near the side of the river Derwent in Derby.

Near my house was an old well, about one hundred yards from the river, and about four yards deep, which had been many years disused on account of the badness of the water, which I found to contain much vitriolic acid, with, at the same time, a slight sulphureous smell and taste; but did not carefully analyse it. The mouth of this well was about four feet above the surface of the river; and the ground, through which it was sunk, consisted of a black, loose, moist earth, which appeared to have been very lately a morass, and is now covered with houses built upon piles. At the bottom was found a bed of red marl, and the spring, which was so strong

as to give up many hogheads in a day, oozed from between the morass and the marl; it lay about eight feet beneath the surface of the river, and the water rose within two feet of the top of the well.

Having observed that a very copious spring, called Saint Alkmund's well, rose out of the ground about half a mile higher on the same side of the Derwent, the level of which I knew by the height of the intervening wier to be about four or five feet above the ground about my well; and having observed, that the higher lands, at the distance of a mile or two behind these wells, consisted of red marl like that in the well; I concluded, that, if I should bore through this stratum of marl, I might probably gain a water similar to that of St. Alkmund's well, and hoped that at the same time it might rise above the surface of my old well to the level of St. Alkmund's.

With this intent a pump was first put down for the purpose of more easily keeping dry the bottom of the old well, and a hole about two and an half inches diameter was then bored about thirteen yards below the bottom of the well, till some sand was brought by the augur. A wooden pipe, which was previously cut in a conical form at one end, and armed with an iron ring at the other, was driven into the top of this hole, and stood up about two yards from the bottom of the well, and being sur-  
rounded

rounded with well-rammed clay, the new water ascended in a small stream through the wooden pipe.

Our next operation was to build a wall of clay against the morassy sides of the well, with a wall of well-bricks internally, up to the top of it. This completely stopped out every drop of the old water; and, on taking out the plug which had been put in the wooden pipe, the new water in two or three days rose up to the top, and flowed over the edges of the well.

Afterwards, to gratify my curiosity in seeing how high the new spring would rise, and for the agreeable purpose of procuring the water at all times quite cold and fresh, I directed a pipe of lead, about eight yards long, and three-quarters of an inch diameter, to be introduced through the wooden pipe described above, into the stratum of marl at the bottom of the well, so as to stand about three feet above the surface of the ground. Near the bottom of this leaden pipe was sewed, between two leaden rings or flanges, an inverted cone of stiff leather, into which some wool was stuffed to stretch it out, so that, after having passed through the wooden pipe, it might completely fill up the perforation of the clay. Another leaden ring or flange was foldered round the leaden pipe, about two yards below the surface of the ground, which, with some doubles of flannel placed under it, was nailed on the top of the wooden pipe, by which means the water was perfectly precluded from rising between the wooden and the leaden pipes.

This being accomplished, the bottom of the well remained quite dry, and the new water quickly rose about a foot above the top of the well in

the leaden pipe; and, on bending the mouth of this pipe to the level of the surface of the ground, about two hogsheads of water flowed from it in twenty-four hours, which had similar properties with the water of St. Alkmund's well, as on comparison both these waters curdled a solution of soap in spirit of wine, and abounded with calcareous earth, which was copiously precipitated by a solution of fixed alkali; but the new water was found to possess a greater abundance of it, together with numerous small bubbles of aerial acid or calcareous gas.

The new water has now flowed about twelve months, and, as far as I can judge, is already increased to almost double the quantity in a given time; and from the rude experiments I made, I think it is now less replete with calcareous earth, approaching gradually to an exact correspondence with St. Alkmund's well, as it probably has its origin between the same strata of earth.

As many mountains bear incontestable marks of their having been forcibly raised up by some power beneath them; and other mountains, and even islands, have been lifted up by subterraneous fires in our own times, we may safely reason on the same supposition in respect to all other great elevations of ground. Proofs of these circumstances are to be seen on both sides of this part of the country; whoever will inspect, with the eye of a philosopher, the lime-mountain at Breedon, on the edge of Leicestershire, will not hesitate a moment in pronouncing, that it has been forcibly elevated by some power beneath it; for it is of a conical form, with the apex cut off, and the strata, which compose the  
central

central parts of it, and which are found nearly horizontal in the plain, are raised almost perpendicularly, and placed upon their edges, while those on each side decline like the surface of the hill; so that this mountain may well be represented by a bur made by forcing a bodkin through several parallel sheets of paper. At Router, or Eagle-stone, in the Peak, several large masses of gritstone are seen on the sides and bottom of the mountain, which by their form evince from what parts of the summit they were broken off at the time it was elevated; and the numerous loose stones scattered about the plains in its vicinity, and half buried in the earth, must have been thrown out by explosions, and prove the volcanic origin of the mountain. Add to this the vast beds of toad-stone or lava in many parts of this county, so accurately described, and so well explained by Mr. Whitehurst, in his *Theory of the Formation of the Earth*.

Now as all great elevations of ground have been thus raised by subterraneous fires, and in a long course of time their summits have been worn away, it happens, that some of the more interior strata of the earth are exposed naked on the tops of mountains; and that, in general, those strata, which lie uppermost or nearest to the summit of the mountain, are the lowest in the contiguous plains. This will be readily conceived if the bur, made by thrusting a bodkin through several parallel sheets of paper, had a part of its apex cut off by a pen-knife, and is so well explained by Mr. Michell, in an ingenious paper on the *Phænomena of Earthquakes*, published a few years ago in the *Philosophical Transactions*.

And as the more elevated parts of a country are so much colder than the vallies, owing, perhaps, to a concurrence of two or three causes, but particularly to the less condensed state of the air upon hills, which thence becomes a better conductor of heat, as well as of electricity, and permits it to escape the faster; it is from the water condensed on these cold surfaces of mountains, that our common cold springs have their origin; and which, sliding between two of the strata above described, descend till they find or make themselves an outlet, and will in consequence rise to a level with the part of the mountain where they originated. And hence, if by piercing the earth you gain a spring between the second and third, or third and fourth stratum, it must generally happen, that the water from the lowest stratum will rise the highest, if confined in pipes, because it comes originally from a higher part of the country in its vicinity.

The increasing quantity of this new spring, and its increasing purity, I suppose to be owing to its continually dissolving a part of the earth it passes through, and hence making itself a wider channel, and that through materials of less solubility. Hence it is probable, that the older and stronger springs are generally the purer; and that all springs were originally loaded with the soluble impurities of the strata, through which they transuded.

Since the above-related experiment was made, I have read with pleasure the ingenious account of the King's wells at Sheerness, in the last volume of the *Transactions*, by Sir Thomas Hyde Page, in which the water rose three hundred feet above its source in the well; and have



have also been informed, that in the town of Richmond in Surrey, and at Inship near Preston in Lancashire, it is usual to bore for water through a lower stratum of earth to a certain depth; and that when it is found, at both those places, it rises so high as to overflow the surface of the well. All these facts contribute to establish the theory above mentioned: and there is reason to conclude, that, if similar experiments were made, artificial springs, rising above ground, might in many places be thus produced at small expence, both for the common purposes of life, and for the great improvement of lands, by occasionally watering them.

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*On Dibbling Wheat. From Vol. III. of Transactions of the Society instituted at London for Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce.*

Norwich, Oct. 27, 1783.

GENTLEMEN,

**I** TAKE the liberty to address you on a subject I conceive will be worthy your patronage, viz. the dibbling or dropping of Wheat, which, though prevailing in this part of the nation, seems little understood, or scarcely apprehended, in the Southern, North-west, and Midland counties.

Your encouragement hath been handed forth, during some years, for the best set of experiments to ascertain whether it is most advantageous to cultivate Wheat by sowing it in the common broadcast way, or by drilling it in equidistant rows. Whether you have had this comparative difference ascertained, is not neces-

VOL. XXVII.

sary for me to enquire; my purpose is, a wish that, in handing forth a future encouragement, you might see it eligible to connect this late mode of propagation with the two former: I have been long persuaded it is superior to either, and that, pursued on lands of a certain description, it will be productive of much national advantage, and with no hazard of a comparative loss, applied to any lands experimentally known to be suitable to this grain.

I shall therefore beg leave to mention, having, with you, the good of the public in object, that being connected by neighbourhood, or business, with divers farmers, settlers of Wheat—and having tried it myself upon a small scale, yet the largest I was capable of, and been a close observer, from its beginning, through its successive adoptions in the part of the country where it began—I therefore hold myself ready to communicate any intelligence to you, that may tend to your forming a suitable judgment thereon, and as a ground for your future encouragement.

I may likewise add, though perhaps prematurely, that as the practice is novel, and in speculation unpromising, and has been considered as a refinement by genius at a distance, I conceive it would be in my power, upon your compensation for time and travelling, at a future seed-time, to excite a dibbler, with one or two of his droppers, to go to any place within fifty miles of London.

This, I presume, would impart an adequate idea of its mode, make the practice easy to their imitators, and in due time give an evidence, which speculation is scarce capable of attaining, that the economy of seed tends to an increase somewhat

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propor-

proportionable to the hoeing up nine-tenths of a turnep crop, which experience has evinced augments their real produce: yet in the setting of Wheat, as in the thinning of turneps, it must be under a regulation, and precision of judgment; which nevertheless practice can render easy, and an intelligent observer soon acquire.

I am, with great attention,  
Your respectful Friend,  
JOHN WAGSTAFFE.

P. S. I can scarce refrain observing that this present seed-time more Wheat hath been set, and land reserved for its continuance, within the distance of ten miles from Norwich, than in any preceding year, and peculiarly so in the hundred where it originated; while it is diffusing (though slowly) in every direction, and is now extended into a neighbouring county.

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*On the Culture, Produce, and Application of the Howard or Cluftered Potatoe, and the Compariſon of them with other Sorts. Extracted from the Account of Arthur Young, Esq. in the same Volume.*

#### EXPERIMENT I.

**P**roductive Quality. April 4, 1770. Having a small Howard Potatoe, cut it into four sets, planted them on a hillock of sandy loam, scattered with two pecks of poultry dung; when they came up, earthed them with one peck of chalk, and soon after with two pecks of rotten yard dung; again with one peck of poultry dung and a layer of loam. I was absent a considerable part of the sum-

mer, and therefore could not mark the progress of the vegetation, whether checked or accelerated by these earthings. Dug them up November 16; the produce ninety Potatoes, measuring two pecks, some of them remarkably fine, weight thirty-one pounds; the quantity of land occupied, four square feet; the acreable produce one thousand three hundred and sixty-one bushels.

#### EXPERIMENT II.

*Comparison with other Sorts.* March 20, 1771. Manured three furrows of ridges, four feet and a half broad, and seventy yards long, with six loads of farm-yard dung; the soil a wet hungry gravel, naturally poor. In 1770, it was manured seventy loads an acre, of earth and dung, drilled with lucerne; but failing, it was summer fallowed for turneps, but not sown, through a servant's mistake, the dung for the Potatoes was laid in the furrows, and the sets upon it in a double row, twelve inches apart, and as much from set to set; one bushel of seed. Covered them by reversing the ridges with a plough. Also five ridges contiguous, dinged in the same manner, with two bushels and half a peck of Red Nose Kidney, supposed at London to be the most prolific sort; also two other ridges dinged in the same manner, with five pecks, a mixture of Golden Tags, and Golden Rustets from Lancashire.

The first week in June hand-hoed the rows; the middle of the same month horse-hoed the intervals with a Berkshire shim, which cuts the surface but turns no furrow; followed this with a large double mould-board plough, which earthed up the

rows,

## 51

July 12 hand-weeded the rows; the middle of August repeated the shimming and double mould-board plough; the first week in September hand-weeded; the latter end of October ploughed them up.

which per acre makes	<i>Bushels.</i>
Howards	360
Kidnies	144
Tags and Ruffets	207

	Expences.	£.	s.	d.
1770.	Four ploughings			
	at 6s.	1	4	0
	Three harrowings			
	at 9d.	0	2	3
	Seventy loads of			
	compost at 2s.	7	0	0
	Rent	0	8	0
	Rates	0	1	2
	Repairs*	0	1	0
	Fences*	0	1	6

Carried over - - 20 4 8

Produce.			
Three hundred and sixty bushels, two shillings the selling price; but suppose 1s. 6d. the price of common Potatoes	£.	s.	d.
	27	0	0
Expences	23	0	10
	<hr/>		
Profit	3	19	2

One hundred and forty-			
four bushels, at 1s. 6d.	10	16	0
Expences the same, the			
small variation in the			
seed not worth noting	23	0	10

	Produce.			
Two hundred and seven	bushels at 1s. 6d.	15	10	6
Expences	- -	23	0	10
		<hr/>		
Loss	- - -	7	10	4

OBSER-

## OBSERVATIONS.

The soil above described is perhaps the most unfit of all others for common Potatoes; but being informed that the Howard would thrive where other sorts would not, I purposely chose it. The event is remarkable, and proves clearly that on these wet tenacious gravels great crops of that sort may be gained; the unsatisfactory circumstance is the value of the crop, a circumstance general with Potatoes, for their price varies exceedingly; and, what is worse, have sometimes no price at all for large quantities; consequently, if they cannot be consumed at home by cattle profitably, the object is not an important one: two manurings being charged to one crop, render the expence very high. It must however strike every person, that, had the Potatoes no more than paid the expence, the return would have been prodigiously advantageous, as the land is left in uncommon order for succeeding crops.

It is necessary here to remark, that the value of two shillings a load for the manure, is for a one-horse three-wheel carriage or cart, which holds about eighteen bushels, and is the average expence of my farm-yard compost for several years past. In the summer I cart a layer of marle, turf, or mould over all my yard, and in the following winter fodder my cattle on it, cleaning the stables, cow-house, and hog-ties on to it, bones, night soil, coal ashes, sackage of streets, or whatever manure I buy; in the spring I turn the whole over, mixing well together, and cart it for Potatoes; the two shillings includes filling, spreading, carting, and in a word all expence whatever.

## EXPERIMENT III.

In ploughing up the preceding crop, two lands were thrown into one, and early in the spring split again; after which one of them, where the Howards had been, coming up tolerably thick, from the small Potatoes left, I desisted from ploughing it up, in order to see what the result would be. It was hand-hoed once, and weeded twice; and being taken up in November, 1772, the produce was six bushels, or per acre two hundred and seventy-six; which, at one shilling and sixpence, is twenty pounds fourteen shillings.

## EXPERIMENT IV.

*Culture, Expences, Produce, and Application of one hundred and twenty perch. 1772.* The soil, a deep sandy loam; it was under carrots in 1771, and ploughed flat in autumn; the extreme wetness of the spring prevented my carting on the dung till the sixth of April, and then only thirty loads. Rain coming the eighth, prevented going on with it. Spread the compost, and on the thirteenth ploughed it into four feet ridges, striking the furrows immediately with the double mould-board plough; at the same time drew furrows at four feet distance, as paths for that large plough to open trenches to lay the dung in, that I might see which method answered best, spreading the manure all over the land, or laying it in furrows under the crop; but heavy rains impeded the work; the fourteenth it rained from five in the morning till ten at night, a cruel season for Potatoe planting; the piece ploughed the thirteenth did not work so well as it ought; indeed the season had been



been so wet, that no land except lays ploughed tolerably. April twenty-second and twenty-third went on with the manuring, and the twenty-ninth planted part, laying the sets in double rows, at one foot, on the dung, and covered them immediately with the plough, reversing the ridges; the part ploughed, with design to dibble, baked too hard for it; ploughed it therefore again, planting it in single rows: the plough first turned a furrow from one side of each ridge, and upon the back of this furrow the sets were laid six inches apart; the plough then returning, and taking a similar furrow from the opposite ridge, covered the sets, which must of course come up in the middle of the new ridge. The dung which was spread over the land fell on to the sets in ploughing, as I could wish. May first, finished, and the fourth planted it; during the summer hand-hoed once, hand-weeded once, and horse-hoed twice, once with shim, and once with double mould-board; nothing made a more beautiful appearance than these Potatoes throughout the season; the verdure and luxuriance of the herbage, notwithstanding the severity of the drought which followed that wet spring, was a most pleasing sight, nor was there to be seen a weed throughout. November fourteenth, began taking them up; eighteen rows and a half planted on the dung, one hundred and ten yards long by four feet broad, produced two hundred and thirteen bushels, dirty; that space makes ninety square perch; the proportion per acre is three hundred and fourteen bushels, deducting one-sixth for dirt; six rows, where the dung was spread, produced sixty-

four bushels and a half, dirty; clean fifty-three, one sixth deducted; proportion per acre two hundred and ninety-two. Total produce, dirty, two hundred and seventy seven bushels. For securing them during the winter, I spread the floor of a small barn with trusses of straw, close to each other, and the same around the sides of the barn, the Potatoes were laid in with all the dirt that stuck to them; some were very wet, I did not open the heap till the end of January, when the whole was one hard dry mass, and the Potatoes very sound and good; upon measuring them clean, the produce was two hundred and forty-six bushels, the dirt therefore did not amount quite to one sixth; one hundred and twenty perch producing two hundred and forty-six, is at the rate of three hundred and twenty-eight per acre.

Expences per acre.		£.	s.	d.
1771.	Ploughing	0	6	0
1772.	Compost, one hundred loads at 2s.	10	0	0
	Ploughing	0	6	0
	Twelve bushels of sets at 1s. 6d.	0	18	0
	Slicing and planting	0	6	0
	Harrowing	0	0	9
	Hand-hoeing	0	10	0
	Hand-weeding	0	3	0
	Horse-hoing shim	0	0	9
	Double mould-board	0	5	0
	Ploughing up	0	6	0
	Picking up, 1¼d. per bushel	1	14	2
	Carting home, drawing and cleaning	1	0	0
	Annual charges	0	11	8

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Value ascertained 16 7 4

February the eighth, &c. In a copper, that held six bushels, boiled  
E 3 at

at several times seventy-five bushels, with ninety bush-faggots, turning them out of the copper into a tub, wherein they were mashed: from this tub put the mash, without any liquor, into a cistern; adding, as it was done, nine bushels of barley in meal: a boy in the cistern mixed them well together with a spade. Bought five hogs of the Chinese breed, and weighed them alive.

No. 1	-	-	121	lb.
2	-	-	117	
3	-	-	102	
4	-	-	95	
5	-	-	98	
				533

They cost six pounds thirteen shillings and three-pence, which is three-pence per pound alive. Upon finishing the Potatoes, they were weighed alive, killed, and sold, which was rather a disadvantage, as none of them were quite fat; I did it, however, for the sake of gaining the knowledge I made the trial in search of. They weighed seven hundred and eighty-four pounds alive, and five hundred and ten pounds dead, which sold at sixpence per pound, or twelve pounds fifteen shillings; this proportion is nearly twenty pounds alive, giving thirteen dead. Numbers one and two were weighed at different times, and gained the first three weeks of fattening two pounds and a quarter each per diem, which is very considerable: the expences were

		£.	s.	d.
Cost of the Hogs	-	6	13	3
Labour, washing Potatoes				
and boiling	-	0	6	0
Ninety bush-faggots, value	0	5	0	
Nine bushels barley	-	1	16	0
		9	0	3

	Produce.	£.	s.	d.
Sold at	-	12	15	0
Deduct	-	9	0	3

Remains, which is the value paid for the Potatoes - - 3 15 9  
Or per bushel one shilling.

When I found the hogs thriving so well, I expected the Potatoes to pay a higher value than this; not but a shilling a bushel, in an application that goes to any quantity, is a great object.

But as the prices of pork and barley may vary, I shall give the product of pork yielded by this quantity of food.

lb.  
The hogs, when killed fat, weighed - - 510  
At putting up, they weighed alive 533lb. This would have been dead at 13 or 20 - 346

The gain of pork was therefore 164

Thus seventy-five bushels of Potatoes, and nine of barley, yielded one hundred and sixty-four pounds of Pork. This is a fact which may be useful, whatever the price of barley is, and for whatever pork may sell.

The mere increase of dead weight is not the whole profit, or it would not pay the expence; there is, besides, the profit on converting lean to fat, if bought at three-pence alive weight. But three hundred and forty-six dead, at six pence, would be eight pounds thirteen shillings, whereas they cost but six pounds thirteen shillings.

The Society will observe, that this value of one shilling per bushel is

is found only from one experiment, which, though it answers for fixing the amount of this crop, yet repeated ones must be made, to discover what may be reckoned a standard value.

Produce.	£.	s.	d.
Three hundred and twenty-eight bushels at 1 s.	16	8	0
Expences - - -	16	7	4

Hence therefore the crop paid the expences; which, considering the ample manuring and the great order the land is left in, must be esteemed a very considerable profit. The great object of tillage is to find a fallow crop which will pay its expences, manuring included. Every farmer knows that turneps, under the last perfection of culture, will never do this; but if Potatoes used at home can be made to do it, every beneficial purpose is answered: for the consumption, by fattening hogs, raises a large quantity of valuable dung.

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*Description of a Contrivance for increasing the Effect of Engines for extinguishing Fires; from the same Volume.*

THE Silver Medal and Twenty Guineas were voted to Mr. Furst, in consideration of the utility of a contrivance produced by him, and of which trial was made, for increasing the effect of Engines for extinguishing Fires. A complete model remains in the Repository of the Society, of which the following is a short description.

FROM a platform rises an upright pole or mast, of such height as may be judged necessary; up this pole or mast slides a gaff, and along the upright pole and gaff the leather hose from the Engine is conveyed; at the extremity of the gaff the branch of the Engine projects; towards this extremity is fixed an iron frame, whence hang two chains, and from them ropes, serving to give a horizontal direction to the branch; whilst other ropes, running through proper pullies, and being thus conveyed down the mast, serve also to communicate a vertical motion to it. By these means the branch or nose-pipe of the Engine is conveyed into the window of any room where the fire more immediately rages, and the effect of the water discharged therefrom applied in the most efficacious manner to the extinguishing it.

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*The following Account of a Dissolvent for the human calculi, found out by Mr. B. Colburne, of Bath, seems so well corroborated, by the most respectable Instances, for its salutary Effect, that we think it our Duty to lay it before our Readers. Extracted from the Gentleman's Magazine for July 1785.*

MR. Colburne informs us, that from several very accurate experiments on the human calculus, steeped in alkaline salts, they were reduced in weight, and disposed to dissolve: this led him to try what effect it would produce, by the internal use, on the urine of those who suffer from the gravel or stone; and was agreeably surprised to find that

his own urine (for he was a sufferer himself) from being turbid, and disposed to precipitation, became clear, and of a natural colour. But the alkaline salts proving disagreeable and nauseating, he conceived that some more agreeable mode might be contrived to answer the same good purposes. Fixed air seemed to Mr. Colburne the best means of success, and experience soon confirmed his hopes. The alkaline solution is thus prepared :

Put two ounces, troy weight, of dry salt of tartar into an open earthen vessel, and pour upon it two quarts of the softest water to be had, and stir them well together. Let the solution stand for 24 hours, when the clear part must be poured off, with care to avoid any of the residuum, and put into the middle part of one of the glass machines for impregnating water with fixible air, and exposed to a stream of that fluid : after the water has been 24 hours in this situation, it will be fit for use, and should be bottled off. Well cork the bottles, and set them upon their corks, bottom upwards ; and with such care it will keep several weeks. Eight ounces may be taken three times in 24 hours, without any inconvenience ; but it may be best to begin with a smaller quantity.

*in the Counties of Somerset, Wilts, Gloucester, and Dorset, and the City and County of Bristol.*

[By an Experienced Correspondent.]

GENTLEMEN,

AS the publication of your first volume of select papers did you honour as a Society, and furnished the public with a variety of useful information, it gave me pleasure to see, in the advertisement of your annual meeting, that a second volume was nearly ready for the press. And as you seem desirous to obtain the correspondence of those who have had some experience, and possess some knowledge, in the arts of cultivation, I am willing to contribute my mite in this way.

Agriculture, Planting, &c. have been my employment, study, and amusement, near forty years ; and, as I have kept regular minutes of the experiments I made, they have supplied me with considerable instruction.

I therefore beg leave to trouble you with a few brief remarks on the nature of different soils, and the crops most likely to succeed on each respectively.

*First*, Clay, which is in general the stiffest of all soils, and contains an unctuous quality. But under the term clays, earths of different sorts and colours are included. One kind is so obstinate, that scarcely any thing will subdue it ; another so hungry and poor, that it absorbs whatever is applied, and turns it into its own quality. Some clays are fatter than others, and the fatter are the best ; some are more soft and slippery. But all of them retain

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*On the Nature of different kinds of Soil, and the Grain, Pulse, or Grasses proper to each. From Vol. II. of Letters and Papers on Agriculture, Planting, &c. selected from the Correspondence-Book of the Society instituted at Bath, for the Encouragement of Agriculture, Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce, with-*



tain water poured on their surfaces, where it stagnates and chills the plants, without sinking into the soil. The closeness of clay prevents the roots and fibres of plants from spreading in search of nourishment. The blue, the red, and the white clay, if strong, are unfavourable to vegetation. The stony and looser sort are less so; but none of them are worth any thing till their texture is so loosened by a mixture of other substances, and opened, as to admit the influence of the sun, the air, and frosts. Among the manures recommended for clay, sand is of all others to be preferred; and sea-sand the best of all where it can be obtained: this most effectually breaks the cohesion.

The reason for preferring sea-sand is, that it is not formed wholly (as most other sands are) of small stones; but contains a great deal of calcareous matter in it, such as shells grated and broken to pieces by the tide; and also of salts. The smaller the sand is, the more easily it penetrates the clay; but it abides less time in it than the larger.

The next best sand is that washed down by rains on gravelly soils. Those which are dry and light are the worst. Small gritty gravel has also been recommended by the best writers on Agriculture for these soils; and in many instances I have found them to answer the purpose.

Shell marle, ashes, and all animal and vegetable substances, are very good manures for clay; but they have been found most beneficial when sand is mixed with them. Lime has been often used, but I would not recommend it, for I never found any advantage from it singly, when applied to clays.

The crops most suitable for such

lands are, wheat, beans, cabbages, and rye-grass. Clover seldom succeeds, nor indeed any plants whose roots require depth, and a wide spread in the earth.

*2dly*, Chalk.—Chalky soils are generally dry and warm, and, if there be a tolerable depth of mould, fruitful; producing great crops of barley, rye, pease, vetches, clover, trefoil, burnet, and particularly saintfoin. The latter plant flourishes in a chalky soil better than any other. But if the surface of mould be very thin, this soil requires good manuring with clay, marle, loam, or dung. As these lands are dry, they may be sown earlier than others.

When your barley is three inches high, throw in 10lb. of clover, or 15lb. of trefoil, and roll it well. The next summer mow the crop for hay; feed off the aftermath with sheep; and in winter give it a top-dressing of dung. This will produce a crop the second spring, which should be cut for hay. As soon as this crop is carried off, plough up the land, and in the beginning of September sow three bushels of rye per acre, either to feed off, with sheep in the spring, or to stand for harvest. If you feed it off, sow winter vetches in August or September, and make them into hay the following summer. Then get the land into as fine tilth as possible, and sow it with saintfoin, which, with a little manure once in two or three years, will remain and produce good crops for twenty years together.

*3dly*, Light poor land, which seldom produces good crops of any thing till well manured. After it is well ploughed, sow three bushels of buck-wheat per acre, in April or May.

May. When in bloom, let your cattle in, a few days, to eat off the best and tread the other down; this done, plough in what remains immediately. This will soon ferment and rot in the ground; then lay it fine, and sow three bushels of rye per acre. If this can be got off early enough, sow turnips; if not, winter vetches to cut for hay. Then get it in good tilth, and sow turnip-rooted cabbages in rows three feet apart. This plant seldom fails, if it has sufficient room, and the intervals be well horse-hoed; and you will find it the best spring-feed for sheep when turnips are over.

The horse-hoeing will clean and prepare the land for saintfoin; for the sowing of which I reckon April the best season. The usual way is to sow it broad-cast, four bushels to an acre: but I prefer sowing it in drills two feet asunder; for then it may be horse-hoed, and half the seed will be sufficient.

The horse-hoeing will not only clean the crop, but earth up the plants, and render them more luxuriant and lasting.

If you sow it broad-cast, give it a top-dressing in December or January, of rotten dung, or ashes; or, which I think still better, of both, mixed up in compost.

From various trials, I find that taking only one crop in a year, and feeding the after-growth, is better than to mow it twice. Cut it as soon as it is in full bloom, if the weather will permit. The hay will be the sweeter, and the strength of the plants less impaired, than if it stands till the seed is formed.

4thly, Light rich land, being the most easy to cultivate to advantage, and capable of bearing most kinds of grain, pulse, and herbage.—I

shall say little upon it. One thing however is very proper to be observed, that such lands are the best adapted to the drill-husbandry, especially where machines are used, which require shallow furrows to be made for the reception of the seed. This, if not prone to couch-grass, is the best of all soils for lucerne; which, if sown in two feet drills, and kept clean, will yield an astonishing quantity of the most excellent herbage. But I am convinced lucerne will never be cultivated to advantage, where couch-grass and weeds are very plentiful; nor in the broad-cast method, even where they are not so; because horse-hoeing is essential to the vigorous growth of this plant.

5thly, Coarse rough land.—Plough deep in autumn; when it has lain two weeks, cross-plough it, and let it lie rough through the winter. In March give it another good ploughing; drag, rake, and harrow it well, to get out the rubbish, and sow four bushels of black oats per acre if the soil be wet, and white oats if dry. When about four inches high, roll them well after a shower: this will break the clods; and the fine mould falling among the roots of the plants will promote their growth greatly.

Some sow clover and ray-grass among the oats, but I think it is bad husbandry. If you design it for clover, sow it single, and let a coat of dung be laid on in December. The snow and rain will then dilute its salts and oil, and carry them down among the roots of the plants. This is far better than mixing the crops on such land; for the oats will exhaust the soil so much, that the clover will be impoverished. The following summer you will have a

good

good crop of clover, which cut once, and feed the after-growth. In the winter plough it in, and let it lie till February; then plough and harrow it well; and in March, if the soil be moist, plant beans in drills of three feet, to admit the horse-hoe freely. When you horse-hoe them a second time, sow a row of turnips in each interval, and they will succeed very well. But if the land be strong enough for sowing wheat as soon as the beans are off, the turnips may be omitted.

I am yours, &c.

B——S——d, Herts, B. K.

May 14, 1782.

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*Some of the superior Advantages of the Drill to the Broadcast Husbandry, pointed out. From the same.*

[By a Gentleman Farmer in Kent.]

GENTLEMEN,

SEEING by your advertisements in the St. James's Chronicle, that the publishing a second volume of select papers was one of your resolutions, I am induced to offer a few remarks on the Drill-Husbandry; the substance at least of which I should be happy to see inserted therein, if you think them worthy your attention.

Notwithstanding the decided superiority of the Drill-Husbandry in many kinds of grain, pulse, and grasses, many farmers are still enemies to it; and a still greater number are too indolent to go one step out of the old beaten path, though the advantages they might reap are obvious,

This was the case many years in this county, with respect to hoeing of turnips: but those prejudices are now generally overcome; and we have very few, if any, farmers stupid or obstinate enough to sow turnips without having them twice well hoed.

Some reasons indeed may be urged in favour of a few persons not adopting the Drill-Husbandry; because the warmest advocates for it must allow, that there are soils and situations wherein the broad-cast method is preferable, at least in many cases. But these instances are but few, and ought not by any means to check it in the general.

Drill-Husbandry is, as a good writer has justly defined it; "*the practice of a garden brought into the field.*" Every man of the least reflection must be sensible, that the practice of the garden is much better than that of the field, only a little more expensive; but if (as is the case) this extra expence be generally much more than repaid by the superior goodness and value of drilled crops, it ought to have no weight in comparing the two modes of husbandry.

In the broadcast method the land is often sown in bad tilth, and always scattered at random, sometimes by very unskilful hands. In drilling, the land must be in fine order; the seed is set in trenches drawn regularly, all of nearly an equal depth, and that depth suited to the nature of each kind of seed. These seeds are also distributed at proper distances, and, by being equally and speedily covered, are protected from vermin and other injuries; so that the practice of the garden is here exactly introduced into the field.

In



In the broadcast method, the seed falls in some places too thick, in others too thin; and, being imperfectly covered, a part of it is devoured by vermin which follow the sower; another part is left exposed to rain or frosts, or to heats, which greatly injure it. When harrowed in, a great part of it (small seeds especially) is buried so deep, that, if the soil be wet, it perishes before it can vegetate.

Again: When thus sown, there is no meddling with the crop afterwards, because its growth is irregular. The soil cannot be broken to give it more nourishment, nor can even the weeds be destroyed without much inconvenience and injury.

But in the Drill-Husbandry the intervals between the rows, whether double or single, may be horse-hoed; and thereby nourishment may repeatedly be given to the plants, and they weeds almost totally destroyed.

The very same effects which digging has upon young shrubs and trees in a garden, will result from horse-hoeing in a field, whether the crop be corn or pulse: for the reason of the thing is the same in both cases, and, being founded in nature and fact, cannot ever fail. In drilling, no more plants are raised on the soil than it can well support; and by dividing and breaking the ground they have the full advantage of all its fertility.

The plough prepares the land for a crop, but goes no further; for in the broadcast husbandry it cannot be used: but the crop receives greater benefit from the tillage of the land by the horse-hoe, while it is growing, than it could in the preparation. No care in tilling the land previous to sowing can prevent weeds rising

with the crop; and if these weeds be not destroyed while the crop is growing, they will greatly injure it. In the broadcast husbandry this cannot be done; but in drilling the horse-hoe will effect it easily.

And what adds to the farmer's misfortune is, that the most pernicious weeds have seeds winged with down, which are carried by the wind to great distances; such are thistles, sowthistles, coltsfoot, and some others.

If the expence of horse-hoeing be objected, there are two answers which may very properly be made: The first is, that this expence is much less than that of hand-hoeing, were it practicable, or of hand-weeding. The second is, that it is more than repaid by the quantity of seed saved by drilling; to say nothing of the extra quantity and goodness of the crops, which are generally self-evident.

From these considerations, founded on, and justly drawn from, established facts, the comparative advantage is so great in favour of the drill-husbandry, that it must be strikingly visible to every unprejudiced person.

I am, Gentlemen, yours, &c.

H. L.

R——r, Feb. 16, 1783.

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*Observations on the best Method of restoring worn-out Soils without Manure. From the same.*

[From a Gentleman Farmer in Dorsetshire.]

GENTLEMEN,  
THE first thing necessary on such lands is, immediately after harvest, to turn them up with the  
the



the plough as deep as possible. In order to do this effectually, it will sometimes be needful for a second plough to follow the first in the same furrow; which will throw the mould over, and bury the stubble and weeds. In this case there will be a new soil uppermost, which, being fresh to the air, will receive much greater and more lasting benefit from the sun, the rain, and the frosts, than it otherwise could do, as thereby it will attract a greater quantity of the nutrition which these afford. The stubble and weeds being by this method of ploughing buried deep, will much sooner rot than when just covered. In this state the ridges will lie high, and, if the land be wet or of the brick-earth kind, will be full of clots or large lumps.

No time should now be lost by delaying to render this newly turned up soil as fine as harrowing can make it. I know in this particular my judgment will be called in question by numbers. Common farmers will say, "To what purpose is all this expence and labour, when, if the land be suffered to lie in its rough state through the winter, the frost and the rains will do the work for you?" But this is the language of the sluggard and the inexperienced husbandman only.

I am convinced, by repeated experiments, close observations, and plain reasoning on known facts, that lands which are made fine before the sharp frost and winter rains come on, will receive a much greater share of their influence than any other.

If the land be left in a rough state, there is seldom time for the rains and frost to affect more than the outside of the large clods or lumps; the outside will indeed be pulverized, but the *middle* of the lumps,

wherever they are large, will be found nearly in the same hard stiff state as when turned up by the plough. Hence it must appear to every one, that in this case the benefit of air, winter rains, and frosts, on lands thus left, is partial; and the consequence is, that harrowing it in the spring, when these are over, is too late for its receiving the benefit which would have accrued from them; and the power of vegetation is not so vigorous.

But to make winter fallows as fine as they can be in autumn, and then ridge them up in that pulverized state, is acting most agreeable to nature. The greatest possible quantity of surface is by this means exposed to the atmosphere; and the sand is left in a state wherein the rains and the frost are most easily admissible. They will then penetrate and enrich the whole mass to a greater depth.

If the frost penetrates a quantity of earth, formed into a large hard clod, *partially*, on account of its bulk and hardness (which is always found to be the case) it is evident that the same clod, broken into four parts, would be thereby penetrated four times as much; or, in other words, four times the quantity of earth would be affected by it, and on a thaw be pulverized. For we find that, after the breaking up of a severe frost, all the small clods crumble easily into powder; while the large ones are only made smaller by the crumbling off of their surfaces to a certain depth.

By this deep ploughing which I have recommended, the worn-out soil being turned in, the second stratum or fresh earth is now uppermost; and having, by being made as fine as it can be in autumn, been exposed

exposed to the air, the rain, and the frost during winter, is thereby sweetened and cleansed of its impurities; and thus become a new fresh fertilized earth, in the best possible state for vigorous vegetation.

Many farmers will probably object to this method, on account of its being attended with a little extra expence. But I wish them to consider, *first*, that this expence is more in appearance than reality, for less labour is requisite in the spring; and *secondly*, that it will be amply repaid by the goodness of succeeding crops.

About seven years since, I made a comparative experiment of this kind on a field of ten acres, the soil of which was equal as possible in goodness. The one half of this field I left after ploughing in its rough state, the surface being covered with large hard clods. The other half I made as fine as possible by harrowing with ox-harrows, and beating in pieces the hardest and largest clods which the harrow would not break.

In the spring, the part I had harrowed was much finer, without any additional labour, than I could render the other (which was left in its rough state) by repeated harrowings; for the rain and the frost having not penetrated the middle of the large clods, they had received no benefit therefrom, and were as hard as bricks, being only lessened in size.

I sowed the whole field with barley the last week in April, and threw nine pounds of broad clover in with it. On harvesting it, I kept the crops separate: the part left rough produced twenty-four bushels per acre; the other thirty-one; the latter by much the finest sample. The crop of clover next year was equally in favour of the method I

am recommending, being heavier by near half a ton per acre.

The extra expence on this part was only about eight shillings per acre; the extra produce yielded an extra profit of more than twenty shillings per acre.

I am, Gentlemen, yours, &c.

A LANDHOLDER.

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*To preserve Turnips from Frost. From the same.*

[By a Gentleman Farmer.]

MR. RACK,

**I**N answer to your enquiry, whether we have adopted any method of preserving Turnips from the frost; or for feeding cattle late in the spring; and, if so, what those methods were? I beg leave to observe, that nothing of this kind is yet come into general practice in this county. With respect to preserving turnips from such severe frosts as we had this last winter, especially when there has not been snow enough to cover them, I believe it would be utterly impracticable, unless the turnips were drawn previous to such frosts.

This would on the whole never answer the farmer's purpose; as the certain trouble and expence of housing or stacking them would far exceed the advantage, even in a hard season; and, in mild winters, would be entirely lost.

To preserve them for late spring-feed, is not so difficult an undertaking. Divers methods have been tried, and among the rest that of drawing and burying them in sand; but this has not answered, for the following, among other, reasons:

Turnips are a very juicy root; and although

although sand be perfectly dry when thrown among them, yet, when packed together in large heaps, they naturally sweat, and communicate a moisture, which, with the hot quality of the sand, raises a still greater heat; and as warmth and moisture are two qualities which greatly promote vegetation, the vegetation of these roots is the first thing that renders them useless. They will grow till the growing quality is exhausted; and then, by putrifying, become quite unfit for food.

The best method of preserving them that I have heard of, and which has been tried with success by some of our best farmers, is, to stack them up in dry straw; a load of which is sufficient to preserve forty tons of turnips. The method is easy, and as follows:

After drawing your turnips in February, cut off the tops and tap roots (which may be given to sheep) and let them lie a few days in the field, as no weather will then hurt them.

Then, on a layer of straw next the ground, place a layer of turnips two feet thick; and then another layer of straw, and so on alternately, till you have brought the heap to a point. Care must be taken to turn up the edges of the layers of straw, to prevent the turnips from rolling out; cover the top well with long

straw, and it will serve as a thatch for the whole.

In this method, as the straw imbibes the moisture exhaled from the roots, all vegetation will be prevented, and the turnips will be nearly as good in May as when first drawn from the field. If straw be scarce, old haulm or stubble will answer the same purpose.

But, to prevent this trouble and expence, perhaps farmers in all countries would find it most to their interest to adopt the method used by our neighbours the Norfolk farmers, which is, to continue sowing turnips to the latter end of August; by which means their late crops remain good in the field till the latter end of April, and often till the middle of May.

The advantages of having turnips good till the spring-feed is generally ready, are so obvious and so great, that many of our farmers (although at first prejudiced against the practice) are now come into it, and find their account in so doing.

I wish these few hints may prove in any degree useful; and am, wishing all possible success to the Bath Society,

Your very humble servant,  
Suffolk, W. P.  
March 1, 1780.

# ANTIQUITIES.

*Extracts from Observations on the Practice of Archery in England. In a Letter to the Rev. Mr. Norris, Secretary. By the Honourable Daines Barrington. From Vol. VII. of the Archaeologia, or Miscellaneous Tracts relating to Antiquities: published by the Society of Antiquaries of London.*

DEAR SIR,

**A**S some of our most signal victories in former centuries were chiefly attributed to the English Archers, it may not be uninteresting to the Society if I lay before them what I have been able to glean with regard to the more flourishing state of our bowmen, till their present almost annihilation.

This fraternity is to this day called the Artillery company, which is a French term signifying archery, as the king's bowyer is in that language styled *artillier du roy*; and we seem to have learnt this method of

annoying the enemy from that nation\*, at least with a cross-bow†.

We therefore find that William the Conqueror had a considerable number of bowmen in his army at the battle of Hastings, when no mention is made of such troops on the side of Harold. I have upon this occasion made use of the term *bowman*, though I rather conceive that these Norman archers shot with the Arbalest (or cross-bow) in which formerly the arrow was placed in a groove; being termed in French a *quadrel*, and in English a bolt‡.

Though I have taken some pains to find out when the shooting with the long bow first began with us, at which exercise we afterwards became so expert, I profess that I cannot meet with any positive proofs, and must therefore state such grounds for conjecture as have occurred.

Our chroniclers do not mention

\* The term of butt, or mound of earth on which the marks are fixed, is likewise French.

† By the late publication of Domesday, it appears that *Balistarius* was a most common addition to English names, but I have not happened to meet with that of *Arcitenens*. See in Suffolk, Warwickshire, Gloucestershire, and some more counties. In the Bayeux tapestry indeed the Normans are represented as drawing the long bow; but it is conceived that this *arras* was woven many centuries after the Norman invasion, and when that weapon was used in France.

‡ Hence the term, *I have shot my bolt*. This sort of arrow is now chiefly used in Norfolk, where it is useful in shooting rabbits, which do not take a general alarm, as upon firing a gun.

Fitz-Stevens, who wrote in the reign of Henry the Second, says, that the London skaters moved faster than *telum baliste*; which seems to prove that the cross-bow was most commonly used at that time.

the



the use of archery, as expressly applied to the cross or long-bow, till the death of Richard the First, who was killed by an arrow at the siege of Limoges in Guienne, which Hemmingford mentions to have issued from a cross-bow \*. Joinville likewise (in his life of St. Lewis) always speaks of the christian *balistarii*.

After this death of Richard the First in 1199, I have not happened to stumble upon any passages alluding to archery for nearly one hundred and fifty years; when an order was issued by Edward the Third, in the fifteenth year of his reign †, to the sherives of most of the English counties for providing five hundred *white* bows, and five hundred bundles ‡ of arrows, for the then intended war against France.

Similar orders are repeated in the following years; with this difference only, that the sheriff of Gloucestershire is directed to furnish five hundred painted bows, as well as the same number of white §.

\* Du Cange cites Guist, an ancient French poet, for the same fact; and Vinefauf mentions that this king killed many Turks with his own cross-bow, i. 3. c. 11. It is not from these facts presumed that neither English or French ever used any sort of long-bow at this period, but only that it did not prevail so much as to train the archers in companies, in the manner that the Arbalesters were disciplined. It is not stated from what bow the arrow issued which killed William Rufus.—In Shakespear's time deer were killed by the cross-bow. See Hen. VI.

† A. D. 1341. See Rymer.—Before this, Froissart mentions four thousand English archers in 1327, and two thousand at the battle of Cayent in 1337.

‡ *Garbas*, which Du Cange shews to have consisted, at a medium, of twenty-four arrows. By another order (in Rymer) it appears that the *white* bows were six-pence cheaper than the painted ones.

§ The painted bows were considered, probably, as smarter by this military corps, and possibly this covering might contribute to duration also. As for the white bows, it should seem that they were not made of yew, which is rather of a reddish brown, nor could the sheriff well have found a sufficient quantity of this material in his county. We find indeed, by subsequent statutes, that yew was imported for this purpose at a very high price. For these orders to the sherives see Rymer, A. D. 1342 and 1343.

The famous battle of Cressy was fought four years afterwards, in which our chroniclers state that we had two thousand archers, who were opposed to about the same number of the French; together with a circumstance, which seems to prove that by this time we used the long-bow, whilst the French archers shot with the arbalest.

Previous to this engagement fell a very heavy rain, which is said to have much damaged the bows of the French, or perhaps rather the strings of them. Now our long-bow (when unstrung) may be most conveniently covered, so as to prevent the rain's injuring it, nor is there scarcely any addition to the weight from such a case; whereas the arbalest is of a most inconvenient form to be sheltered from the weather.

As therefore, in the year 1342, orders issued to the sherives of each county to provide five hundred bows, with a proper proportion of arrows, I cannot but infer that these were long-bows, and not the arbalest.

We are still in the dark indeed when the former weapon was first introduced by our ancestors; but I will venture to shoot my bolt in this obscurity, whether it may be well directed or not, as possibly it may produce a better conjecture from others.

Edward the First is known to have served in the holy wars, where he must have seen the effect of archery from a long-bow\* to be much superior to that of the arbalest; in the use of which the Italian states, and particularly the Genoese, had always been distinguished†.

This circumstance would appear to me very decisive, that we owe the introduction of the long-bow to this king‡, was it not to be observed, that the bows of the Asiatics (though differing totally from the arbalest) were yet rather unlike to our long-bows in point of form§.

This objection therefore must be admitted; but still possibly, as the Asiatic bows were more powerful than the arbalest, some of our English crusaders might have substituted our long-bows in the room of the Asiatic ones, in the same manner that improvements are frequently made in our present artillery. We

might consequently, before the battle of Cressley, have had such a sufficient number of troops trained to the long-bow as to be decisive in our favour, as they were afterwards at Poitiers and Agincourt||.

The battle of Poitiers was fought A. D. 1356, four years after which a peace took place between England and France.

When treaties are concluded, it generally happens that both nations are heartily tired of the war, and they commonly are apt to suppose that no fresh rupture will happen for a considerable time; whence follows the disuse of military exercises, especially in troops which were immediately disbanded upon the cessation of hostilities, and the officers of which had no half-pay.

We find, accordingly, that in the year 1363 Edward the Third was obliged to issue an order forbidding many rural sports¶, and enjoining the use of archery; which, even in the space of four years, had begun to be neglected: this order was again repeated in 1365.

The Black Prince died in 1373, and Edward survived him but four years; we cannot therefore expect

\* It appears by Procopius that the Persians used a bow which was drawn in the same manner that is used by our archers: "εληεται δε αυτοις παρα το μετωπον η νευρα, παρ' αυτο μαλιστα των ωτων, το δεξιον. L. I.

† In 1373 a French ordonance makes mention of Genoese arbalestiers, as being in their service.

‡ I hope to have proved, in the first volume of the Archaeologia, that the magnificent castles built by Edward the First were similar to those of the Holy Land.

§ Our long-bow also differs materially from Diana's or Cupid's bow, as well as from those of the Daci on the Trajan and Antonine columns. It is likewise called, in several ancient statutes, the *English bow*.

|| In both these battles the archers of England destroyed the French cavalry, and in the latter are said to have drawn arrows a yard long.

¶ As "jactus lapidum, lignorum, ferri, pilam manulem, pedivam, et bacularem, canibucam, et gallorum pugnam,"—See Rymer, A. D. 1363.

any further regulations for promoting archery, after the last order which I have stated, and which issued in 1363. During the six first years of this interval, the Prince of Wales was in foreign parts, and the whole ten were the dregs of Edward's life.

Richard the Second, who succeeded, is well known to have little attended to the cares of government; in the fifteenth year, however, of his reign (A.D. 1392), he issued an order, directing all the servants of his household never to travel without bows and arrows, and to take every opportunity of using this exercise \*; which injunction seems to prove, that it had, during the greater part of his reign, been much neglected.

Henry the Fourth, though of a more warlike disposition, seems to have done little more for the encouragement of archery than his predecessor; as the only statute of his reign which relates to this head, goes no further than obliging the arrowsmiths to point their arrows better than they had hitherto done.

The wars during his reign were indeed confined to this country; but the use of archers seems to have been well known, as the duke of

Exeter, at the beginning of his rebellion, entertained a considerable band of them †. Four score archers are said also to have contributed greatly to a victory of this same king over a large body of rebels at Cirencester, some of which seem to have been of an Amazonian disposition; as his majesty attributes this success to the good women, as well as men, of this town; and for these their services grants them annually six bucks and a hoghead of wine ‡.

I do not find any act of parliament of Henry the Fifth in relation to this exercise; and all the orders in Rymer, till the battle of Agincourt, relate to great guns, from which he seems at first to have expected more considerable advantage than from the training of bowmen ||.

It should seem, however, that this sort of artillery, from its unwieldiness, bad and narrow roads, together with other defects, was as yet but of little use in military operations. In the year 1417 this king therefore ascribes his victory at Agincourt to the archers; and directs the sherives of many counties to pluck from every goose § six wing feathers, for the purpose of improv-

\* See Rymer's *Fœd.* A.D. 1392.—In the twelfth year indeed of this king's reign, an act passed to oblige servants to shoot with bows and arrows on holidays and Sundays.—See *Rastell's Statutes*.

By the 6 Hen. VIII. c. 2. all male servants must provide themselves with one bow, and four arrows; which their master is to pay for, by stopping it out of their wages.

† See Grafton, who informs us also that the Prince of Wales was wounded in the face by an arrow at the battle of Shrewsbury.

‡ See Rymer's *Fœd.* A.D. 1400.

|| See an order, "*De equis pro cariagio gunnorum regis capiendis*" "*Pro operationibus ingeniorum*," et "*De non tranfinitendo gunpoudre versus partes exteras*," A.D. 1413.

§ "*Præter aucas brodoges*," which possibly means geese that were sitting, or taking care of their goslings; we now say brooding.

ing arrows \* ; which are to be paid for by the king †.

A similar order again issues to the sherives in the following year, viz. 1418.

In 1421, though the French had been defeated both at Cressley, Poitiers, and Agincourt by the English archers, yet they still continued the use of the cross-bow; for which reason Henry the Fifth, as duke of Normandy, confirms the charters and privileges of the *ballistarii*, which had been long established as a fraternity in his city of Rouen ‡.

During the long reign of Henry the Sixth, I do not meet with any statute or proclamation concerning archery; which may be well accounted for whilst this king was under age, or the weakness of mind which ensued, as far at least as relates to his personal interference in this matter: but it is rather extraordinary that his uncles should not have enjoined this exercise, as they were so long engaged in wars with France; the loss of which kingdom may be perhaps attributed to this neglect.

It was necessary for Edward the Fourth, who succeeded, to be prepared against the Lancastrians; and yet we find much earlier statutes for

the promotion of archery in Ireland § than in England, which was more likely to become the scene of civil war.

In the fifth year, therefore, of his reign, an act passed, that every Englishman, and Irishman dwelling with Englishmen, shall have an English bow of his own height, which is directed to be made of yew, wych, hazel, ash, or awburne ||, or any other *reasonable* tree, according to their power. The next chapter also directs that butts shall be made in every township, which the inhabitants are obliged to shoot up and down every feast day, under the penalty of a halfpenny when they shall omit this exercise ¶.

In the fourteenth year however of this same king, it appears, by Rymer's *Fœdera*, that one thousand archers were to be sent to the duke of Burgundy, whose pay is settled at six-pence a day; which is more than a common soldier receives clear in the present times, when provisions are so much dearer, and the value of money is so much decreased. This circumstance seems to prove very strongly, the great estimation in which archers were still held. In the same year, Edward, preparing for a war with

\* "Magis congruas et competentes."

† I am told by an arrow-maker, that these six feathers should consist of the second, third, and fourth of each wing. It is to be observed, that his majesty was not very munificent in paying for these feathers, as in the year 1417 there was little or no demand for pens, to which use at present they are almost solely applied. See Rymer's *Fœd.* A.D. 1417.

‡ See Rymer's *Fœdera*.

§ The English statutes of Edward IV. to this purpose are those of the seven-teenth, ch. 3, and twenty-second, ch. 4, of the same king; in the preamble to the first of which it is said, "that the defence of this land was much by archers;" and in the second, "that victorious acts have been accomplished by archers."

|| *Alder* probably.

¶ See the collection of Irish statutes, Dublin, 1723.

France,



France, directs the sherives to procure bows and arrows, "as most specially requisite and necessary \*."

As bows and arrows were however finally disused by the introduction of fire-arms, it becomes necessary, in this investigation, to take some short notice of what may relate to ordnance, or musquetry; and that Edward soon afterwards directs all workmen who might be useful for *artillery* (as we should now term it) to be preferred †. On the war taking place with Scotland, eight years after this, Edward provides both ordnance and archers; so that, though the use of artillery was now gaining ground, yet that of the bow and arrow was not neglected.

The succeeding reign of Richard the Third opens with a similar statute to that of Edward the Fourth; but directs that all Venetian ships ‡ shall, with every butt of Malmsey or Tyre §, import ten bowstaves; as the price had risen from forty shillings to eight pounds a hundred.

By this attention to archery, he

was able to send one thousand bowmen to the duke of Bretagne in the year following ||; and availed himself of the same troops at the battle of Bosworth ¶.

I do not find a single order of Henry VII. (in Rymer's *Fœdera*) relative to gunpowder or artillery; whilst, on the other hand, in 1488 he directs a large levy of archers to be sent to Brittany, and that they shall be reviewed before they embark. In the nineteenth year of his reign, this same king \*\* forbids the use of the cross-bow, because "the long-bow had been  
" much used in this realm, where-  
" by honour and victory had been  
" gotten against outward enemies,  
" the realm greatly defended, and  
" much more the dread of all  
" Christian princes by reason of  
" the same ††."

During the long reign of Henry the Eighth, no royal order issued which relates to archery; but there are several statutes which state the necessity of reviving this martial exercise ‡‡. Edward the

\* See Rymer.

† Ibid.

‡ As also from other neighbouring ports of the Mediterranean. It is believed that there is a considerable quantity of yew to be procured in Dalmatia, which lies on the eastern side of the Adriatic, and almost opposite to Venice. We were obliged to import foreign yew, as I do not recollect to have seen this tree in any part of England, with the appearance of its being indigenous.

§ These wines came chiefly from Crete, which at this time belonged to the Venetians. See 7 Hen. VII. c. 7.

|| See Rymer's *Fœd.*

¶ Arrows were found on this field of battle not many years since.

\*\* Henry VII. is drawn as shooting at butts.—Strat, Vol. II.

†† See Rastell's Statutes, 19 Hen. VII. c. 4.

‡‡ Viz. 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3. which directs that every father should provide a bow and two arrows for his son, when he shall be seven years old.—6 Hen. VIII. c. 3. by which every one (except the clergy and judges) are obliged to shoot at butts.—6 Hen. VIII. c. 13. chiefly levelled against the use of cross-bows.—25 Hen. VIII. c. 17. which inflicts a penalty of ten pounds if a cross-bow is found in the house.—33 Hen. VIII. c. 9. which recites the great price of yew bows [made of Elke (\*) yew], and reduces it to three shillings and fourpence.

\* I rather conceive that this should be Elbe, as 3 Eliz. c. 14. mentions bow-staves to be imported from the Hanse towns.

Sixth used to shoot himself with a bow\*.

In the reign of Philip and Mary, the statutes of Henry the Eighth for the promotion of archery are much commended, with directions to enforce them†.

The 8 Eliz. c. 10. regulates the price of bows; and the 13 Eliz. c. 14. enacts that bow staves shall be brought into the realm from the Hanse towns and the eastward; so that archery still continued to be an object of attention in the legislature.

I find neither statute nor proclamation of James the first on this head; but it appears by Dr. Birch's life of his son (prince Henry) that at eight years of age he learned to shoot both with the bow and gun; whilst at the same time this prince had in his establishment an officer who was styled bow-bearer.

To the best of my recollection also, though I cannot at present refer to my authority, this king granted a second charter to the Artillery Company, by which the powers they had received from Henry the Eighth were considerably extended.

Charles the First seems, from

the dedication of a treatise intitled "The Bowman's Glory," to have been himself an archer‡; and in the eighth year of his reign he issued a commission to the Chancellor, Lord Mayor, and several of the privy council, to prevent the fields near London being so inclosed § as "to interrupt the necessary and profitable exercise of "shooting;" as also to lower the mounds, where they prevented the view from one mark to another.

The same commission directs that bridges should be thrown over the dikes, and that all shooting marks which had been removed should be restored ||.

Charles the First likewise issued two proclamations for the promotion of archery, the last of which recommends the use of the bow and pike together ¶.

Catherine of Portugal (queen to Charles the Second) seems to have been much pleased with the sight at least of this exercise; for in 1676, by the contributions of Sir Edward Hungerford and others, a silver badge for the marshal of the fraternity was made, weighing twenty-five ounces, and representing an archer drawing the long-

\* See his own MS. Journal in the British Museum.

† See 4 and 5 Ph. and M. c. 2. Rastell.

‡ It hath been before observed that his elder brother prince Henry was so.—See also Baker's Chronicle.

§ In the fifth year of Henry the Eighth, such inclosures were levelled by an insurrection of the archers.—See Grafton's Chronicle.

|| Under these last clauses, a cow-keeper named Pitfield was, so late as 1746, obliged to renew one of these marks, on which the Artillery Company cut the following inscription, viz. *Pitfield's Repentance*. I am informed also that Mr. Scott (the great brick-maker) hath been under the necessity of making his submission.—I mean to annex a plan of these shooting marks in the Finsbury Fields.

¶ See Rymer's *Fœdera*, in the years 1631 and 1633. In the latter, Charles grants the office of bow-bearer in Sherwood forest.

bow (in the proper manner) to his ear, with the following inscription: *Reginæ Catharinæ Sagittarii*. The supporters are two bow-men, with the arms of England and Portugal.

In 1682 there was a most magnificent cavalcade and entertainment given by the Finsbury archers\*, when they bestowed the titles of duke of Shoreditch, marquis of Illington, &c. upon the most de-

serving. Charles the Second was present upon this occasion, but the day being rainy, he was obliged soon to leave the field.

I do not find any thing relative to the state of archery during the short reign of James the Second; but it continued after this to be used for a manly exercise, as appears by the following epitaph on the south side of Clerkenwell Church, which is still very legible.

Sir William Wood lies very near this stone,  
In 's time of archery excell'd by none;  
Few were his equals, and this noble art  
Hath suffer'd now in the most tender part.  
Long did he live the honour of the bow,  
And his long life to that alone did owe;  
But how can art secure, or what can save,  
Extreme old age from an appointed grave?  
Surviving archers much his loss lament,  
And in respect bestow'd this monument,  
Where *whistling arrows* † did his worth proclaim,  
And eternize his memory and name.

Obiit Sept. 4. A.D. 1691. æt. 82.

There is a very good portrait of this famous archer, belonging to the Artillery Company, at a public-house which looks into the Artillery ground ‡.

Archery however did not entirely die with Sir William Wood; for in 1696 a widow (named Mrs. Elizabeth Shakerley §) left by her will thirty-five pounds, to be distributed in prizes to this fraternity.

Possibly she had attended the Finsbury archers, from the same curiosity which Ovid ascribes to Penelope ||.

In the succeeding reign of queen Anne, I have been informed by general Oglethorpe, that, together with the duke of Rutland, and several others of considerable rank, he used frequently to shoot in the neighbourhood of London. I do not pre-

\* See the Art of Archery, by Gervas Markham. 1634. 12mo.

† These arrows are still sometimes used, the horn work being hollow, as also filled with holes: the air passing through these arrows, makes a whistling both in the ascent and descent. They are supposed to have been used by the piquet guards, to give notice to the camp of the enemy's approach during the night.

‡ The Blue Anchor, Bunhill Row.

§ See MS. penes the Artillery Company.

|| Penelope juvenum vires tentabat in arcu,

Qui latus arqueret corneus arcus erat.

sume to guess the General's age ; but he must be advanced in years, as he was aid-de-camp to prince Eugene of Savoy ; and still continues to handle his bow in such a manner, that there is little doubt but that he would distinguish himself in this manly exercise.

I do not find in the archives of the company any memoranda of consequence during the reign of George the First ; but, till the year 1753, targets were erected in the Finsbury Fields, during the Easter and Whitsun holidays, when the best shooter was styled captain for the ensuing year ; and the second, lieutenant. Of these there are only two now surviving, viz. Mr. Benjamin Poole and Mr. Philip Constable, who have frequently obtained these titles. The former of these is now rather aged and infirm ; but the latter hath been so obliging as to shew me most of their marks in the Finsbury Fields. as well as to communicate several anecdotes and observations relative to archery.

Though we hear of arrows at Cheviot Chase which were a yard long, yet it is by no means to be supposed that the whole band made use of such, or could draw them to the head.

The regulation of the Irish statute of Edward the Fourth, viz. *that the bow shall not exceed the height of the man*, is allowed by archers to have been well considered ; and as the arrow should be half the length of the bow, this would give an arrow of a yard in length to those only who were six feet high. A strong man of this size, in the present times, cannot easily draw above twenty-

four inches, if the bow is of a proper strength to do execution at a considerable distance. At the same time it must be admitted, that, as our ancestors were obliged by some of the old statutes to begin shooting with the long-bow at the age of seven, they might have acquired a greater slight in this exercise than their descendants, though the latter should be allowed to be of equal strength.

As the shooting with the long-bow was first introduced in England, and practised almost exclusively for nearly two centuries, so it hath occasioned a peculiar method of drawing the arrow to the *ear*, and not to the breast.

That this is contrary to the usage of the ancients\* is very clear from their *reliefs*, and from the tradition of the Amazons cutting off one of their paps, as it occasioned an impediment to their shooting †.

As for Diana's not having suffered the same amputation, it must be remembered that she was not only a goddess, but most active huntress, and professed the most perfect chastity ; she therefore could not be supposed to have been impeded by such an obstacle to archery as *Juno* or *Ceres*.

The Finsbury archer is therefore represented in this attitude, of drawing to the ear, both in *The Bowman's Glory*, as also in the silver badge given by Catherine (queen of Charles the Second) to the Artillery Company.

Several years ago there was a man named Topham, who exhibited most surprising feats of strength, and who happened to be at a public-

\* Νευρὴν μὲν μαζῶν ἀπελάσεν, τοῦ δὲ σιδήρεον.

HOM.

† Unum exēcta latus pugnae pharetrata Camilla,

VIRG.

house



house near Islington, to which the Finbury archers resorted after their exercise. Topham considered the long-bow as a play-thing, only fit for a child; upon which one of the archers laid him a bowl of punch, that he could not draw the arrow two-thirds of its length. Topham accepted this bet with the greatest confidence of winning; but bringing the arrow to his breast, instead of his ear, he was greatly mortified by paying the wager, after many fruitless efforts.

As to the distance to which an arrow can be shot from a long-bow, with the best elevation of forty-five degrees, that must necessarily depend much both upon the strength and slight of the archer; but as the longest distance I can find in the annexed plans is eleven score and seven yards\*, I conclude that such length is not often exceeded†.

There is indeed a tradition that an attorney of Wigan in Lancashire (named Leigh) shot a mile in three flights; but the same tradition states, that he placed himself in a very particular attitude, which cannot

be used commonly in this exercise‡.

The archers consider an arrow of an ounce weight § to be the best for flight, or hitting a mark at a considerable distance; and that asp also is the best material of which they can be made.

As to the feathers, that of a goose is preferred: it is also wished, that the bird should be two or three years old, and that the feather may drop of itself||.

And here it may not perhaps be improper to explain the *grey goose* wing in the ballad of Cheviot Chase.

Two out of the three feathers in an arrow are commonly white, being plucked from the gander; but the third is generally brown or grey, being taken from the goose; and from this difference in point of colour informs the archer when the arrow is properly placed. From this most distinguished part therefore the whole arrow sometimes receives its name.

Though archery continued to be encouraged by the king and legislature for more than two centuries

\* Viz. from the mark of *Lambeth* to that of *Westminster Hall*.

† "He'll clap you in the clout at *twelve* score." Shakelpear.—This, however, seems to be mentioned as an extraordinary feat.

It must be admitted, however, that by 33 Henry VIII. no one aged twenty-four is to shoot at any mark under eleven score.

‡ He is supposed to have sat on a stool, the middle of his bow being fastened to one of his feet; to have elevated that foot forty-five degrees, and drawn the string of a strong bow with both his hands.

§ They generally speak indeed of an arrow's weighing so many shillings.

|| Edward the Third indeed directed the sherives to pluck the proper feathers from the geese in every county. His majesty, however, wanted these upon the *spur* of an occasion, and could not wait till the feathers dropped.

Ascham, in his *Toxophilus*, breaks out into the following panegyric on a goose, because this bird supplies feathers for arrows:

"How well does she make a man fare at his table, how easily does she make a man lie down in his bed, how fit even as her feathers be for shooting, so be her quills only fit for writing."

Julius Scaliger hath also given us "*Laudes Anseris*."

after

after the first knowledge of the effects of gunpowder, yet, by the latter end of the reign of Henry the Eighth, it seems to have been partly considered as a pastime\*.

Arthur, the elder brother of Henry, is said to have been fond of this exercise; in so much, that a good shooter was styled prince arthur†.

We are also informed‡ that he pitched his tent at Mile End, in order to be present at this recreation; and that Henry his brother also attended.

When the latter afterwards became king, he gave a prize at Windsor to those who should excel in this exercise§; and a capital shot having been made, Henry said to Barlow (one of his guards) "if you still win, you shall be duke over all archers." Barlow therefore having succeeded, and living in Shoreditch, was created duke thereof||.

Upon another occasion Henry and the queen were met by two hundred archers on Shooter's Hill, which probably took its name from their assembling near it to shoot at marks.

This king likewise gave the first charter to the Artillery Company, in the twenty-ninth year of his reign, by which they are permitted to wear dresses of any colour except purple and scarlet¶; to shoot not only at marks, but birds\*\*, if not pheasants or herons, and within two miles of the royal palaces. They are also enjoined by the same charter not to wear furs of a greater price than those of the martin. The most material privilege however is, that of indemnification from murder, if any person passing between the shooter and the mark is killed, provided the archers have first called out FAST††.

As it appears, by what hath been stated, that both Henry the Eighth

\* Lord Herbert observes, that in 1544 Henry the Eighth had himself invented small pieces of artillery to defend his waggons; as also that he took an account of all the ordnance then in the tower, and sent much of it to Tilbury, Gravesend, Dover, and Portsmouth. That he availed himself of the artillery destined for the last of these places, appears by an engraving lately published by the Society.

† See Stowe.

‡ Bowman's Glory.

§ In the time of Charles the First, the gunners styled those who contended for the use of archery *king Harry's captains*. See the List of Archery, by Gervas Markham. 1634. 12mo.

|| This title, together with that of marquis of Islington, earl of Pancridge, &c. were kept up even so late as 1683; these being all villages in the neighbourhood of the Finsbury Fields.

¶ Many statutes of this reign restrain expence and colours of the dress.

\*\* Though we hear that Indians shoot both birds and beasts, it is believed that this is effected by the archers stealing very near to them. Nor are animals so shy of man in an American wilderness, as they are in countries better inhabited. In the Falkland Islands therefore, when first settled by the English, the birds suffered themselves to be knocked down with sticks. De Pagés also informs us, that the birds between Surat and Bombay do not avoid man, because the country is peopled by Hindoos, who never molest them. A horse or cow is larger, and therefore would probably be more formidable to the feathered creation, did not they soon experience that they are liable to more attacks from man.

†† Possibly an abbreviation of *stand fast*. It appears that Dr. John Rainolds was nearly killed by such an accident. See Holland's Herologia, part II. p. 229.

and

and his queen sometimes attended the archers when they were shooting at marks, it is not at all extraordinary that their dresses began to be expensive, and that they studied much the gracefulness of the attitude.

Ascham therefore, who wrote his *Toxophilus* at the end of this reign, hath several chapters on this head; in which he begins by ridiculing the awkwardness of some archers in this respect, as in the following citation:

“ Another coureth downe, and layeth out his buttocks, as though he should shoot at crows \*.”

Which last part moreover explains a passage in Shakespear’s *King Lear*, Act IV. sc. 6.

“ That fellow handles his bow like a crowkeeper.”

From the words above quoted, it is to be inferred, that, when gunpowder was yet very dear, fields were kept from crows by unskilful archers, who had no grace in their attitudes, and were therefore spoken of by the expert with the greatest contempt; so that to shoot like a crowkeeper had become proverbial.

Ascham mentions another particular with regard to archery in his time, which is, that (as it commonly happens in other pastimes) the bets at these shooting matches began to be considerable.

I shall conclude this essay by mentioning, that the long-bow continues to be used as a manly exercise by the inhabitants of Geneva, and in many parts of Flanders; nor is it totally neglected in Great Britain,

particularly Lancashire †, and London, where a society (of which our worthy member Sir Ashton Lever is the president) frequently use this manly recreation.

I take the liberty also of presenting, for the perusal of the society, a MS. treatise on the same subject, addressed to Sir Ashton Lever, which, though compiled by a sadler at Manchester, contains some particulars which may deserve attention; as likewise drawings of the different sorts of arrows, which must always exceed mere verbal descriptions.

Believe me, dear Sir,

Your most faithful

humble servant,

DAINES BARRINGTON.

P. S. Upon looking over more carefully the plan of the archers marks, I find a greater distance than from *Lambeth to Westminster-Hall* (see a former note) viz. from *Turks Wharf to Abseely*, being thirteen score and five yards.

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*Some Account of the Burial-places of the ancient Tartars: in a Letter to the Rev. John Glen King, D. D. by the Rev. William Tooke, F.R.S. Chaplain to the English Factory at St. Petersburg. From the same.*

DEAR SIR,

IN compliance with your request, to communicate to you what I can find concerning the old sepulchres seen in the southern parts of Russia and in Siberia, I send you

\* *Toxophilus*, 29. B.

† This county had long been famous for this exercise, as appears by the following line to be found somewhere in Leland’s *Collectanea*.

“ Lancashire faire archers:”

some reasons which render it probable that they are all the work of one and the same nation, however opposite a judgment those may pass who have bestowed on them only a cursory attention. Every thing that relates to the customs of the various societies mankind have formed, is a proper subject of research to the inquisitive mind. The repositories of the dead have in all ages been objects of regard; at first as honourable testimonies of human sentiment; and in aftertimes as a ground of investigation into the manners and opinions of men. There is no nation so savage but has a reverence for military prowess, or beneficent dispositions for the man that is virtuous or heroic. Ideas of excellence may be various in various nations; but excellency, according to that idea, will meet with renown. The honours that are paid to such as excel will be ever in some degree characteristic of the people that bestowed them, and must be considered as popular testimonies to prevailing opinions.

It is doubtless natural enough for the hasty traveller to pass over these, as matters of but small attraction; and had not the barbarous plunderers of the deserts beheld them as objects of depredation, they would have still been unexplored. It was from predatory views that they were first dug open, and some curious persons have since examined them with various degrees of attention.

Of these Russian and Siberian sepulchres some are perfect tumuli, raised to an enormous height; while others are almost level with the ground. Some of them are encompassed with a square wall of large quarry stones placed in an erect po-

sition; others are covered only with a small heap of stones, or they are tumuli adorned with stones at top. Some are mured with brick within, and vaulted over; others are no more than pits, or common graves. In some the earth is excavated several fathoms deep; others, and especially those which are topped by a lofty tumulus, are only dug of a sufficient depth for covering the carcase.

What chiefly excites our astonishment is, that some of these should be surmounted by the large quarry stones before mentioned: for in all the neighbouring country there is not a rock to be seen. They must therefore have been transported thither from immense distances, by the most surprising efforts of labour; especially as the inhabitants of these parts have no idea of a machine adequate to the purpose in the most distant degree.

These sepulchres are discovered only in plain and extensive deserts, formerly the abode of a nation which seems to have subsisted by pasturage and the produce of the chase. On some sepulchral stones, figures of various forms are engraved, such as rude and misshapen outlines of the human face, crosses of different angles, and other representations, which in all probability had never any meaning. But inscriptions, in any known or unknown languages or letters, have never hitherto been found upon them. And yet inscriptions are to be met with on single stones and statues in the desert, on this side the river Yenisei, such as no one has ever been able to explain.

The foregoing are the several characteristics of the exterior form of these sepulchral monuments. For  
pointing



pointing out their difference within, the following remarks will amply suffice.

In many of these sepulchres, the bones of men, and frequently of horses, are found, and in a condition that renders it probable the bodies were not burnt before they were inhumed. Other bones shew clearly that they have been previously burnt; because a part of them is unconsumed, and because they lie in a disordered manner, and some of them are wanting. Urns, in which other nations of antiquity have deposited the ashes of their dead, are never met with here. But sometimes what remained of the bodies after the combustion, and even whole carcases, are found wrapped up in thin plates of gold. Many dead bodies are frequently seen deposited together in one tomb; a certain indication that either a battle had been fought in the neighbourhood of the place, or that some families buried their relations in an hereditary tomb.

Skeletons of horses are often found in these abodes of the dead. From whence we may infer that the same superstitious opinions which still prevail among some nations of the East were likewise held by this ancient people. It is received as an article of faith by many tribes, that departed souls continue the same kind of life they followed while inhabitants of this material world; and Mohammed's doctrine of his paradise seems to be established on the same belief. Men of quality therefore want their horses, and their favourite wives, and the servants that attended them in their terrestrial life. In conformity to this opinion, the women of India throw themselves into the flames upon the

body of their deceased spouse; and a similar custom was prevalent among the Yakutes, when they were first subjected to the Russian empire. The servants that had been faithful to their master were slain at his grave during the interment, and then buried with him. Nor was there any means of abrogating this cruel custom, but by punishing the guilty as wilful murderers. In consequence of the same notion, the dead bodies were ornamented for denoting their quality in the future life. In the tomb of the deceased were deposited his sword, and other implements of war; and to persons of both sexes were given the utensils and necessities that might be requisite for the continuation of their existence.

No race of creatures in the human form can be so totally stupid as to believe that these utensils could be of any use to the dead bodies, since they are assured that these remain in the grave. When therefore they adhere to these superstitious practices, it is the souls of the wives, the horses, the servants, and the utensils (for, according to these philosophers, every production of nature and art is animated with a living soul) which they consecrate to the spirits of their departed friends. This tenet, which was held by the most remote antiquity, must have been common likewise to the people by whom these sepulchres were formed. For no other hypothesis can account for the relics of gold and silver they generally contain; and of which many articles are carefully preserved in the Museum of the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburg, for the inspection of the curious.

Some of these sepulchres are rich; but in others, here as well as in other

other districts, nothing of value is to be found. In the monuments abounding in the precious metals were without doubt deposited personages of rank; and we may presume that, wherever these are frequently found, there anciently dwelt a wealthy nation. Nothing was added to the body in the graves of the poor; and we may thence infer that, when we find all the sepulchres in one district destitute of any valuables, it was a poor people who there interred their dead.

The richest sepulchres are discovered on the banks of the Volga, the Tobol, the Irtysh, and the Ob. The tombs in the deserts on the river Yenisei are likewise not without relics of value; but those beyond the Baikal sea are the poorest of all. To account for this difference, we are by no means obliged to admit that these countries were inhabited by different nations. The most certain consequence to be drawn from it is, that some nation inhabited these parts, which, at successive periods, was in different conditions; poor in its commencement, but advancing afterwards from poverty to affluence. This inference is warranted by the history of all ages.

There is a very remarkable circumstance observable in some of the tombs on the upper part of the Yenisei, which forms an exception to the general rule of other sepulchres. Instead of ornaments and utensils of gold and silver found in other tombs, you meet here only with copper utensils. Even such instruments as would have been better wrought of iron, are here found all of copper, as knives, darts, and daggers. The nation therefore, whose dead are here inhumed, seems to have been

unacquainted with the use of iron; and these tombs must accordingly be more ancient than the others. Hence the travellers who found these relics, conjectured that those regions must contain some rich copper mines. And in this they were not mistaken; for the Sayane mountains abound in copper, and the mines have been worked by the ancient inhabitants of the country. In a large open desert on the river Abakan are likewise found mines of that metal; and, if they yield not so much at present as they formerly did, nothing is necessary but industry and attention for finding other places more abundant in mines. From the name of the Altaian mountains, a similar conjecture has been formed. Alta, in the language of the Mongoles and Kalmaucs, signifies *gold*; and this conjecture is now brought to perfect certainty by the discovery of the mines of Kolyvan.

History has transmitted down to us no certain accounts of the nation whose dead are here deposited, and who made use of copper utensils and weapons instead of iron. But, whoever they were, it is probable that the inscriptions in the unknown language, discovered in these regions, were composed and written by that people. Perhaps it was the Uigures or Igureans, from whom the great founder of the Mongole monarchy first received letters and the art of writing; for the nation was not instructed in that art till the time of this conqueror. The Igureans must certainly have been an ancient and a polished nation, if they invented a particular mode of writing, which had nothing in common with that of any other people. Such are these inscriptions.

Eut,

But, if we presume that Tschingis used this manner of writing, his successors must have changed it for another; since the present Mongole writing evidently discovers its Syrian origin. Yet even this language may be called the Igurean; because certain missionaries of the Nestorian sect lived among the Igureans, and communicated their manner of writing to the Mongoles. The word Uigur or Uegur, in the Mongole language, generally denotes *a foreigner*.

With greater certainty we may affirm, that the ancient sepulchres in Siberia and Russia are the work of the Tartars who lived in the reign of Tschingis and his first successors. This hero founded his monarchy in the beginning of the thirteenth century. The Mongoles and Tartars united under his sceptre were at that time a poor people, wandering in the deserts of the rivers Selenga, Orchon, and Onon, and sometimes straying as far as the Baikal sea. This last circumstance obviously affords us a reason, why these tombs contain so few valuable relics; and the fact is corroborated by history, which likewise in its turn receives light from it. By the same means as we are enabled to account for the poverty of the tombs about Selenginsk and Nertschinsk, we are capacitated also to ascertain whence the Tartars got these riches that are found in the other sepulchres.

In the year 1281 Tschingis began the conquest of China, which was finished so successfully by his nephew Koblai; in whose person began a new dynasty, known in the history of that empire by the name of Juen, which continued uninterruptedly to the year 1369.

The Tartars soon made themselves rich in China; but, not contented with their wealth, they traversed almost all Asia, and a considerable part of Europe; increasing their riches in proportion as they proceeded in their conquests. In the year 1224 they first invaded Russia, and fought that signal battle on the river Kalka. From 1237 to 1240 they subdued the whole country. Notwithstanding they were divided under different chieftains and into different parties, and those who over-run Asia had nothing in common with the conquerors of Europe but the name, they had however a general head of the family, who had been acknowledged by their forefathers. To the main camp of that chieftain was therefore brought much of the riches carried off from the conquered countries. I think it highly probable that this main camp was, in the thirteenth century, in some parts of the desert on the Irtysh; and that the Tartars, divided into different hordes, inhabited all the regions between the Yaik and the Ob. In that century the missionaries from Rome, Carpin, Rubruquis, and others, visited these countries. The last river they mention in their voyages is the Yaik; had they crossed the Irtysh, they would not certainly have omitted to take notice of it. But, as they say nothing of that river, we may thence infer that the camp of the Khans, to whom they were delegated, was on this side of the river Irtysh.

We know that European goldsmiths resided among the Tartars, and worked for them. Rubruquis mentions a Frenchman, Guillaume, who, he says, made very curi-

ous pieces of workmanship for the Khan Mangus Batu. The conqueror of Poland, Russia, Silesia, and Hungary, must have had still more of these artists in his service. It is remarked likewise, that the best relics which are found in the sepulchres near the Volga, are as rich as those in other tombs. The *Zolotaia orda* (the golden horde) that was given to the camp of the Khans who subdued Russia, must have been given on account of the riches of that Tartarian horde.

But concerning the tombs of the *Zolotaia horda* we can only form conjectures; as these were opened and searched in times very remote, of which no narrative is preserved. Some curiosities in the cabinet of the Imperial Academy here are presumed to be from those regions; but this opinion is founded merely on conjecture.

We are better informed upon the article of the sepulchres found on the rivers Irtysh, Tobol, Ob, and Yenisei. These could only be explored at the beginning of the present century, after the Kalmucs and Kirguises, who infested these parts, had retired to other plains. About twenty years ago, there were many persons in Siberia who still subsisted entirely on the spoils they had formerly obtained by ransacking these sepulchres. But, since that time, it is not certainly known that any have followed this occupation. The custom was to associate in large companies for searching after sepulchres, in the same manner as they do in our times for hunting fables. But the countries between the Ob and the Irtysh were often plundered by the Kirguise Kofacs, after the retreat of the Kalmucs. To the western side of

the Irtysh very few have ventured of late years, on account of the incursions of those Kofacs; but, since the government has now taken care to prevent them, it may be presumed that in some future period great riches may be procured from thence.

We cannot find that the rich sepulchres bear any peculiar external marks upon them; but it is supposed, from various reasons, that the tombs on the eastern side of the Irtysh, where great numbers are yet unexplored, will yield no great advantage. Some have been examined at *Ustkamenogorskaja*, but they contained nothing of any value. Their whole contents consisted in instruments of iron, grown so rusty, that it was scarcely possible to discover for what use they had been made. In others, that were opened near *Nertschinsk*, nothing of any consequence was found; not even bones of men, but only those of horses. Hence it is probable, that the ashes of burnt bodies alone, or the remains of human bones that were here deposited, might have been long ago mouldered away; but the bones of horses killed at the interment, and which were not burnt, may have subsisted a longer time unaltered.

Some of these curiosities were brought to the academy. Among others, there is a man on horseback tolerably well executed in gold; as likewise some silver coins, with the impress of a rose just opening from the bud; but there are no inscriptions on any of them. The nation therefore, by whom this coin was struck, could not have been at that time acquainted with the art of writing: or at least this money must have been coined previous to the



the introduction of the Mohammedan religion among the Tartars; for it was by that means that these nations became acquainted with the Arabic letters, which they have ever since made use of in inscriptions on their coins.

The gold in these tombs is seldom pure, but commonly adulterated with silver; and the silver has generally an alloy of half its weight in copper. It was very easy for the European workmen to cheat the simple Tartars.

It is extremely unfortunate that many of these curiosities fell into the hands of ignorant people, who immediately melted them down. But from those preserved in the imperial Academy we may form an idea of several circumstances relating to that ancient nation.

I am, &c.

W. TOOKÉ.

*Observations on the Language of the People commonly called Gypsies. In a Letter to Sir Joseph Banks, Bart. P. R. S. From Mr. Marsden, F. S. A.*

I BEG you will do me the favour to communicate to the learned Society of Antiquaries the inclosed paper, on a subject to the investigation of which you have so essentially contributed.

I am, Sir,  
your much obliged  
and most obedient servant,  
WILLIAM MARSDEN.

IT has long been surmised that the vagrant tribes of people called in this country *Gypsies*, and on parts of the continent of Europe, *Cingari*, *Zingari*, and *Chingali*, were of Eastern origin. The former name has been supposed a

corruption of *Egyptian*, and some learned persons have judged it not improbable that their language might be traced to the *Coptic*.

In the course of researches which I have had occasion to pursue on the subject of language, I observed that Ludolfus, in his history of Ethiopia, makes mention, incidentally, of the *Cingari* vel *Errones Nubiani*, and gives a specimen of words which he had collected from these people in his travels, with a view of determining their origin. He discusses the opinions of various writers concerning them, but forms no precise one of his own, concluding his observations with these words: *Eadem vocabula, cum maximam partem reperiam apud Vulcanium, à centum ferè annis tradita, non fictitia existimo, ut Megiserus putat, nec corrupta ex aliis linguis, neque Aegyptiaca sive Coptica.*

I was surprised to find many of the words contained in the specimen familiar to my eye, and pointed out to Sir Joseph Banks (in the latter end of the year 1783) their evident correspondence with terms in the *Hindustanic*, or as it is vulgarly termed in India, the *Moors* language. This similitude appeared to me so extraordinary, that I was inclined to suspect an error in the publication, which might have arisen from a confusion of obscure vocabularies in the author's possession. The circumstance, however, determined me to pay further attention to the subject, and to examine, in the first place, whether the language spoken by the Gypsy tribes in England, and by those in the remoter parts of the continent of Europe, were one and the same; and then to ascertain whether this actually bore the affinity, which so forcibly struck me in Ludolfus, to

G

any

any of the languages on the continent of India.

Through the obliging assistance of Sir Joseph Banks, who has spared no pains to promote this investigation, I procured an opportunity of obtaining a list of words from our Gypsies, which I can depend upon as genuine, and tolerably accurate in respect to the pronunciation, from their being corroborated by words also taken down, separately, by Sir Joseph, and by Dr. Blagden. Mr. Matra did me the favour to transmit for me a list of words to *Turkey*, and from his ingenious friend Mr. B. Pisani, I received a complete and satisfactory translation of them, together with some information respecting the manners of the Clinghiarés, in the Turkish dominions, which however does not come within the design of this paper, as I mean to confine myself, in the present communication, simply to the question of the similarity of language, which, if established, I should esteem a matter of no little curiosity; presuming it to be perfectly new to the world. Of this similarity the learned members of the Society will be enabled to form their judgment from the annexed paper, exhibiting a comparison of a few of the words procured from the different quarters before mentioned, with the Hindostanic terms, from the best published and parole authorities.

It may not be unworthy of remark, that the general appellation for these people in the eastern parts of Europe, is very nearly connected with that of the inhabitants of *Ceylon*, in the East-Indies, who are equally termed *Lingalese* and *Chingalese*; though at the same time it must be acknowledged, that the language of this island has much

less correspondence with that of the Gypsies, than many other of the Indian dialects. His grace the archbishop of York, with his usual discernment, suggested to me the probability that the *Zingari* here spoken of may have derived their name, and perhaps their origin, from the people called *Langari*, or *Langarians*, who are found in the north-west parts of the peninsula of Hindostan, and infest the coasts of *Guzerat* and *Sindy* with their piratical depredations. The maritime turn of this numerous race of people, with their roving and enterprising disposition, may warrant the idea of occasional emigrations in their boats, by the course of the Red Sea.

Notwithstanding that the resemblance to the Hindostanic is the predominant feature in the Gypsey dialect, yet there are words interspersed, which evidently coincide with other languages. Beside the *Mahratta* and *Bengalese*, which I have marked in the comparative specimen, it is not a little singular that the terms for the numerals *seven*, *eight*, and *nine*, are purely *Greek*, although the first *five*, and that for *ten*, are indisputably *Indian*. It is also a curious observation, that although the Indian term for *seven*, being *saath*, differs from the Gypsey, yet that for a *week*, or *seven* days, is the *Eftan* of the latter. One word only, among those which I have examined, bears a resemblance to the *Coptic*, which is *rom*, the same with *romi*, a *man*. In comparisons of this nature, a due allowance must be made, not only for the various modes of spelling adopted by different persons, and different nations, but also for the dissimilar manner in which the same individual sounds strikes the organs

gans of the hearers ; of which some pointed instances might be given.

Should any be inclined to doubt (which I scarcely suppose possible) of the identity of the *Gypsy* of *Cingari*, and the *Hindoostanic* languages, still it will be acknowledged as no uninteresting subject of speculation, that tribes wandering through the mountains of *Nubia*, or the plains of *Romania*, have been conversed with for centuries in a dialect precisely similar to that spoken at this day by the obscure, despised, and wretched people in England, whose language has been considered as a fabricated gibberish, and confounded with a cant in use amongst thieves and beggars, and whose persons have been (till within the period of a year) an object of the persecution, instead of the protection of our laws.

WILLIAM MARSDEN.

*Collections on the Zingara, or Gypsy Language ; by Jacob Bryant, Esq. transmitted to O. Salusbury Brereton, Esq. in a Letter from the Rev. Dr. Douglas.*

DEAR SIR,

HAVING been present at the meeting of the Society, when Mr. Marsden's letter on the Gypsy

language was read, I recollected that, several years ago, I had heard my friend Mr. Bryant mention his having collected a considerable number of words used by this wandering tribe ; several of which words appeared to bear a close affinity to those of the same meaning in the languages of ancient and of distant nations.

At my request, he has obligingly transmitted the inclosed papers containing the result of his inquiries on the subject ; and I take the liberty of putting them into your hands, to be laid before the Society. Besides his own collections, Mr. Bryant has also favoured me with the communication of a letter which he had some years ago received from the Rev. Mr. Cox. That learned traveller, when in Hungary, had met with Gypsies, and had taken from their mouths specimens of their language. It is very remarkable, that of seventeen words thus obtained, and enumerated in his letter, fourteen appear to resemble most exactly those of the same signification, as collected by Mr. Bryant in England. To distinguish them, they are marked in the Vocabulary with asterisks.

I am, dear Sir, your most obedient servant,  
JOHN DOUGLAS.

A VOCABULARY of the Zingara, or Gypsy Language.

A	N ape	godocovan.
	An asf	millan.
	Air	yarrow, also beval caulo.
The arm	moshee.	
Anger	colee.	
An arrow, or any thing missive	yaccogaree.	

Above	apra.
To awake	ionadaf.
An aunt	bebec.

B.	
A bed	woodrous.
A bough	bai.
Bread	mawro*
To burn	hatcheriban.

G 2

Blood





Five.	peng.	I. <i>maful.</i>	youee.
		I. <i>fem.</i>	youesee.
A girl	G. affogne or affoi- nee *.	An inn	kirchimopodrum.
A grape	baulo paramattee and peomingro.	Iron	fashtaa.
Green	chatto.	An image	fino, wocklee.
God	davila * and mo- daval.		
Gold	fuhakie.	K. A king	crellis.
A gypsey	romana chil.	A key	clerin.
A goose	pappin.		
A grave	bauro chumbo.	L. Love	commoben.
Great	bootsee.	Light	dood.
A giant	borwardo.	Life	gava or geeva *.
A garden	finepou.	Letters	liecaw.
Give me	deas man.	A lie	ochano.
Grandfather	pappus or paupus.	A lord, or fir	riah and raiah.
Good sport	fino, paiafs.	A lady	raiena or roiena *.
		A lion	varefs.
		Language	romana.
		Lost	nashedoe.
		To laugh	fallaw.
		To look	aconterree.
		A lamb	vaccashoe.
		Lightening	bauro, tood, or dood.
		The laurel	covafcorook.
		Little	coofe.
		The leg	herree.
		Lead	molous.
		M. A mountain	dumbo * and cumbo.
		Music	calabeen.
		A mother	die or dai.
		A man	rome * or gior- geo.
		The moon	moonah.
		Meat, or food	mafs.
		Milk	tood.
		Much	boot.
		More	everfecofi.
		A mile	meou.
		To-morrow	ovavo devus.
		A mule	milo.
		N. The nose	nock.
		G 3	Numbers

Numbers	boot.	The sun	cham.
Nine	enneah.	Soot	coulou.
A nail of the hand	nie.	Sulphur	congrogre.
New	nevo.	To sing	givellan.
A nutmeg	cockwhur.	A song	gillee or givel- lee.
A needle	thubh.	A servant	radchevo.
A nation	baurifoki.	A sword	harrow and bauro, charrie.
Night	rattie.		
O.		Sickness	naphilifoli.
Old	colhtan.	Sister	pan and pen.
An ox	geronee.	Silver	roop.
Oil	tedou, corat.	A star	starrie.
The ocean	bauro, panee.	A serpent	sep and sap.
One	yec.	Smoke	tooph.
P.		Shoes	chawan.
Pitch	boyocrot or boyo- corat.	The foul	lesco, thee.
Prayers	missihe.	A sick man	naphiloofoli.
A priest	rashee.	A sick woman	naphilee phillee.
A peach	poomingro.	Soon	fic josta.
A palace	crellis elcochare.	A shepherd	baucoringro.
To pray	moughem.	Strait	fitolongfoli, crooco bango.
A path	podrom.	Sight	dicken.
A picture	fine choverie.	Smell	shocmaloe.
R.		Sleep, or to sleep	favanow.
Rain	briskenoe.	To swear	fovochollo.
A river	dorlove or dori- obb.	To speak	racamanfoe.
Red	lolo.	Salt	loon.
A rock	bar.	Summer	tattabeen.
A ring	vaunustry.	Silk	p'har.
To run	prasthem.	Sand	barraw.
A road	drom and po- drum.	A storm	bauro beval aco- chenos.
S.		A saddle	boshtow.
Six	sho.	A spur	posomiso, gree.
Seven	asta.		
To see	becassin and dif- caloe.	T.	
A ship	bara and baro.	Two	due.
The sea	bauro panee * and doeyave.	Three	trin.
A steple	boro, fule.	Ten	desh.
A son	chavo.	Twenty	bish.
		Twenty-one	yec bish.
		This	acavat.
		That	acavo.
		A town	burgau.
		Tar	chinaber.
		The tongue	chive.

Thunder

Thunder	godlie.	The wind	beval.
Time	lucumoro.	A waistcoat	bringeree.
Tears	panee.	A woman	romcee.
Truth	techeben.	Wine	moul.
A tree	rook.	Words	ohano.
A table	missali.	White	porno.
A tomb	bauro balscop-	To wash	towamah.
	latti.	To walk	iaw, parafs.
A tooth	dennam.	A whale	bauro mattahee.
		Warm	tattoo.
	U.	Winter	shillaloe.
An uncle	chauk.	A window	k'howe.
	V.	A whip	chucknee.
A village	gave.	A waggon	vadon.
A valley	delvo.	A wave	bauro panee.
The vine	patarim.		Y.
	W.	Yellow	tedan.
Water	panee *.	A year	yabesh.
		Yesterday	callicoe.

Zingara, or Gypsey words, which accord with others in the native Persic  
or in the Persic of Indoitan.

Zingara.	English.	Persic, or Indoitan.
See the vocabulary, now communicated.		See Herbert's Travels, p. 99. and p. 315.
Pannee or panee	Water or drink	Panne.
Yog	Fire	Augi.
Cumbee	A hill	Conbee.
Riah and raiah	Sir, or lord	Raiah.
Yaccal	A dog	Iaccal, a kind of wild dog.
Roop	Silver	Roopee, a silver coin.
Gave	A village	Gam.
Mafs	Food	Meeafe.
Missali	A table	Missale.
Sharrous	The head	Sharree.
Starrie	A star	Starra.
Vast	The hand	Daft.
Mawro	Bread	Maurow, uncertain.
Doriove or doriobb	A sea or river	Deriaw, Deriobb.
		N. B. <i>Obb</i> is water, as is also <i>dor</i> , in many languages.
Peola	To drink	Peola, a cup.
Nevo	New	Nevos.

Mumallee	A candle	Mum, and mumbattee, possibly a mistake for <i>numballee</i> .
Clerin	A key	Cleet.
Gur and kir	A house	Gur.
Dennam	A tooth	Dandon.

The Numerals of the Zingara, or Gypsey Tribes; compared with those of Indostan and Persia, as they are to be found in Herbert's Travels, p. 319, and in Bell of Antermony's Travels, vol. II. p. 117\*.

Zingara.	Persic of Herbert.	Indostan of Bell.
1. Yec	Yec	Eik.
2. Due	Do or dew	Duy.
3. Trin	† Se and tean	Tin.
4. Stor	Char	Tzar.
5. Peng	Panch	Penge.
6. Sho	Shesh	Tzo.
7. Afta	Haft	Tatee.
8. Oitoo	Haftt	Aatza.
9. Enneah	No	Nouy.
10. Desh	Dah	Dafs.
20. Bish	Beest	
30. Bish u desh		
40. Due bisha		

Zingara, or Gypsey words, remarkably similar to some in other Languages.

Cham	The sun	חם, חמה, <i>Heb.</i> the sun and heat.
Geeva	Life	חיה, <i>Heb.</i> cheva.

\* The following passage from this book is worth transcribing. "During my stay (says Mr. Bell) at Tobolsky, I was informed that a large troop of Gypsies had been lately at that place, to the number of sixty or upwards. The Russians call these vagabonds *Tziggany*. Their sorry baggage was carried upon horses and asses. The Vice Governor sent for some of the chief of the gang, and demanded, whither they were going. They answered, to China. He stopped their progress, and sent them back." *Bell's Travels*, vol. II. p. 157. *Simeon Simeonis* seems to have met with some of the Gypsey tribe in Cyprus, in 1332. "Ibidem et vidimus gentem extra civitatem ritu Græcorum utentem, et de genere Chaym se esse asserentem, quæ raro, vel nunquam, in loco aliquo moratur ultra xxx dies; sed semper, velut a Deo maledicta, vaga et profuga post xxx diem de campo in campum, cum tentoriis parvis, oblongis, nigris, et humilibus, ad modum Arabum de cavernâ in cavernam discurrit, quia locus ab his habitatus post dictum terminum efficitur plenus vermibus et immunditiis, cum quibus impossibile est habitare."

*Simeon Simeonis Itin.* p. 17.

† Herbert says *yec curse* is one mile, and a league or three miles is *tean curse*: *tean* is, therefore, three.



Cusht	A bow	קשט, <i>Heb.</i> cufhet.
Geronee	An ox	קרן, <i>Heb.</i> Keren, quasi cornutus.
Varefs	A lion	ארה; <i>Heb.</i> Also קרח, the sun; of which the lion was an emblem.
Bara	A ship	Bari, <i>Coptic and old Egyptian.</i>
Bai	A bough	Bai, <i>Coptic and Egyptian.</i> See Aulus Gellius.
Rome	A man	Περων, <i>ancient Egyptian.</i> See Herodotus.
Colee	Anger	Χολη, <i>Greek.</i>
Tooph	Smoke	Τυφος, <i>Greek.</i>
Sep or sap	A serpent	Σαψ, <i>Greek.</i>
Tresh	Fear	Τρεω, <i>Greek,</i> trepido.
Apra	Above or over	Supra, <i>Heb.</i>
Raiena and Roiena	A great lady	Regina, <i>Lat.</i> N. B. Rex, regi, rniat, all of the same analogy.
Moul	Wine	Mulfum, <i>Lat.</i>
Drom	A way or road	Δρομος, <i>Greek</i>
Podrom	A foot-path, <i>quasi</i>	Ποδος δρομος, <i>Greek.</i>
Pal	A brother	Fel, <i>Hungarian.</i>
Matchian	A cat	Matcha, a tiger, <i>Malay and Madagascar.</i>
Crellis	A king	Crellis, <i>Bohemian.</i>
Campen	To fight	Campen, <i>Teutonic.</i>
Benga	The devil	Beug, night, <i>Mindunao.</i>

*Extract from an Account of the Caves on the Elephanta Island, near Bombay, by Lieutenant-Colonel Barry. From the Gentleman's Magazine for 1785.*

“**I**N several parts of the coast about Bombay, are found caves of such remote antiquity, that neither tradition nor records can reach their origin; in many of them are inscriptions, written in a language and characters now totally unknown; but of these disused, or dead languages, besides the Shanscrit, or sacred one, there are, in India, many remains. I am told the Jews at Cochin have yet the grant of their synagogue, at present unintelligible; this, I once conjectured, might be in the primitive Hebrew, as these people are sup-

posed to be of the missing tribes; but I am assured, the country powers never admitted their public deeds to be drawn in the language of foreigners.

That these caves were formed for religious purposes, cannot even be doubted, as well from their construction, as the sculptured representations of Gentoo mythology, which all of them contain: perhaps a description of one might be introduced, with good effect, as an episode to some eastern heroic poem.

It is not unpleasant to trace, as men grow refined, the temples of their worship, from the darkness of caves and forests, through the gloom of Gothic structures, to the airy elegance of Grecian architecture.

As I visited the Elephanta, the principal, I would call it, cathedral,

dral, of these caves, I shall attempt some account of it.

This extraordinary offspring of human industry is on Elephantia Island, so called from the statue of an elephant, of natural size, tolerably cut out of a solid rock, on its west coast, which is nearly six miles from the castle of Bombay: the caves are about the middle of this islet; the approach to them being through a deep ravine, so that one is struck with surprize at coming suddenly on their openings, and seeing an abrupt precipice, of more than 60 feet perpendicular, rising from the roofs of these excavations, and covered at the summit with shrubs and trees, that hang over the rock, which is of hard stone, more so than that usually employed in our homed edifices; but as many quarries are known to indurate when exposed to the air, it may not be unreasonable to infer, that its present density is partly original, and partly acquired; but of this, however, I neither made experiment, nor sought information.

Of these caves there are three; the principal being in the centre, and the lesser ones on either hand, though not placed in similar directions; one having a common front, the other being at right angles with it: in each of the inferior ones is a small chapel, with baths at the end.

To the grand cave, or temple, there are three entrances by porticos of four pillars each, of the same order with those within. Its elevation is very disproportionate to its area, which last is nearly a square of 40 yards, whilst its height is not more than half as many feet; but the eye is not only offended at first by the lowness, but also by the

flatness of the roof; which certainly would have acquired more of grandeur by being arched, the effect of which we observe in our own churches. This roof is supported by 36 columns, placed at equal distances, though some of them have been broken down by the intemperate zeal of the Portuguese to exterminate idolatry; which, as well as the tasteless curiosity of latter visitors, has likewise impaired many of the figures.

Each column is divided into three equal parts, the pedestal being one, the shaft another; and the capital, including the entablature, the third; the pedestals are square; the shafts rudely grooved, and not, as usual, cylindrical, but gradually bulbing outwards to the centre, their greatest diameter being more than half their height. The capitals are, as their shafts, grooved, and appear, to use the miner's phrase, like globes flattened by the pressure of country on them. The entablatures are simple, and without distinct divisions of members. These proportions and forms, so different from Grecian rules, are not pleasing to a corrected taste; but as they have in themselves the strictest uniformity of common principle, undoubtedly prove the arts to have been far advanced at the early period of their construction.

To the right, and within the large cave, extending the square of four pillars, which form its angles, is a small temple or chapel, having on the ground a large altar, oblong, somewhat raised, and coarsely cut; on the top of which is a cone, resembling the pivots of the rocking stones in Cornwall, or at Stone-Henge, the tops of the uprights so receiving their transoms, and, per-

haps,

kaps, in its design, for some such purpose. In each of the lesser caves, there are several chapels.

On the sides of the porticoes, and in compartments at the further end, are, in basso relievo, pieces of sculpture, most of their figures being Colossian, and all representing parts of the Gentoo mythology; the centre is an image of the quadruple faced Brimha, the god of the Bedas. These statues, such as we see them, grotesque and fanciful, are to us the objects of eastern

adoration, and, in their present mutilated state, prove the artist neither unskilful, or unacquainted with animal proportions, which are well preserved, even in those which extend the height of the excavation, or which the hieroglyphic doctrines of the Bramins represent most whimsically; for, indeed, the acquaintance with nature and symmetry may as well be displayed in the statues of a Silenus or Medea, as in those of an Apollo or Venus."

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

*Account of a curious Mode of travelling in Kamtschatka, by means of Sledges drawn by Dogs, as described in the Journey taken by Captains Gore and King, from the Harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul to Bolcheretsk, the Residence of the Governor of the Province of Kamtschatka; from Captain King's Continuation of Captain Cook's last Voyage. Vol. III.*

“ABOUT nine o'clock the same evening, we were awakened by the melancholy howlings of the dogs, which continued all the time our baggage was lashing upon the sledges; but, as soon as they were yoked, and we were all prepared to set out, this changed into a light cheerful yelping, which intirely ceased the instant they marched off. But, before we set out, the reader may expect to be made more particularly acquainted with this curious mode of travelling.

The body \* is about four feet and a half long, and a foot wide, made in the form of a crescent, of light tough wood, strongly bound together with wicker work; which in those belonging to the

better sort of people is elegantly stained of a red and blue colour, and the seat covered with bear skins, or other furs. It is supported by four legs, about two feet high, which rest on two long flat pieces of wood, five or six inches broad, extending a foot at each end beyond the body of the sledge. These are turned up before, in the manner of a skate, and shod with the bone of some sea animal. The fore part of the carriage is ornamented with thongs of leather and tassels of coloured cloth; and from the cross bar, to which the harness is joined, are hung links of iron, or small bells, the jingling of which they conceive to be encouraging to the dogs. They are seldom used to carry more than one person at a time, who sits aside, resting his feet on the lower part of the sledge, and carrying his provisions and other necessaries, wrapped up in a bundle, behind him. The dogs are usually five in number, yoked two and two, with a leader. The reins not being fastened to the head of the dogs, but to the collar, have little power over them, and are therefore generally hung upon

\* *Viz.* of the sledge. One of these sledges was in the possession of Sir Ashton Lever.



the sledge, whilst the driver depends entirely on their obedience to his voice for the direction of them. With this view, the leader is always trained up with a particular degree of care and attention; some of them rising to a most extraordinary value on account of their docility and steadiness; insomuch, that for one of these, I am well assured, forty roubles (or ten pounds) was no unusual price. The driver is also provided with a crooked stick, which answers the purpose both of whip and reins; as by striking it into the snow, he is enabled to moderate the speed of the dogs, or even to stop them entirely; and when they are lazy, or otherwise inattentive to his voice, he chastises them by throwing it at them. Upon these occasions, their dexterity in picking it up again is very remarkable, and forms the principal difficulty of their art. But it is indeed not surprising, that they should labour to be skilful in a practice upon which their safety so materially depends. For they say, that if the driver should happen to lose his stick, the dogs will instantly perceive it; and unless their leader be of the most sober and resolute kind, they will immediately run a-head full speed, and never stop till they are quite spent. But as that will not be the case soon, it

generally happens, that either the carriage is overturned, and dashed to pieces against the trees, or they hurry down some precipice, and are all buried in the snow. The accounts that were given us of the speed of these dogs, and of their extraordinary patience of hunger and fatigue, were scarcely credible, if they had not been supported by the best authority. We were indeed ourselves witnesses of the great expedition with which the messenger, who had been dispatched to Bolcheretsk with the news of our arrival, returned to the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, though the snow was, at this time, exceedingly soft. But I was informed, by the Commander of Kamtschatka, that this journey was generally performed in two days and a half; and that he had once received an express from the latter place in twenty-three hours.

The dogs are fed during the winter, on the offals of dried and stinking fish; but are always deprived of this miserable food, a day before they set out on a journey, and never suffered to eat before they reach the end of it. We were also told, that it was not unusual for them to continue thus fasting two entire days, in which time they would perform a journey of one hundred and twenty miles\*. These dogs

\* Extraordinary as this may appear, Kraschinikoff, whose account of Kamtschatka, from every thing that I saw, and had an opportunity of comparing it with, seems to me to deserve entire credit; and whose authority I shall, therefore, frequently have recourse to; relates instances of this kind, that are much more surprising. "Travelling parties," says he, "are often overtaken with dreadful storms of snow, on the approach of which they drive, *with the utmost precipitation, into the nearest wood*, and there are obliged to stay till the tempest, which frequently lasts six or seven days, is over; the dogs remaining all this while quiet and inoffensive; except that sometimes, when pressed by hunger, they will devour their reins, and the other leathern parts of the harness."

*History and Description of Kamtschatka, by Kraschinikoff.*

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are, in shape, somewhat like the Pomeranian breed, but considerably larger.

As we did not choose to trust to our own skill, we had each of us a man to drive and guide the sledge, which, from the state the roads were now in, proved a very laborious business. For, as the thaw had advanced very considerably in the valleys, through which our road lay, we were under the necessity of keeping along the sides of the hills; and this obliged our guides, who were provided with snow-shoes for that purpose, to support the sledges, on the lower side, with their shoulders, for several miles together. I had a very good-humoured Cossack to attend me, who was, however, so very unskilful in his business, that we were overturned almost every minute, to the great entertainment of the rest of the company. Our party consisted, in all, of ten sledges. That in which Captain Gore was carried, was made of two lashed together, and abundantly provided with furs and bear-skins; it had ten dogs, yoked four abreast; as had also some of those that were heavy laden with baggage.

When we had proceeded about four miles, it began to rain; which, added to the darkness of the night, threw us all into confusion. It was at last agreed, that we should remain where we were till day-light; and accordingly we came to anchor in the snow (for I cannot better express the manner in which the sledges were secured) and wrapping ourselves up in our furs, waited patiently for the morning. About three o'clock we were called on to set out, our guides being apprehensive, that if we waited long-

er, we might be stopped by the thaw, and neither be able to proceed, nor to return. After encountering many difficulties, which were principally occasioned by the bad condition of the road, at two in the afternoon, we got safe to an *ostrog*, called Natcheechin, situated on the side of a small stream, which falls into the Bolchoireka, a little way below the town. The distance between Karatchin and Natcheechin is thirty-eight wersts (or twenty-five miles); and had the hard frost continued, we should not, by their account, have been more than four hours in performing it; but the snow was so soft, that the dogs, almost at every step, sunk up to their bellies; and I was indeed much surprised at their being at all able to overcome the difficulties of so fatiguing a journey."

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*An Account of the Manner of Bear-hunting practised by the Kamtschadales; from the same.*

“THE next day I set on foot another hunting party, and put myself under the direction of the clerk of the parish, who was a celebrated bear-hunter. We arrived, by sun-set, at the side of one of the larger lakes. The next step was to conceal ourselves as much as possible; and this we were able to do very effectually, among some long grass and brush-wood, that grew close to the water's edge. We had not lain long in ambush, before we had the pleasure to hear the growlings of bears in different parts round about us; and our expectations were soon gratified, by the sight of one of them in the water, which seemed to be swimming directly

reſly to the place where we lay hid. The moon, at this time, gave a conſiderable light; and when the animal had advanced about fifteen yards, three of us fired at it, pretty nearly at the ſame time. The beaſt immediately turned ſhort on one ſide, and ſet up a noiſe, which could not properly be called roaring, nor growling, nor yelling, but was a mixture of all three, and horrible beyond deſcription. We plainly ſaw that it was ſeverely wounded, and that with difficulty it gained the bank, and retreated to ſome thick buſhes at a little diſtance. It ſtill continued to make the ſame loud and terrible noiſe; and though the Kamſchadales were perſuaded it was mortally wounded, and could get no farther, yet they thought it moſt adviſeable not to rouſe it again for the preſent. It was, at this time, paſt nine o'clock; and the night becoming overcaſt, and threatening a change of weather, we thought it moſt prudent to return home, and defer the gratification of our curioſity till morning, when we returned to the ſpot, and found the bear dead in the place to which it had been watched. It proved to be a female, and beyond the common ſize.

“ As the account of our firſt hunting party will be apt to give the reader a wrong idea of the method in which this ſport is uſually conducted; it may not be amiſs to add a few more words on the ſubject; and which I am the better able to do ſince this laſt expedition.

“ When the natives come to the ground frequented by the bears, which they contrive to reach about ſun-ſet, the firſt ſtep is to look for their tracks, to examine which are

the freſheſt, and the beſt ſituated with a view to concealment, and taking aim at the beaſt, either as he is paſſing by, or advancing in front, or going from them. Theſe tracks are found in the greateſt numbers, leading from the woods down to the lakes, and among the long ſedgy graſs and brakes by the edge of the water. The place of ambuſcade being determined upon, the hunters next fix in the ground the crutchets, upon which their firelocks are made to reſt, pointing them in the direction they mean to make their ſhot. This done, they kneel or lie down, as the circumſtances of the cover require; and, with their bear-ſpears by their ſide, wait for their game. Theſe precautions, which are chiefly taken in order to make ſure of their mark, are, on ſeveral accounts, highly expedient. For, in the firſt place, ammunition is ſo dear at Kamſchatka, that the price of a bear will not purchaſe more of it than is ſufficient to load a muſket four or five times; and, what is more material, if the bear be not rendered incapable of purſuit by the firſt ſhot, the conſequences are often fatal. He immediately makes toward the place from whence the noiſe and ſmoke iſſue, and attacks his adverſaries with great fury. It is impoſſible for them to reload, as the animal is ſeldom at more than twelve or fifteen yards diſtance, when he is fired at: ſo that if he does not fall, they immediately put themſelves in a poſture to receive him upon their ſpears; and their ſafety greatly depends on their giving him a mortal ſtab, as he firſt comes upon them. If he parries the thruſt (which, by the extraordinary ſtrength and agility of their paws, they are often enabled to do), and thereby



thereby breaks in upon his adversaries, the conflict becomes very unequal, and it is well if the life of one of the party alone suffice to pay the forfeit.

“There are two seasons of the year when this diversion, or occupation, as it may be rather called, is more particularly dangerous: in the spring, when the bears first come forth, after having subsisted, as is universally asserted here, on sucking their paws through the winter; and especially if the frost happen to be severe, and the ice not to be broken up in the lake at that time, by which means they are deprived of their ordinary and expected food. Under these circumstances, they soon become exceedingly famished, and fierce and savage in proportion. They will pursue the natives by the scent; and, as they now prowl about out of their usual tracks, frequently come upon them unawares; and when this happens, as the Kamtschadales have not the smallest notion of shooting flying, nor even at an animal running, or in any way except with their piece on a rest, the bear-hunters often fall a sacrifice to their hunger. The other season in which it is dangerous to come in their way, is at the time of their copulation, which is generally about this time of the year.

“An extraordinary instance of natural affection in these animals hath been already mentioned. The chase affords a variety of a similar nature, and not less affecting; many of which were related to me. The Kamtschadales derive great advantage in hunting, from this circumstance. They never venture to fire upon a young bear, when the mother is near: for, if the cub drop, she becomes enraged to a degree

little short of madness; and if she get sight of the enemy, will only quit her revenge with her life. On the contrary, if the dam be shot, the cubs will not leave her side, even after she has been dead a long time; but continue about her, shewing, by a variety of affecting actions and gellures, marks of the deepest affliction, and thus become an easy prey to the hunters.

“Nor is the sagacity of the bears, if the Kamtschadales are to be credited, less extraordinary, or less worthy to be remarked, than their natural affection. Of this they have a thousand stories to relate. I shall content myself with mentioning one instance, which the natives speak of as a well-known fact; and that is, the stratagem they have recourse to, in order to catch the bareins, which are considerably too swift of foot for them. These animals keep together in large herds; they frequent mostly the low grounds, and love to browse at the feet of rocks and precipices. The bear hunts them by scent, till he comes in sight; when he advances warily, keeping above them, and concealing himself amongst the rocks, as he makes his approaches, till he gets immediately over them, and nigh enough for his purpose. He then begins to push down, with his paws, pieces of the rock amongst the herd below. This manœuvre is not followed by any attempt to pursue, until he find he has maimed one of the flock, upon which a course immediately ensues, that proves successful, or otherwise, according to the hurt the barein has received.

“I cannot conclude this digression, without observing, that the Kamtschadales very thankfully acknowledge their obligations to the bears for



for what little advancement they have hitherto made, either in the sciences or polite arts. They confess that they owe to them all their skill both in physic and surgery; that by remarking with what herbs these animals rub the wounds they have received, and what they have recourse to when sick and languid, they have become acquainted with most of the simples in use among them, either in the way of internal medicine, or external application. But what will appear somewhat more singular, is, they acknowledge the bears likewise for their dancing-matters. Indeed the evidence of one's senses puts this out of dispute; for the bear-dance of the Kamtschadales is an exact counterpart of every attitude and gesture peculiar to this animal, through its various functions; and this is the foundation and ground-work of all their other dances, and what they value themselves most upon."

ing his residence at Warsaw, obtained the most authentic information upon so interesting a transaction: as he has obligingly permitted me to enrich my work with this narration, I am happy to lay it before the reader in his own words.

" In the midst of these turbulent and disastrous scenes, the confederates (who ever considered the king as unlawfully elected, and who imputed to his fatal elevation, and direction or approbation, all the various ills under which the kingdom groaned from the Russian oppression) planned and executed one of the most daring enterprizes of which modern history makes mention. I mean the attempt to assassinate the king. It is somewhat remarkable, that in an age so humanized, so free from the enormous and flagitious crimes common in barbarous centuries, so enlightened as is the present, this is the third attempt on a crowned head in my remembrance. Louis XV, Joseph I. of Portugal, and Stanislaus Augustus, all narrowly escaped assassination. As the attempt on his Polish majesty was perhaps the most atrocious, and his escape certainly the most extraordinary and incredible of the three, I shall be as minute as possible in the enumeration of all the principal circumstances which led to, and which attended this remarkable event.

" A Polish nobleman, named Pulaski, a general in the army of the confederates, was the person who planned the atrocious enterprize; and the conspirators who carried it into execution were about forty in number, and were headed by three chiefs, H " named

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*A circumstantial Narrative of the Attempt made by the Confederates, on the Night of the 3d of September, 1771, to assassinate the King of Poland. From Vol. I. of Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark; by William Coxe, A. M. F. R. S. &c.*

*I*N presenting the following narrative to our readers, we shall beg leave to preface it with the author's own words:

THE following circumstantial account of this singular occurrence was communicated to me by my ingenious friend Nathaniel Wraxall, Esq; whose name is well known in the literary world; and who, during

VOL. XXVII.

“ named Lukawski, Strawenski, and  
 “ Kosiński. These three chiefs had  
 “ been engaged and hired to that  
 “ purpose by Pulaski, who in the  
 “ town of Czetshokow, in Great  
 “ Poland, obliged them to swear  
 “ in the most solemn manner, by  
 “ placing their hands between his,  
 “ either to deliver the king alive  
 “ into his hands, or, in case that  
 “ was impossible, to put him to  
 “ death. The three chiefs chose  
 “ thirty-seven persons to accom-  
 “ pany them. On the 2d of Novem-  
 “ ber, about a month after they had  
 “ quitted Czetshokow, they ob-  
 “ tained admission into Warsaw  
 “ unsuspected or undiscovered by  
 “ the following stratagem. They  
 “ disguised themselves as peasants  
 “ who came to sell hay, and artfully  
 “ concealed their saddles, arms,  
 “ and cloaths under the loads of  
 “ hay which they brought in wag-  
 “ gons, the more effectually to es-  
 “ cape detection.

“ On Sunday night the 3d of  
 “ September, 1771, a few of these  
 “ conspirators remained in the skirts  
 “ of the town; and the others re-  
 “ paired to the place of rendezvous,  
 “ the street of the Capuchins, where  
 “ his majesty was expected to pass  
 “ by about his usual hour of return-  
 “ ing to the palace. The king had  
 “ been to visit his uncle prince  
 “ Czartoriski, grand chancellor of  
 “ Lithuania, and was on his return  
 “ from thence to the palace between  
 “ nine and ten o'clock. He was in  
 “ a coach, accompanied by at least

“ fifteen or sixteen attendants, be-  
 “ side an aid-de-camp in the car-  
 “ riage: scarce was he at the dis-  
 “ tance of two hundred paces from  
 “ prince Czartoriski's palace, when  
 “ he was attacked by the conspira-  
 “ tors, who commanded the coach-  
 “ man to stop, on pain of instant  
 “ death. They fired several shot  
 “ into the carriage, one of which  
 “ passed through the body of a hey-  
 “ duc, who endeavoured to defend  
 “ his master from the violence of  
 “ the assassins. Almost all the other  
 “ persons \* who preceded and ac-  
 “ companied his majesty were dis-  
 “ perfed; the aid-de-camp aban-  
 “ doned him, and attempted to  
 “ conceal himself by flight. Mean-  
 “ while the king had opened the  
 “ door of his carriage, with the de-  
 “ sign of effecting his escape under  
 “ shelter of the night, which was  
 “ extremely dark. He had even  
 “ alighted, when the assassins seized  
 “ him by the hair, exclaiming in  
 “ Polish, with horrible execrations,  
 “ We have thee now; thy hour is  
 “ come.† One of them discharged  
 “ a pistol at him so very near, that  
 “ he felt the heat of the flash; while  
 “ another cut him across the head  
 “ with his sabre, which penetrated  
 “ to the bone. They then laid  
 “ hold of his majesty by the collar,  
 “ and, mounting on horseback,  
 “ dragged him along the ground  
 “ between their horses at full gal-  
 “ lop for near five hundred paces  
 “ through the streets of Warsaw †.

“ All was confusion and disorder  
 during

\* “ It is incredible, that such a number of persons as were with his Polish ma-  
 “ jesty on that memorable night, should all so basely abandon him, except the  
 “ single heyduc who was killed, and who so bravely defended his master. This  
 “ man was a protestant; he was not killed on the spot, but expired next morn-  
 “ ing of his wounds. The king allows a pension to his widow and chil-  
 “ dren.”

† “ It is astonishing, that, in the number of balls which passed through the  
 “ carriage,

“ during this time at the palace, “ where the attendants who had de-  
 “ serted their master had spread the “ alarm. The foot-guards ran im-  
 “ mediately to the spot from whence “ the king had been conveyed, but  
 “ they found only his hat all bloo- “ dy, and his bag : this increased  
 “ their apprehensions for his life. “ The whole city was in an uproar.  
 “ The assassins profited of the uni- “ versal confusion, terror, and con-  
 “ sternation, to bear away their “ prize. Finding, however, that  
 “ he was incapable of following “ them on foot, and that he had  
 “ already almost lost his respiration “ from the violence with which they  
 “ had dragged him, they set him “ on horseback; and then redoubled  
 “ their speed for fear of being over- “ taken. When they came to the  
 “ ditch which furrounds Warsaw, “ they obliged him to leap his horse  
 “ over. In the attempt the horse “ fell twice, and at the second fall  
 “ broke its leg. They then mount- “ ed his majesty upon another, all  
 “ covered as he was with dirt.  
 “ The conspirators had no sooner “ crossed the ditch, than they began

“ to rifle the king, tearing off the “ order \* of the Black Eagle of  
 “ Prussia, which he wore round his “ neck, and the diamond cross hang-  
 “ ing to it. He requested them to “ leave his handkerchief, which  
 “ they consented to : his tablets es- “ caped their rapacity. A great  
 “ number of the assassins retired af- “ ter having thus plundered him,  
 “ probably with intent to notify to “ their respective leaders the suc-  
 “ cess of their enterprize, and the “ king’s arrival as a prisoner. Only  
 “ seven remained with him, of “ whom Kosinski was the chief.  
 “ The night was exceedingly dark; “ they were absolutely ignorant of  
 “ the way ; and, as the horses could “ not keep their legs, they obliged  
 “ his majesty to follow them on “ foot, with only one shoe, the other  
 “ being lost in the dirt.

“ They continued to wander “ through the open meadows, with-  
 “ out following any certain path, “ and without getting to any dis-  
 “ tance from Warsaw. They again “ mounted the king on horseback,  
 “ two of them holding him on each “ side by the hand, and a third

“ carriage, not one should hurt or wound the king. Several went through his  
 “ *pelisse*, or fur great-coat. I have seen this cloak, and the holes made in it by  
 “ the pistol-bullets. Every part of the cloaths which his majesty wore on that  
 “ night are carefully preserved. It is no less wonderful, that when the assassins  
 “ had seized on the king, they should carry him through such a number of streets  
 “ without being stopped. A Russian centinel did hail them; but, as they an-  
 “ swered in Russian, he allowed them to pass, imagining them to be a patrol of  
 “ his nation. This happened at some distance from the place where they had  
 “ carried off the king. The night was besides exceedingly dark, and Warsaw  
 “ has no lamps. All these circumstances contribute to account for this extraor-  
 “ dinary event.”

\* “ It was Lukawski, one of the three chiefs of the band, who tore off the rib-  
 “ bon of the Black Eagle, which his Prussian majesty had conferred on the king  
 “ when he was Count Poniatowski. One of his motives for doing this, was by  
 “ shewing the order of the Black Eagle to Pulaski and the confederates, to prove  
 “ to them incontestibly that the king was in their hands, and on his way. Lu-  
 “ kawski was afterwards executed.”



“ leading his horse by the bridle.  
 “ In this manner they were pro-  
 “ ceeding, when his majesty, find-  
 “ ing they had taken the road  
 “ which led to a village called Bu-  
 “ rakow, warned them not to enter  
 “ it, because there were some Rus-  
 “ sians stationed in that place, who  
 “ might probably attempt to rescue  
 “ him\*. Finding himself, how-  
 “ ever, incapable of accompanying  
 “ the assassins in the painful posture  
 “ in which they held him kept down  
 “ on the saddle, he requested them,  
 “ since they were determined to  
 “ oblige him to proceed, at least  
 “ to give him another horse and a  
 “ boot†. This request they com-  
 “ plied with; and continuing their  
 “ progress through almost impass-  
 “ able lands, without any road, and  
 “ ignorant of their way, they at  
 “ length found themselves in the  
 “ wood of Bielany, only a league  
 “ distant from Warsaw. From the  
 “ time they had passed the ditch,  
 “ they repeatedly demanded of Ko-  
 “ sinki their chief, if it was not  
 “ yet time to put the king to death;  
 “ and these demands were reiterat-

“ ed in proportion to the obstacles  
 “ and difficulties they encountered.  
 “ Meanwhile the confusion and  
 “ consternation increased at War-  
 “ saw. The guards were afraid  
 “ to pursue the conspirators, lest  
 “ terror of being overtaken should  
 “ prompt them in the darkness to  
 “ massacre the king; and on the  
 “ other hand, by not pursuing they  
 “ might give them time to escape  
 “ with their prize, beyond the possi-  
 “ bility of assistance. Several of  
 “ the first nobility at length mount-  
 “ ed on horseback, and following  
 “ the track of the assassins, arrived  
 “ at the place where his majesty had  
 “ passed the ditch. There they  
 “ found his *pelisse*, which he had lost  
 “ in the precipitation with which  
 “ he was hurried away: it was  
 “ bloody, and pierced with holes  
 “ made by the balls or sabres. This  
 “ convinced them that he was no  
 “ more.

“ The king was still in the hands  
 “ of the seven remaining assassins,  
 “ who advanced with him into the  
 “ wood of Bielany, when they were  
 “ suddenly alarmed by a Russian pa-

\* “ This intimation, which the king gave to his assassins, may at first sight ap-  
 “ pear extraordinary and unaccountable, but was really dictated by the greatest  
 “ address and judgment. He apprehended with reason that, on the sight of a  
 “ Russian guard, they would instantly put him to death with their sabres, and fly;  
 “ whereas by informing them of the danger they incurred, he in some measure  
 “ gained their confidence: in effect, this behaviour of the king seemed to soften  
 “ them a little, and made them believe he did not mean to escape from them.”

† The king, in his speech to the diet on the trial of the conspirators, interceded  
 strongly for Kosinski, or John Kutsma, to whom he gratefully expresses himself  
 indebted for these favours in the following words:

“ As I was in the hands of the assassins, I heard them repeatedly ask John  
 “ Kutsma, if they should not assassinate me, but he always prevented them. He  
 “ was the first who persuaded them to behave to me with greater gentleness; and  
 “ obliged them to confer upon me some services which I then greatly wanted;  
 “ namely, one to give me a cap, and a second a boot, which at that time were no  
 “ trifling presents: for the cold air greatly affected the wound in my head; and  
 “ my foot, which was covered with blood, gave me inexpressible torture, which  
 “ continued every moment increasing.”

“ trole



"trole or detachment. Instantly  
 "holding council, four of them dis-  
 "appeared, leaving him with the  
 "other three, who compelled him  
 "to walk on. Scarce a quarter of  
 "an hour after, a second Russian  
 "guard challenged them anew.  
 "Two of the assassins then fled, and  
 "the king remained alone with Ko-  
 "sinski the chief, both on foot. His  
 "majesty, exhausted with all the  
 "fatigue which he had undergone,  
 "implored his conductor to stop,  
 "and suffer him to take a moment's  
 "repose. Kosinski refused it, me-  
 "nacing him with his naked sabre;  
 "and at the same time informed  
 "him, that beyond the wood they  
 "should find a carriage. They  
 "continued their walk, till they  
 "came to the door of the convent  
 "of Bielany. Kosinski appeared  
 "lost in thought, and so much agi-  
 "tated by his reflections, that the  
 "king perceiving his disorder, and  
 "observing that he wandered with-  
 "out knowing the road, said to  
 "him, 'I see you at a loss which  
 "way to proceed. Let me enter  
 "the convent of Bielany, and do  
 "you provide for your own safety.'  
 "'No,' replied Kosinski, 'I have  
 "sworn.'

"They proceeded till they came  
 "to Mariemont, a small palace be-  
 "longing to the house of Saxony,  
 "not above half a league from  
 "Warsaw: here Kosinski betrayed  
 "some satisfaction at finding where  
 "he was; and the king still de-  
 "manding an instant's repose, he  
 "consented at length. They sat  
 "down together on the ground,  
 "and the king employed these mo-  
 "ments in endeavouring to soften  
 "his conductor, and induce him to  
 "favour or permit his escape. His  
 "majesty represented the atrocity

"of the crime he had committed, in  
 "attempting to murder his sove-  
 "reign, and the invalidity of an  
 "oath taken to perpetrate so hei-  
 "nous an action: Kosinski lent at-  
 "tention to this discourse, and be-  
 "gan to betray some marks of re-  
 "morse. 'But,' said he, 'if I  
 "should consent, and re-conduct  
 "you to Warsaw, what will be the  
 "consequence?—I shall be taken  
 "and executed!'

"This reflection plunged him  
 "into new uncertainty and embar-  
 "rassment. 'I give you my word,'  
 "answered his majesty, 'that you  
 "shall suffer no harm; but if you  
 "doubt my promise, escape while  
 "there is yet time. I can find my  
 "way to some place of security; and  
 "I will certainly direct your pur-  
 "suers to take the contrary road to  
 "that which you have chosen.' Ko-  
 "sinski could not any longer con-  
 "tain himself, but, throwing him-  
 "self at the king's feet, implored  
 "forgiveness for the crime he had  
 "committed; and swore to protect  
 "him against every enemy, relying  
 "totally on his generosity for par-  
 "don and preservation. His ma-  
 "jesty reiterated to him his assu-  
 "rances of safety. Judging, how-  
 "ever, that it was prudent to gain  
 "some asylum without delay, and  
 "recollecting that there was a mill  
 "at some considerable distance, he  
 "immediately made towards it.  
 "Kosinski knocked, but in vain;  
 "no answer was given: he then  
 "broke a pane of glass in the win-  
 "dow, and intreated for shelter to  
 "a nobleman who had been plun-  
 "dered by robbers. The miller  
 "refused, supposing them to be  
 "banditti, and continued for more  
 "than half an hour to persist in his  
 "denial. At length the king ap-

“ proached, and speaking through  
 “ the broken pane, endeavoured to  
 “ persuade him to admit them un-  
 “ der his roof, adding, ‘ If we were  
 “ robbers, as you suppose, it would  
 “ be very easy for us to break the  
 “ whole window, instead of one pane  
 “ of glass.’ This argument pre-  
 “ vailed. They at length opened  
 “ the door, and admitted his ma-  
 “ jesty. He immediately wrote a  
 “ note to General Coccei, colonel  
 “ of the foot-guards. It was lite-  
 “ rally as follows: ‘ Par une espece  
 “ de miracle je suis sauvé des mains  
 “ des assassins. Je suis ici au petit  
 “ moulin de Mariemont. Venez  
 “ au plutôt me tirer d’ici. Je suis  
 “ blessé, mais pas fort\*.’ It was  
 “ with the greatest difficulty, how-  
 “ ever, that the king could persuade  
 “ any one to carry this note to  
 “ Warsaw, as the people of the mill,  
 “ imagining that he was a nobleman  
 “ who had just been plundered by  
 “ robbers, were afraid of falling in  
 “ with the troop. Kosinski then  
 “ offered to restore every thing he  
 “ had taken; but his majesty left  
 “ him all, except the blue ribbon  
 “ of the White Eagle.

“ When the messenger arrived  
 “ with the note, the astonishment  
 “ and joy was incredible. Coccei  
 “ instantly rode to the mill, follow-  
 “ ed by a detachment of the guards.  
 “ He met Kosinski at the door, with  
 “ his sabre drawn, who admitted  
 “ him as soon as he knew him. The  
 “ king had sunk into a sleep, caused

“ by his fatigue; and was stretched  
 “ on the ground, covered with the  
 “ miller’s cloak. Coccei immedi-  
 “ ately threw himself at his majes-  
 “ ty’s feet, calling him his sove-  
 “ reign, and kissing his hand. It  
 “ is not easy to paint or describe the  
 “ astonishment of the miller and his  
 “ family, who instantly imitated  
 “ Coccei’s example, by throwing  
 “ themselves on their knees†. The  
 “ king returned to Warsaw in  
 “ General Coccei’s carriage, and  
 “ reached the palace about five in  
 “ the morning. His wound was  
 “ found not to be dangerous; and  
 “ he soon recovered the bruises and  
 “ injuries which he had suffered  
 “ during this memorable night.

“ So extraordinary an escape is  
 “ scarce to be paralleled in history,  
 “ and affords ample matter of won-  
 “ der and surprise. Scarce could  
 “ the nobility or people at Warsaw  
 “ credit the evidence of their senses,  
 “ when they saw him return. Cer-  
 “ tainly neither the escape of the  
 “ king of France from Damien, or  
 “ of the king of Portugal from the  
 “ conspiracy of the Duke d’Aveiro,  
 “ were equally amazing or impro-  
 “ bable, as that of the king of Po-  
 “ land. I have related it very mi-  
 “ nutely, and from authorities the  
 “ highest and most incontestible.

“ It is natural to inquire what is  
 “ become of Kosinski, the man who  
 “ saved his majesty’s life, and the  
 “ other conspirators. He was born  
 “ in the palatinate of Cracow, and

\* “ By a kind of miracle I am escaped from the hands of assassins. I am now  
 “ at the mill of Mariemont. Come as soon as possible, and take me from hence.  
 “ I am wounded, but not dangerously.”

† “ I have been at this mill, rendered memorable by so singular an event. It  
 “ is a wretched Polish hovel, at a distance from any house. The king has rewarded  
 “ the miller to the extent of his wishes; in building him a mill upon the Vistula,  
 “ and allowing him a small pension.”

“ of mean extraction : having assumed the name of Kosinski \*, which is that of a noble family, to give himself credit. He had been created an officer in the troops of the confederates under Pulaski. It would seem as if Kosinski began to entertain the idea of preserving the king’s life from the time when Lukawski and Strawenski abandoned him ; yet he had great struggles with himself before he could resolve on this conduct, after the solemn engagements into which he had entered. Even after he had conducted the king back to Warsaw, he expressed more than once his doubts of the propriety of what he had done, and some remorse for having deceived his employers.

“ Lukawski and Strawenski were both taken, and several of the other assassins. At his majesty’s peculiar request and intreaty, the diet remitted the capital punishment of the inferior conspirators, and condemned them to work for life on the fortifications of Kamieniec, where they now are. By his intercession likewise with the diet, the horrible punishment and various modes of torture, which the laws of Poland decree and inflict on regicides, were mitigated ; and both Lukawski and Strawenski were only simply beheaded. Kosinski was detained under a very strict confinement, and obliged to give evidence against his two companions. A person of distinction, who saw them both die, has assured me, that nothing

“ could be more noble and manly than all Lukawski’s conduct previous to his death. When he was carried to the place of execution, although his body was almost extenuated by the severity of his confinement, diet, and treatment, his spirit, unsubdued, raised him above the terrors of an infamous and public execution. He had not been permitted to shave his beard while in prison, and his dress was squalid to the greatest degree ; yet none of these humiliations could depress his mind. With a grandeur of soul worthy of a better cause, but which it was impossible not to admire, he refused to see or embrace the traitor Kosinski. When conducted to the scene of execution, which was about a mile from Warsaw, he betrayed no emotions of terror or unmanly fear. He made a short harangue to the multitude assembled upon the occasion, in which he by no means expressed any sorrow for his past conduct, or contrition for his attempt on the king, which he probably regarded as meritorious and patriotic. His head was severed from his body.

“ Strawenski was beheaded at the same time, but he neither harangued the people, nor shewed any signs of contrition. Pulaski, who commanded one of the many corps of confederate Poles then in arms, and who was the great agent and promoter of the assassination, is still alive †, though an outlaw and an exile. He is said, even by the Russians his ene-

\* His real name was John Kutsuma.

† After the conclusion of these troubles, Pulaski escaped from Poland, and repaired to America : he distinguished himself in the American service, and was killed in the attempt to force the British lines at the siege of Savannah, in 1779.



“mies, to possess military talents  
 “of a very superior nature; nor  
 “were they ever able to take him  
 “prisoner during the civil war.

“To return to Kosinski, the man  
 “who saved the king's life. About  
 “a week after Lukawski and Stra-  
 “wenski's execution, he was sent  
 “by his majesty out of Poland. He  
 “now resides at Semigallia in the  
 “papal territories, where he enjoys  
 “an annual pension from the king.

“A circumstance almost incredi-  
 “ble, and which seems to breathe  
 “all the sanguinary bigotry of the  
 “16th century, I cannot omit. It  
 “is that the papal nuntio in Poland;  
 “inspired with a furious zeal against  
 “the dissidents, whom he believed  
 “to be protected by the king, not  
 “only approved the scheme for as-  
 “sassinating his majesty, but blessed  
 “the weapons of the conspirators at  
 “Czetschokow, previous to their  
 “setting out on their expedition.  
 “This is a trait indisputably true,  
 “and scarcely to be exceeded by any  
 “thing under the reign of Charles  
 “IX. of France, and of his mother  
 “Catharine of Medicis.”

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*An Account of the different Orders in-  
 stituted in Russia; of a favourite  
 Building of the present Empress's,  
 called the Hermitage; and of the  
 Manner in which she passes her  
 Time. Extracted from the same.*

“THE order of St. Andrew, or  
 the Blue Ribband, the first  
 ever known in this country, was in-  
 stituted by Peter I. in the year 1698,  
 soon after his return from his first  
 expedition into foreign countries\*.

That of St. Alexander Nevski, or

the red Ribband, was created by  
 the same sovereign, but never con-  
 ferred until the reign of Catha-  
 rine I. in 1725 †.

The order of St. Anne of Hol-  
 stein was instituted, in 1735, by  
 Charles Frederick duke of Holstein,  
 in memory of his wife Anne, daugh-  
 ter of Peter the Great, and introduc-  
 ed into Russia by her son Peter III.  
 It is in the disposal of the great-duke,  
 as sovereign of Holstein. The  
 knights wear a red ribband bordered  
 with yellow.

The military order of St. George,  
 called also the order of Merit, and  
 which has the precedence over that  
 of St. Anne, was created by the pre-  
 sent empress in 1769. It is appropri-  
 ated to persons serving by land or  
 by sea, and is never bestowed in time  
 of peace. The knights wear a rib-  
 band with black and orange stripes.

This order is divided into four  
 classes;

The knights of the first class, call-  
 ed the Great Cross, wear the rib-  
 band over the right shoulder, and the  
 star upon the left side. Each re-  
 ceives an annual salary of 700 rous-  
 bles = £ 140. The knights of the  
 second class wear the star upon their  
 left breast, the ribband with the cross  
 pendent round their neck. Each  
 receives 400 roubles = £ 80 per ann.  
 The knights of the third class wear  
 the small cross pendent round their  
 neck. Each receives 200 roubles,  
 or £ 40 per ann. This class admits  
 50. The knights of the fourth class  
 wear the small cross fastened by a  
 ribband to the button-hole, like the  
 French Croix de St. Louis. Each  
 receives 100 roubles, or £ 20 per  
 ann.

The fund of this order, assigned

\* Weber's Ver. Russ. Part III. p. 161.

† Ibid. p. 38.



by the empress for the payment of their salaries and other expences, is 40,000 roubles = £ 8,000 *per ann.* Of this 1,680 is destined for the first class; and 2,000 for each of the remaining three.

The number of knights is unlimited. In 1778, the first class, which is confined to commanders in chief, contained only four; namely, Marshal Romanzof, for his victories over the Turks; Count Alexéy Orlof, for burning the Turkish fleet at Tcheshme; Count Panin, for the taking of Bender; and Prince Dolgorucki, for his conquests in the Crimea. The second class comprised only eight knights; the third 48; and the fourth 237. No person can obtain this order without having performed some gallant exploit, or having served with credit in the rank of officer 25 years by land, or 18 by sea\*.

There is also the order of St. Catharine, appropriated to the ladies; it was instituted in 1714 by Peter, in honour of his wife Catharine. The motto of "Love and fidelity" was intended to commemorate the display of those virtues in her behaviour on the banks of the Pruth. This order is extremely honourable, as, beside the empress, the great-duchess, and a few foreign princesses, only five Russian ladies were decorated with it.

The order of St. Andrew is the first and most distinguished of these, which, beside the sovereign princes and foreigners, comprised, in 1778, 26 Russians; that of St. Alexander Nevski 109; and that of St. Anne 208. The empress may also be said to have the disposal of the Polish or-

ders of the White Eagle and of St. Stanislaus.

Since our departure from Russia her majesty instituted, on the 4th of October, 1782, a new order, called St. Vladimir, in favour of those who serve in civil employments; and it is nearly on the same footing as that of St. George with respect to the salaries annexed to the different classes. There are to be ten great crosses, twenty of the second class, thirty of the third, and sixty of the fourth, beside a fifth for those who have served 35 years, which gives them a right to wear it."

"A separate edifice of brick fluted white, called the Hermitage, communicates with the palace by means of a covered gallery. It takes its appellation from its being the scene of imperial retirement, but bears no other resemblance to an hermitage, except in its name, the apartments being extremely spacious, and decorated in a superb style of regal magnificence. To this favourite spot the empress usually repairs for an hour or two every day; and on a Thursday evening she gives a private ball and supper to the principal persons who form her court; foreign ministers and foreign noblemen being seldom invited. At this entertainment all ceremony is said to be banished, as far as is consistent with that respect which is paid to a great sovereign. The attendance of servants is excluded, while the supper and various refreshments are presented on small tables, which emerge through trap-doors. Many directions for the regulation of this select society are disposed in the various apartments: the meaning of those

\* See Ukase ueber die Stiftung des St. Georg's-Ordens, in Schmidts Beytrage.

written in the Russian tongue was explained to me by a gentleman of the company, and their general tendency was to encourage freedom from etiquette, and to inculcate the most unrestrained ease of behaviour. One written in the French language I comprehended and retained. "*Asseyez vous où vous voulez, et quand il vous plaira, sans qu'on le repete mille fois \**."

This hermitage contains a numerous assemblage of pictures, chiefly purchased by her present majesty. Its principal ornament was the celebrated collection of Crozat, which devolved by heritage to the Baron de Thieres, upon whose death the empress purchased it from his heirs. The Houghton collection, the loss of which every lover of the arts in England must sincerely regret, will form a most valuable accession.

A winter and summer garden, comprised within the site of the building, are singular curiosities, and such as do not, perhaps, occur in any other palace in Europe. The summer garden, in the true Asiatic style, occupies the whole level top of the edifice: at this season of the year it was entirely buried under the snow, which prevented our viewing it. The winter-garden is entirely roofed and surrounded with glass frames: it is an high and spacious hot-house, laid out in gravel walks, ornamented with parterres of flowers, orange trees, and other shrubs; and peopled with several birds of sundry sorts and various climates, which flitted from tree to tree. The whole exhibited a pleasing effect, and was the more delightful as being contrasted with

the dismal and dreary season of the year.

The ordinary distribution of the empress's time at Petersburg, as far as I could collect from inquiries which I had many opportunities of making, as it concerns so great a princess, cannot be unacceptable to the reader.

Her majesty usually rises about six, and is engaged till eight or nine in public business with her secretary. At ten she generally begins her toilet; and while her hair is dressing, the ministers of state, and her aide-camps in waiting, pay their respects, and receive their orders. Being dressed about eleven, she sends for her grand-children, the young princes Alexander and Constantine, or visits them in their own apartment. Before dinner she receives a visit from the great-duke and duchess; and sits down to table rather before one. She has always company at dinner, usually about nine persons, consisting of the generals and lords in waiting, a lady of the bed-chamber, a maid of honour, and two or three of the Russian nobility, whom she invites. Their imperial highnesses dine with her three times in the week, on which days the party is increased to eighteen persons. The lord of the bed-chamber in waiting, who always sits opposite to the empress, carves one dish and presents it to her; an attention which, after having once politely accepted, she afterwards dispenses with. Her majesty is remarkably temperate, and is seldom at table more than an hour. From thence she retires to her own apartment; and about three fre-

\* Sit down where you chuse, and when you please, without its being repeated to you a thousand times.

quently repairs to her library in the Hermitage. At five she goes to the theatre \*, or to a private concert; and, when there is no court in the evening, has a private party at cards. She seldom sups, generally retires at half past ten, and is usually in bed before eleven."

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*Curious Account of the Distresses and Escape of the Pretender, Prince Charles Edward, after the Battle of Culloden, in the Year 1745: From the Journal of a Tour to the Hebrides with Dr. Johnson, by James Boswell, Esq.*

**M**R. Boswell introduces the following account with these words.

FROM what she † told us, and from what I was told by others personally concerned, and from a paper of information which Rafay was so good as to send me, at my desire, I have compiled the following abstract, which, as it contains some curious anecdotes, will, I imagine, not be uninteresting to my readers, and even, perhaps, be of some use to future historians.

" Prince Charles Edward, after the battle of Culloden, was conveyed to what is called the *Long Island*, where he lay for some time concealed. But intelligence having been obtained where he was, and a number of troops having come in quest of him, it became absolutely necessary for him to quit that country without delay. Miss Flora Macdonald, then a young lady, animated by what she thought the sacred principle of

loyalty, offered, with the magnanimity of a heroine, to accompany him in an open boat to Sky, though the coast they were to quit was guarded by ships. He dressed himself in women's clothes, and passed as her supposed maid, by the name of Betty Bourke, an Irish girl. They got off undiscovered, though several shots were fired to bring them to, and landed at Mugsfoot, the seat of Sir Alexander Macdonald. Sir Alexander was then at Fort Augustus, with the duke of Cumberland; but his lady was at home. Prince Charles took his post upon a hill near the house. Flora Macdonald waited on lady Margaret, and acquainted her of the enterprise in which she was engaged. Her ladyship, whose active benevolence was ever seconded by superior talents, shewed a perfect presence of mind, and readiness of invention, and at once settled that Prince Charles should be conducted to old Rafay, who was himself concealed with some select friends. The plan was instantly communicated to Kingsburgh, who was dispatched to the hill to inform the Wanderer, and carry him refreshments. When Kingsburgh approached, he started up, and advanced, holding a large knotted stick, and in appearance ready to knock him down, till he said " I am Macdonald of Kingsburgh, come to serve your highness." The Wanderer answered, " It is well," and was satisfied with the plan.

Flora Macdonald dined with lady Margaret, at whose table there sat an officer of the army, stationed

\* An Italian opera, a set of Russian, and another of French players, were, in 1778, maintained at her majesty's expence, at which the spectators were admitted gratis.

† Flora Macdonald.



here with a party of soldiers, to watch for prince Charles, in case of his flying to the isle of Sky. She afterwards often laughed in good humour with this gentleman, on her having so well deceived him.

After dinner, Flora Macdonald on horseback, and her supposed maid and Kingsburgh, with a servant carrying some linen, all on foot, proceeded towards that gentleman's house. Upon the road was a small rivulet which they were obliged to cross. The Wanderer, forgetting his assumed sex, that his clothes might not be wet, held them up a great deal too high. Kingsburgh mentioned this to him, observing it might make a discovery. He said, he would be more careful for the future. He was as good as his word; for the next brook they crossed, he did not hold up his clothes at all, but let them float upon the water. He was very awkward in his female dress. His size was so large, and his strides so great, that some women whom they met reported that they had seen a very big woman, who looked like a man in woman's clothes, and that perhaps it was (as they expressed themselves) the *Prince*, after whom so much search was making.

At Kingsburgh he met with a most cordial reception; seemed gay at supper, and after it indulged himself in a cheerful glass with his worthy host. As he had not had his clothes off for a long time, the comfort of a good bed was highly relished by him, and he slept soundly till next day at one o'clock.

The mistress of Corrichatachin told me, that in the forenoon she went into her father's room, who was also in bed, and suggested to him her apprehensions that a party

of the military might come up, and that his guest and he had better not remain here too long. Her father said, "Let the poor man repose himself after his fatigues; and as for me, I care not, though they take off this old grey head ten or eleven years sooner than I should die in the course of nature." He then wrapped himself in the bed-clothes, and again fell fast asleep.

On the afternoon of that day, the Wanderer, still in the same dress, set out for Portree, with Flora Macdonald and a man servant. His shoes being very bad, Kingsburgh provided him with a new pair, and taking up the old ones, said, "I will faithfully keep them till you are safely settled at St. James's. I will then introduce myself by shaking them at you, to put you in mind of your night's entertainment and protection under my roof."—He smiled, and said, "Be as good as your word!"—Kingsburgh kept the shoes as long as he lived. After his death, a zealous Jacobite gentleman gave twenty guineas for them.

Old Mrs. Macdonald, after her guest had left the house, took the sheets in which he had lain, folded them carefully, and charged her daughter that they should be kept unwashed, and that, when she died, her body should be wrapped in them as a winding-sheet. Her will was religiously observed.

Upon the road to Portree, Prince Charles changed his dress, and put on man's clothes again; a tartan short coat and waistcoat, with philibeg and short hose, a plaid, and a wig and bonnet.

Mr. Donald McDonald, called Donald Roy, had been sent express to the present Rasay, then the young laird,



laird, who was at that time at his sister's house, about three miles from Portree, attending his brother, Dr. Macleod, who was recovering of a wound he had received at the battle of Culloden. Mr. M'Donald communicated to young Rasay the plan of conveying the *Wanderer* to where old Rasay was; but was told that old Rasay had fled to Knoidart, a part of Glengary's estate. There was then a dilemma what should be done. Donald Roy proposed that he should conduct the *Wanderer* to the main land; but young Rasay thought it too dangerous at that time, and said it would be better to conceal him in the island of Rasay, till old Rasay could be informed where he was, and give his advice what was best. But the difficulty was, how to get him to Rasay. They could not trust a Portree crew, and all the Rasay boats had been destroyed, or carried off by the military, except two belonging to Malcolm M'Leod, which he had concealed somewhere.

Dr. M'Leod being informed of this difficulty, said he would risk his life once more for Prince Charles; and it having occurred, that there was a little boat upon a fresh-water lake in the neighbourhood, young Rasay and Dr. M'Leod, with the help of some women, brought it to the sea, by extraordinary exertion, across a Highland mile of land, one half of which was bog, and the other a steep precipice.

These gallant brothers, with the assistance of one little boy, rowed the small boat to Rasay, where they were to endeavour to find captain M'Leod, as Malcolm was then called, and get one of his good boats, with which they might return to Portree, and receive the *Wanderer*;

or, in case of not finding him, they were to make the small boat serve, though the danger was considerable.

Fortunately, on their first landing, they found their cousin Malcolm, who, with the utmost alacrity, got ready one of his boats, with two strong men, John M'Kenzie, and Donald M'Friar. Malcolm, being the oldest man, and most cautious, said, that as young Rasay had not hitherto appeared in the unfortunate business, he ought not to run any risk; but that Dr. Macleod and himself, who were already publicly engaged, should go on this expedition. Young Rasay answered, with an oath, that he would go, at the risk of his life and fortune.—“In God's name then (said Malcolm) let us proceed.” The two boatmen, however, now stopped short, till they should be informed of their destination; and M'Kenzie declared he would not move an oar till he knew where they were going. Upon which they were both sworn to secrecy; and the business being imparted to them, they were eager to put off to sea without loss of time. The boat soon landed about half a mile from the inn at Portree.

All this was negotiated before the *Wanderer* got forward to Portree. Malcolm M'Leod, and M'Friar, were dispatched to look for him. In a short time he appeared, and went into the public house. Here Donald Roy, whom he had seen at Mugitot, received him, and informed him of what had been concerted. He wanted silver for a guinea, but the landlord had only thirteen shillings; he was going to accept of this for his guinea, but Donald Roy very judiciously observed, that it would discover him to be some great man;

man; so he desisted. He slipped out of the house, leaving his fair protectress, whom he never again saw; and Malcolm Macleod was presented to him by Daniel Roy, as captain in his army. Young Rasfay and Dr. Macleod had waited, in impatient anxiety, in the boat. When he came, their names were announced to him. He would not permit the usual ceremonies of respect, but saluted them as his equals.

Donald Roy staid in Sky, to be in readiness to get intelligence, and give an alarm in case the troops should discover the retreat to Rasfay; and Prince Charles was then conveyed in a boat to that island in the night. He slept a little upon the passage, and they landed about day break. There was some difficulty in accommodating him with a lodging, as almost all the houses in the island had been burnt by the soldiery. They repaired to a little hut, which some shepherds had lately built, and having prepared it as well as they could, and made a bed of heath for the stranger, they kindled a fire, and partook of some provisions which had been sent with him from Kingsburgh. It was observed, that he would not taste wheat-bread, or brandy, while oat-bread and whisky lasted; "for these (said he) are my own country bread and drink."—This was very engaging to the Highlanders.

Young Rasfay being the only person of the company that durst appear with safety, he went in quest of something fresh for them to eat; but though he was amidst his own cows, sheep, and goats, he could not venture to take any of them for fear of a discovery, but was obliged to supply himself by stealth. He

therefore caught a kid, and brought it to the hut in his plaid, and it was killed and dressed, and furnished them a meal which they relished much. The distressed Wanderer, whose health was now a good deal impaired by hunger, fatigue, and watching, slept a long time, but seemed to be frequently disturbed. Malcolm told me he would start from broken slumbers, and speak to himself in different languages, French, Italian, and English. I must however acknowledge, that it is highly probable that my worthy friend Malcolm did not know precisely the difference between French and Italian. One of his expressions in English was, "O God! poor Scotland!"

While they were in the hut, M'Kenzie and M'Friar, the two boatmen, were placed as centinels upon different eminences; and one day an incident happened, which must not be omitted. There was a man wandering about the island, selling tobacco. Nobody knew him, and he was suspected to be a spy, M'Kenzie came running to the hut, and told that this suspected person was approaching. Upon which the three gentlemen, young Rasfay, Dr. Macleod, and Malcolm, held a council of war upon him, and were unanimously of opinion that he should instantly be put to death. Prince Charles, at once assuming a grave and even severe countenance, said, "God forbid that we should take away a man's life, who may be innocent while we can preserve our own." The gentlemen however persisted in their resolution, while he as strenuously continued to take the merciful side. John M'Kenzie, who sat watching at the door of the hut, and overheard the debate,

bate, said in Erse, "Well, well; he must be shot. You are the king, but we are the parliament, and will do what we choose." Prince Charles, seeing the gentlemen smile, asked what the man had said, and being told it in English, he observed that he was a clever fellow, and, notwithstanding the perilous situation in which he was, laughed loud and heartily. Luckily the unknown person did not perceive that there were people in the hut, at least did not come to it, but walked on past it, unknowing of his risk. It was afterwards found out that he was one of the Highland army, who was himself in danger. Had he come to them, they were resolved to dispatch him; for, as Malcolm said to me, "We could not keep him with us, and we durst not let him go. In such a situation, I would have shot my brother, if I had not been sure of him."—John M'Kenzie was at Rasay's house, when we were there\*. About eighteen years before, he hurt one of his legs when dancing, and being obliged to have it cut off, he now was going about with a wooden leg. The story of his being a *member of Parliament* is not yet forgotten. I took him out a little way from the house, and gave him a shilling to drink Rasay's health, and led him into a detail of the particulars which I have just related.—With less foundation, some writers have traced the idea of a parliament, and of the British constitution, in rude and early times. I was curious to know if he had really heard, or understood, any thing of that subject, which, had he been a greater man, would probably have

been eagerly maintained. "Why, John, (said I) did you think the king should be controuled by a parliament?"—He answered, "I thought, sir, there were many voices against one."

The conversation then turning on the times, the Wanderer said, that, to be sure, the life he had led of late was a very hard one; but he would rather live in the way he now did for ten years, than fall into the hands of his enemies. The gentlemen asked him, what he thought his enemies would do with him, should he have the misfortune to fall into their hands. He said, he did not believe they would dare to take his life publicly, but he dreaded being privately destroyed by poison or assassination.—He was very particular in his inquiries about the wound which Dr. Macleod had received at the battle of Culloden, from a ball, which entered at one shoulder, and went cross to the other. The doctor happened still to have on the coat which he wore on that occasion. He mentioned, that he himself had his horse shot under him at Culloden; that the ball hit the horse about two inches from his knee, and made him so unruly that he was obliged to change him for another. He threw out some reflections on the conduct of the disastrous affair at Culloden, saying, however, that perhaps it was rash in him to do so.—I am now convinced that his suspicions were groundless; for I have had a good deal of conversation upon the subject with my very worthy and ingenious friend, Mr. Andrew Lunnsden, who was under secretary to Prince Charles, and afterwards prin-

\* This old Scottish *member of parliament*, I am informed, is still living (1785).



cial secretary to his father at Rome, who, he assured me, was perfectly satisfied both of the abilities and honour of the generals who commanded the Highland army on that occasion. Mr. Lumiden has written an account of the three battles in 1745-6, at once accurate and classical.—Talking of the different Highland corps, the gentlemen who were present wished to have his opinion which were the best soldiers. He said, he did not like comparisons among those corps: they were all best.

He told his conductors, he did not think it adviseable to remain long in any one place, and that he expected a French ship to come for him to Lochbroom, among the Mackenzies. It then was proposed to carry him in one of Malcolm's boats to Lochbroom, though the distance was fifteen leagues coastwise. But he thought this would be too dangerous, and desired that at any rate they might first endeavour to obtain intelligence. Upon which young Rasay wrote to his friend, Mr. M'Kenzie of Applecross, but received an answer, that there was no appearance of any French ship.

It was therefore resolved that they should return to Sky, which they did, and landed in Strath, where they reposed in a cow-house belonging to Mr. Niccolson of Scorbreck. The sea was very rough and the boat took in a good deal of water. The Wanderer asked if there was danger, as he was not used to such a vessel. Upon being told there was not, he sung an Erse song with much vivacity. He had by this time acquired a good deal of the Erse language.

Young Rasay was now dispatched to where Donald Roy was, that they

might get all the intelligence they could; and the Wanderer, with much earnestness, charged Doctor Macleod to have a boat ready, at a certain place about seven miles off, as he said he intended it should carry him upon a matter of great consequence; and gave the doctor a case, containing a silver spoon, knife, and fork, saying, "keep you that till I see you," which the doctor understood to be two days from that time. But all these orders were only blinds; for he had another plan in his head, but wisely thought it safest to trust his secrets to no more persons than was absolutely necessary. Having then desired Malcolm to walk with him a little way from the house, he soon opened his mind, saying, "I deliver myself to you. Conduct me to the laird of M'Kinnon's country."—Malcolm objected that it was very dangerous, as so many parties of soldiers were in motion. He answered, "There is nothing now to be done without danger."—He then said, that Malcolm must be the master, and he the servant; so he took the bag, in which his linen was put up, and carried it on his shoulder; and observing that his waistcoat, which was of scarlet tartan, with a gold twist button, was finer than Malcolm's, which was of a plain ordinary tartan, he put on Malcolm's waistcoat, and gave him his; remarking at the same time, that it did not look well that the servant should be better dressed than the master.

Malcolm, though an excellent walker, found himself excelled by Prince Charles, who told him, he should not much mind the parties that were looking for him, were he once but a musket-shot from them; but that he was somewhat afraid  
of



of the Highlanders who were against him. He was well used to walking in Italy in pursuit of game; and he was even now so keen a sportsman, that, having observed some partridges, he was going to take a shot; but Malcolm cautioned him against it, observing that the firing might be heard by the tenders who were hovering upon the coast.

As they proceeded through the mountains, taking many a circuit to avoid any houses, Malcolm, to try his resolution, asked him what they should do, should they fall in with a party of soldiers: he answered, "Fight, to be sure!"—Having asked Malcolm if he should be known in his present dress, and Malcolm having replied he would, he said, "Then I'll blacken my face with powder."—"That (said Malcolm) would discover you at once."—"Then (said he) I must be put in the greatest disfigure possible." So he pulled off his wig, tied a handkerchief round his head, and put his night-cap over it, tore the ruffles from his shirt, took the buckles out of his shoes, and made Malcolm fasten them with strings; but still Malcolm thought he would be known. "I have so odd a face, (said he) that no man ever saw me but he would know me again."

He seemed unwilling to give credit to the horrid narrative of men being massacred in cold blood, after victory had declared for the army commanded by the Duke of Cumberland. He could not allow himself to think that a general could be so barbarous.

When they came within two miles of M'Kinnon's house, Malcolm asked if he chose to see the laird. "No, (said he) by no means. I know M'Kinnon to be as good and

as honest a man as any in the world, but he is not fit for my purpose at present. You must conduct me to some other house; but let it be a gentleman's house."—Malcolm then determined that they should go to the house of his brother-in-law, Mr. John M'Kinnon, and from thence be conveyed to the main land of Scotland, and claim the assistance of Macdonald of Scothouffe. The Wanderer at first objected to this, because Scothouffe was cousin to a person of whom he had suspicions. But he acquiesced in Malcolm's opinion.

When they were near Mr. John M'Kinnon's house, they met a man of the name of Ross, who had been a private soldier in the Highland army. He fixed his eyes steadily on the Wanderer in his disguise, and having at once recognized him, he clapped his hands, and exclaimed, "Alas! is this the case?" Finding that there was now a discovery, Malcolm asked, "What's to be done?" "Swear him to secrecy," answered Prince Charles. Upon which Malcolm drew his dirk, and on the naked blade made him take a solemn oath, that he would say nothing of his having seen the Wanderer, till his escape should be made public.

Malcolm's sister, whose house they reached pretty early in the morning, asked him who the person was that was along with him. He said, it was one Lewis Caw, from Crieff, who being a fugitive like himself, for the same reason, he had engaged him as his servant, but that he had fallen sick. "Poor man! (said she) I pity him. At the same time my heart warms to a man of his appearance."—Her husband was gone a little way from home; but was expected every minute to re-

turn. She set down to her brother a plentiful Highland breakfast. Prince Charles acted the servant very well, sitting at a respectful distance, with his bonnet off. Malcolm then said to him, "Mr. Caw, you have as much need of this as I have; there is enough for us both: you had better draw nearer, and share with me."—Upon which he rose, made a profound bow, sat down at table with his supposed master, and eat very heartily. After this there came in an old woman, who, after the mode of ancient hospitality, brought warm water, and washed Malcolm's feet. He desired her to wash the feet of the poor man who attended him. She at first seemed averse to this, from pride, as thinking him beneath her; and in the periphrastick language of the Highlanders and the Irish, said warily, "Though I wash your father's son's feet, why should I wash his father's son's feet?"—She was however persuaded to do it.

They then went to bed, and slept for some time; and when Malcolm awaked, he was told that Mr. John M'Kinnon, his brother-in-law, was in sight. He sprang out to talk to him before he should see Prince Charles. After saluting him, Malcolm, pointing to the sea, said, "What, John, if the prince should be a prisoner on board one of those tenders?"—"God forbid!" replied John.—"What if we had him here?" said Malcolm.—"I wish we had, (answered John) we should take care of him."—"Well, John, (said Malcolm) he is in your house."—John, in a transport of joy, wanted to run directly in, and pay his obeisance; but Malcolm stopped him, saying, "Now is your

time to behave well, and do nothing that can discover him."—John composed himself, and having sent away all his servants upon different errands, he was introduced into the presence of his guest, and was then desired to go and get ready a boat lying near his house, which, though but a small leaky one, they resolved to take, rather than go to the laird of M'Kinnon. John M'Kinnon however thought otherwise; and upon his return told them, that his chief and lady M'Kinnon were coming in his boat. Prince Charles said to his trusty Malcolm, "I am sorry for this, but must make the best of it."—M'Kinnon then walked up from the shore, and did homage to the Wanderer. His lady waited in a cave, to which they all repaired, and were entertained with cold meat and wine.—Mr. Malcolm M'Leod being now superseded by the laird of M'Kinnon, desired leave to return, which was granted him, and Prince Charles wrote a short note, which he subscribed *James Thompson*, informing his friends that he had got away from Sky, and thanking them for their kindness; and he desired this might be speedily conveyed to young Rasay and Dr. Macleod, that they might not wait longer in expectation of seeing him again. He bade a cordial adieu to Malcolm, and insisted on his accepting of a silver stock-buckle, and ten guineas from his purse, though, as Malcolm told me, it did not appear to contain above forty. Malcolm at first begged to be excused, saying, that he had a few guineas at his service; but Prince Charles answered, "You will have need of money. I shall get enough when I come upon the main land."

The

The laird of M'Kinnon then conveyed him to the opposite coast of Knoidart. Old Rafay, to whom intelligence had been sent, was crossing at the same time to Sky; but as they did not know of each other, and each had apprehensions, the two boats kept aloof.

These are the particulars which I have collected concerning the extraordinary concealment and escapes of Prince Charles, in the Hebrides. He was often in imminent danger. The troops traced him from the Long Island, across Sky, to Portree, but there lost him."

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*Curious Remarks concerning the Savages of North America. By Dr. B. Franklin.*

THE Indian men, when young, are hunters and warriors; when old, counsellors; for all their government is by the counsel or advice of the sages; there is no force, there are no prisons, no officers to compel obedience, or inflict punishment. Hence they generally study oratory; the best speaker having the most influence. The Indian women till the ground, dress the food, nurse and bring up the children, and preserve and hand down to posterity the memory of public transactions. These employments of men and women are accounted natural and honourable. Having few artificial wants, they have abundance of leisure for improvement by conversation. Our laborious manner of life, compared with theirs, they esteem slavish and base; and the learning on which we value ourselves, they regard as frivolous and useless.

Having frequent occasions to hold public councils, they have acquired great order and decency in conducting them. The old men sit in the foremost ranks, the warriors in the next, and the women and children in the hindmost. The business of the women is to take exact notice of what passes, imprint it in their memories, for they have no writing, and communicate it to their children. They are the records of the council, and they preserve tradition of the stipulations in treaties a hundred years back; which, when we compare with our writings, we always find exact. He that would speak, rises. The rest observe a profound silence. When he has finished, and sits down, they leave him five or six minutes to recollect, that if he has omitted any thing he intended to say, or has any thing to add, he may rise again, and deliver it. To interrupt another, even in common conversation, is reckoned highly indecent.

The politeness of these Savages in conversation, is, indeed, carried to excess; since it does not permit them to contradict, or deny the truth of what is asserted in their presence. By this means they indeed avoid disputes; but then it becomes difficult to know their minds, or what impression you make upon them. The missionaries who have attempted to convert them to christianity, all complain of this as one of the great difficulties of their mission. The Indians hear with patience the truths of the gospel explained to them, and give their usual tokens of assent and approbation: you would think they were convinced.—No such matter; it is mere civility.

A Swedish minister having assembled

sembled the chiefs of the Sasquehanna Indians, made a sermon to them, acquainting them with the principal historical facts on which our religion is founded; such as the fall of our first parents by eating an apple; the coming of Christ to repair the mischief; his miracles, and suffering, &c.—When he had finished, an Indian orator stood up to thank him. “What you have told us,” says he, “is all very good. It is indeed bad to eat apples. It is better to make them all into cyder. We are much obliged by your kindness in coming so far, to tell us those things which you have heard from your mothers. In return, I will tell you some of those we have heard from ours.

“In the beginning, our fathers had only the flesh of animals to subsist on; and if their hunting was unsuccessful, they were starving. Two of our young hunters having killed a deer, made a fire in the woods to broil some parts of it. When they were about to satisfy hunger, they beheld a beautiful young woman descend from the clouds, and seat herself on that hill which you see yonder among the Blue Mountains. They said to each other, it is a spirit that perhaps has smelt our broiling venison, and wishes to eat of it: let us offer some to her. They presented her with the tongue: she was pleased with the taste of it, and said, your kindness shall be rewarded. Come to this place after thirteen moons, and you will find something that will be of great benefit in nourishing you and your children to the latest generations. They did so, and to their surprise, found plants they

“had never seen before; but which, from that antient time, have been constantly cultivated among us, to our great advantage. Where her right hand had touched the ground, they found maize; where her left hand had touched it, they found kidney-beans; and where her backside had sat on it they found tobacco.” The good missionary, disgusted with this idle tale, said, “What I delivered to you were sacred truths; but what you tell me is mere fable, fiction, and falsehood.” The Indian offended, replied, “My brother, it seems your friends have not done you justice in your education; they have not well instructed you in the rules of common civility. You saw that we, who understand and practise those rules, believed all your stories, why do you refuse to believe ours?”

When any of them come into our towns, our people are apt to crowd round them, gaze upon them, and incommode them where they desire to be private; this they esteem great rudeness, and the effect of the want of instruction in the rules of civility and good-manners. “We have,” say they, “as much curiosity as you, and when you come into our towns, we wish for opportunities of looking at you; but for this purpose we hide ourselves behind bushes where you are to pass, and never intrude ourselves into your company.”

Their manner of entering one another's villages has likewise its rules. It is reckoned uncivil in travelling strangers to enter a village abruptly, without giving notice of their approach. Therefore, as soon as they arrive within hearing, they stop



stop and hollow, remaining there till invited to enter. Two old men usually come out to them, and lead them in. There is in every village a vacant dwelling, called the strangers house. Here they are placed, while the old men go round from hut to hut, acquainting the inhabitants that strangers are arrived, who are probably hungry and weary; and every one sends them what he can spare of victuals, and skins to repose on. When the strangers are refreshed, pipes and tobacco are brought; and then, but not before, conversation begins, with enquiries who they are, whither bound, what news, &c. and it usually ends with offers of service; if the strangers have occasion for guides, or any necessities for continuing their journey; and nothing is exacted for the entertainment.

The same hospitality, esteemed among them as a principal virtue, is practised by private persons; of which Conrad Weiser, our interpreter, gave me the following instance. He had been naturalized among the Six Nations, and spoke well the Mohock language. In going through the Indian country, to carry a message from our governor to the council at Onondaga, he called at the habitation of Canassatego, an old acquaintance, who embraced him, spread furs for him to sit on, placed before him some boiled beans and venison, and mixed some rum and water for his drink. When he was well refreshed, and had lit his pipe, Canassatego began to converse with him: asked how he had fared the many years since they had seen each other, whence he then came, what had occasioned the journey, &c. Conrad answered all his questions; and when the discourse

began to flag, the Indian, to continue it, said, "Conrad, you have  
"lived long among the white people, and know something of their  
"customs; I have been sometimes  
"at Albany, and have observed,  
"that once in seven days they shut  
"up their shops, and assemble all  
"in the great house; tell me what  
"it is for?—What do they do  
"there?" "They meet there,"  
says Conrad, "to hear and learn  
"good things." "I do not doubt,"  
says the Indian, "that they tell  
"you so; they have told me the  
"same: but I doubt the truth of  
"what they say, and I will tell  
"you my reasons. I went lately  
"to Albany to sell my skins, and  
"buy blankets, knives, powder,  
"rum, &c. You know I generally  
"used to deal with Hans  
"Hanson; but I was a little inclined  
"this time to try some other  
"merchants. However, I called  
"first upon Hans, and asked him  
"what he would give for beaver.  
"He said he could not give more  
"than four shillings a pound: but,  
"says he, I cannot talk on business  
"now; this is the day when we  
"meet together to learn *good things*,  
"and I am going to the meeting.  
"So I thought to myself, since I  
"cannot do any business to-day, I  
"may as well go to the meeting  
"too; and I went with him.—  
"There stood up a man in black,  
"and began to talk to the people  
"very angrily. I did not understand  
"what he said; but perceiving  
"that he looked much at me  
"and at Hanson, I imagined he was  
"angry at seeing me there; so I  
"went out, sat down near the  
"house, struck fire, and lit my  
"pipe, waiting till the meeting  
"should break up. I thought too,  
"that

“ that the man had mentioned some-  
 “ thing of beaver, and I suspected  
 “ it might be the subject of their  
 “ meeting. So when they came  
 “ out, I accosted my merchant. —  
 “ Well, Hans, says I, I hope you  
 “ have agreed to give more than  
 “ four shillings a pound ?” “ No,  
 “ says he, I cannot give so much,  
 “ I cannot give more than three  
 “ shillings and six-pence.” I then  
 “ spoke to several other dealers,  
 “ but they all sung the same song,  
 “ three and six-pence, three and six-  
 “ pence. This made it clear to me  
 “ that my suspicion was right ; and  
 “ that whatever they pretended of  
 “ meeting to learn *good things*, the  
 “ real purpose was, to consult how  
 “ to cheat Indians in the price of  
 “ beaver. Consider but a little,  
 “ Conrad, and you must be of my  
 “ opinion. If they met so often to  
 “ learn *good things*, they certainly  
 “ would have learned some before  
 “ this time. But they are still ig-  
 “ norant. You know our practice.  
 “ If a white man, in travelling  
 “ through our country, enters one  
 “ of our cabins, we all treat him as  
 “ I treat you ; we dry him if he is  
 “ wet, we warm him if he is cold,  
 “ and give him meat and drink,  
 “ that he may allay his thirst and  
 “ hunger ; and we spread soft furs  
 “ for him to rest and sleep on : we  
 “ demand nothing in return. But  
 “ if I go into a white man’s house  
 “ at Albany, and ask for victuals  
 “ and drink, they say, Where is  
 “ your money ? And if I have none,  
 “ they say, Get out, you Indian dog.  
 “ You see they have not yet learned  
 “ those little *good things*, that we  
 “ need no meeting to be instructed

“ in, because our mothers taught  
 “ them to us when we were chil-  
 “ dren ; and therefore it is impossi-  
 “ ble their meetings should be, as  
 “ they say, for any such purpose, or  
 “ have any such effect : they are  
 “ only to contrive *the cheating of*  
 “ *Indians in the price of beaver.*”

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*Short Account of the Penal Laws of  
 Russia—Description of the Punish-  
 ment called the Knoot—The Em-  
 press’s Answers to Mr. Coxe’s  
 Queries on the State of the Russian  
 Prisons—The Outlines of the new  
 Code of Laws established by her at  
 her Accession. Extracted from Vol. II.  
 of Travels into Poland, Russia,  
 Sweden, and Denmark, by Wil-  
 liam Coxe, A. M. F. R. S. &c.*

ONE morning, as I was casually  
 strolling through the streets of  
 St. Petersburg, near the market-  
 place, I observed a vast crowd of  
 people flocking to one particular  
 spot. Upon enquiring of my Rus-  
 sian servant the cause of this con-  
 course, he informed me, that the  
 multitude was assembled in order to  
 see a felon, who had been convicted  
 of murder, receive the knoot. Al-  
 though I naturally shuddered at the  
 very idea of being a spectator of the  
 agonies of a fellow-creature, yet  
 my curiosity overcame my feelings.  
 With the assistance of my servant, I  
 penetrated through the crowd, and  
 ascended the roof of a wooden house  
 of one story, from whence I had a  
 distinct view of the dreadful opera-  
 tion, which was already begun.  
 The executioner held in his hand  
 the knoot\* : this instrument is a  
 thong,

\* The following are the exact dimensions and weight of a knoot, which I pro-  
 cured in Russia, and which is now in my possession.

Length

thong, about the thickness of a crown piece, and about three quarters of an inch broad, and rendered extremely hard by a peculiar kind of preparation: it is tied to a thick plaited whip, which is connected, by means of an iron ring, with a small piece of leather that acts like a spring, and is fastened to a short wooden handle.

The executioner, before every stroke, receded a few paces, and at the same time drew back the hand which held the knoot; then, bounding forwards, he applied the flat end of the thong with considerable force to the naked back of the criminal in a perpendicular line, reaching six or seven inches from the collar towards the waist. He began by hitting the right shoulder, and continued his strokes parallel to each other quite to the left shoulder; nor ceased till he had inflicted 333 lashes, the number prescribed by the sentence. At the conclusion of this terrible operation, the nostrils of the criminal were torn with pincers, his face marked with a hot iron, and he was re-conducted to prison, in order to be transported to the mines of Nerzhinsk, in Siberia.

As several authors have erroneously described or exaggerated the punishment of the knoot, I have been thus particular in relating what fell under my observation; and I

shall take this opportunity of throwing together a few remarks upon the penal laws of Russia.

By the ancient statutes, felons, as well as traitors, were publicly executed; but by an edict of the empress Elizabeth, certain corporal penalties were, in cases of felony, substituted in the room of capital sentences, a circumstance peculiar to the Russian code.

According to the present penal laws, offenders are punished in the following manner. Persons convicted of high treason are either beheaded or imprisoned for life. Felons, after receiving the knoot, having their nostrils torn, and their faces marked, as I have just described, are condemned for life to work in the mines of Nerzhinsk. Petty offenders are either whipped\*, transported into Siberia as colonists, or sentenced to hard labour for a stated period. Among the colonists are included peasants, who may be arbitrarily consigned by their masters to banishment†.

All these persons, felons and others, are transported in spring and autumn from different parts of the Russian dominions. They travel part of the way by water, and part by land; are chained in pairs, and fastened to a long rope: at night they are carried to different cottages, and guarded by the soldiers who conduct them.

Length of the thong 2 feet; breadth of the top  $\frac{3}{4}$  of an inch; at the bottom  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—Thickness  $\frac{1}{8}$ .—Length of the plaited whip 2 feet.—Circumference of ditto  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.—Diameter of the ring 1 inch and  $\frac{1}{8}$ .—Length of the leather spring 1 inch and  $\frac{1}{2}$ .—Length of the handle 1 foot  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches.—Length of the whole 5 feet 5 inches and  $\frac{3}{8}$ .—Weight 11 ounces.

The reader will judge of the great force which the skilful executioner can give to this instrument, when informed, that if he receives a private order, he can dispatch the criminal by striking him two or three blows upon the ribs.

\* There are three instruments for whipping in Russia: the knoot, the katze, and the plett, both of which latter are a kind of cat-o'-nine-tails.

† Their masters are empowered to inflict this punishment, only assigning the cause of the offence.

When the whole troop arrive at Tobolsk, the governor assigns the colonists who have been bred to handicraft trades to different masters in the town; others he disposes as vassals in the neighbouring country. The remainder of the colonists go on to Irkutsk, where they are disposed of by the governor of that town in the same manner. The felons then proceed alone to the district of Nerzhinsk; where they are condemned to work in the silver mines, or at the different forges."

*The Empress's Answers to Mr. Cox's  
Queries on the State of the Russian  
Prisons.*

"According to the plan I laid down, I visited the Russian prisons at

Moscow and Petersburg, of which I have already given an ample account in a former publication\*. In this place I shall only remark in general, that the empress, being informed of my researches in relation to prisons, with a condescension peculiar to her character, permitted me to deliver to count Ivan Tchernichef, vice-president of the admiralty, a list of queries, with respect to some of which I received information, by her orders, from her best-informed governors†, and others she even condescended to answer herself. The latter I shall here subjoin, with a full conviction, that observations even of less moment would be rendered acceptable by the authority of so distinguished a character.

*Queries upon the Russian prisons, delivered to the empress.*

*Answers dictated by the empress to her secretary, and sent to the author.*

1. *Is there any general plan for the construction of prisons, and their interior distribution? and are they usually situated in the suburbs, and near the running water?*

2. *What precautions are taken, in order to keep the prisons clean, and to prevent epidemical distempers?*

3. *Is there a separate infirmary for the sick?*

4. *Are petty offenders kept apart from the felons, and are the felons also separated from each other?*

1. "There has been hitherto no general plan for the construction of prisons, nor rules for their distribution and situation.

2. "There is no more regulation for the cleanliness of the prisons, than for their construction and situation. By an abuse favourable to the prisoners, they are in many places permitted to go to the baths. It is probable that the cold alone prevents epidemical disorders.

3. "Not every where.

4. "Although it is prescribed by the ancient laws that a felon, when he is sentenced to death, shall be kept in a separate room,

\* Account of the Prisons and Hospitals in Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, &c.

† I have made use of these papers in the treatise mentioned in the last note.



5. *Are the prisoners permitted to purchase spirituous liquors, and do the jailers sell them?*

6. *Are female criminals put in irons?*

7. *Is the fate of criminals condemned to hard labour ever mitigated in case of reformation? Do they wear any badge of infamy, and is it taken away upon good behaviour?*

8. *Are there fixed times and places in the several provinces for the trial of criminals?*

“ called the chamber of repentance,  
“ nevertheless, there are nowhere  
“ chambers of that description.

5. “ Every species of food is  
“ sold in the prisons, but the jailer  
“ cannot sell spirituous liquors, and  
“ that for two reasons: First, be-  
“ cause spirituous liquors can only  
“ be sold by those who farm the  
“ right of vending them from the  
“ crown; Secondly, what is very  
“ extraordinary, there are no jail-  
“ ers \* to any of the prisons, al-  
“ though the laws make mention  
“ of them.

6. “ The laws are silent upon  
“ this head. So that whenever  
“ this custom is practised, it must  
“ be reckoned among those innu-  
“ merable abuses, which ought to  
“ be abolished †.

7. “ Criminals condemned to  
“ public labour are transported:  
“ for murder they are branded in  
“ the face with an hot iron, &c.  
“ some are chained, others have  
“ their nostrils torn; and, unless  
“ upon a general or particular am-  
“ nesty, they receive no mitigation.

8. “ The laws settled indeed  
“ certain times for this purpose;  
“ but, as a great quantity of differ-  
“ ent affairs and trials were decided  
“ in the same tribunal, the courts  
“ of criminal justice were very di-  
“ latory in their proceedings.

“ See the manifesto of 1775, at  
“ the head of the Regulations ‡,  
“ &c.”

\* The prisoners are guarded by soldiers.

† The original passage, which is in the French language, does not admit of a literal translation:

“ Les loix passent sous silence ce point: ainsi ce que pourroit se faire à cet  
“ égard peut être compté parmi l’inombrable quantité des abus. Ces abus sont  
“ pour la plupart autant de cloux qu’il faut tirer du corps politique de l’état où  
“ on les trouve.”

‡ Reglements de sa Maj. Imp. pour l’Administration des Gouvernements, &c.

“ New

" New Plan for the Russian Prisons,  
 " to be introduced into each go-  
 " vernment.

1. " To divide the prisons into  
 " civil and criminal. 2. The cri-  
 " minal prison shall be distributed  
 " into three parts. The first, for  
 " criminals before and during trial;  
 " the second, for persons sentenced  
 " to confinement for a stated time;  
 " and the third, for felons capitally  
 " convicted, condemned to perpet-  
 " ual imprisonment, or to the pub-  
 " lic works. 3. Each part shall be  
 " separated, one for the men, the  
 " other for the women. 4. There  
 " shall be an infirmary for sick pri-  
 " soners. 5. The prison shall be  
 " constructed without the town, in  
 " an airy situation, and near the  
 " water."

It cannot be otherwise than a sub-  
 ject of pleasing reflection to the  
 reader, that this great princefs thus  
 condescends to contemplate and al-  
 leviate the sufferings of even the  
 wretched victims to public justice;  
 but how much more will the veneration for her be increased, when he  
 considers her as erecting the glorious  
 superstructure of national happiness  
 on the firm basis of equal legisla-  
 tion!

The empress, at her accession,

found the Russian code of laws a  
 rude and indigested chaos; and saw  
 the immediate necessity of amending  
 and reforming it. The courts of  
 justice were regulated by the statutes  
 of Alexèy Michaelovitch\*, extremely  
 defective both as to order and  
 precision, and by the *ukazes*, or im-  
 perial mandates, issued by Peter and  
 his successors, uncommonly nume-  
 rous, and in many important points  
 contradictory to each other.

The vast empire of Russia was dis-  
 tributed into a few extensive govern-  
 ments: each government was sub-  
 divided into provinces, and each  
 province into districts, or circles.  
 Over each government was appoint-  
 ed a governor; over the provinces  
 a *vayvode* and his officers, who  
 formed a chancery; and over the  
 districts an inferior *vayvode*, or a  
 kind of justice of peace. The a-  
 bures which resulted from this distri-  
 bution are sufficiently detailed in the  
 following passage, from the mani-  
 festo of the empress, prefixed to the  
 first part of the new code †.

" We find that many governments  
 " are not sufficiently provided with  
 " tribunals or officers of justice in  
 " proportion to their extent; that  
 " not only the affairs of the treasury  
 " and of the police, but also the ci-  
 " vil and criminal causes, are tried  
 " in the same court in which the

\* The earliest regular code of written laws was formed, in 1542, by Ivan Vasilievitch II. from precedents and ancient customs.

The statutes of Alexèy Michaelovitch, alluded to in the text, were chiefly composed from the above-mentioned code; from the mandates of the sovereigns subsequent to Ivan Vasilievitch II. from the decisions of the *boiars*, who in those times presided in the high courts of justice, and from the Byzantine laws or edicts issued by the Greek emperors of Constantinople. The new statutes, compiled from these sources, with a few additions, being in 1650 read in the *izar's* presence, were printed, and a copy sent into each province.

See Statuta Moschovitica in Herbertsteini Iun. in Moschoviam; also Von Justiz-Wesen in Haygold's Beylagen, p. 379.

† Reglements de Catharine II. &c. p. VII.

" administration

“ administration of government is  
 “ carried on. Nor are the provinces  
 “ and districts in these same govern-  
 “ ments less subject to similar incon-  
 “ veniencies, as the sole chancery of  
 “ the vavvode is the only court which  
 “ has cognizance of so many and  
 “ such different affairs. The disor-  
 “ ders resulting from these circum-  
 “ stances are but too evident: on  
 “ one side delays, omissions, and  
 “ vexations, are the natural conse-  
 “ quences of so incongruous and de-  
 “ fective a constitution; where one  
 “ business impedes another, and  
 “ where the impossibility of termi-  
 “ nating matters so various in the  
 “ sole chancery of the vavvode, oc-  
 “ casions procrastination, neglect of  
 “ duty, and admits only a partial  
 “ dispatch of business; on the other  
 “ side, these delays generate cllica-  
 “ nery, and encourage the commis-  
 “ sion of crimes, because the punish-  
 “ ment does not follow the trans-  
 “ gression of the laws with that ce-  
 “ lerity which is necessary to repres-  
 “ and strike terror into offenders,  
 “ while the endless appeals \* from  
 “ one court to another, are perpe-  
 “ tual obstructions to justice.”

But the greatest evil to the lower  
 class of people was derived from the  
 enormous authority of the inferior  
 vavvode, who, though usually a per-

son of low birth, and totally ignorant  
 of the laws, yet could not only im-  
 pose punishment for petty offences,  
 but had even the power of ordering  
 the knout, of inflicting torture, and  
 of transporting to Siberia. Hence  
 persons suspected of crimes were de-  
 tained in prison several years without  
 being brought to a final trial; were  
 applied to the torture without suffi-  
 cient proof, and frequently more  
 than once.

Many sovereigns subsequent to  
 Alexèy Michaelovitch, and particu-  
 larly Peter I. had framed the pro-  
 ject for amending and reforming the  
 Russian jurisprudence, but had never  
 carried it into execution: the com-  
 pletion of this arduous undertaking  
 was reserved for Catharine II. who,  
 in 1767, summoned deputies to  
 Moscow from every part of her ex-  
 tensive dominions, and having ap-  
 pointed commissioners for compos-  
 ing a new code of laws, delivered to  
 them her Grand Instructions†, which  
 had been previously composed by  
 her imperial majesty in the true spi-  
 rit of genuine legislation. In con-  
 formity to these instructions, the  
 first part of a new code made its  
 appearance in 1775, and a second  
 part in 1780; and has been receiv-  
 ed in many of the new governments  
 into which the Russian empire has

\* The manifesto of the empress enumerates the following instances of appeal in  
 the affairs relative to commerce, as well as all causes of merchants or burghers.  
 “ A person, not content with the decision by oral judgment, could carry his  
 “ cause before the magistrate of the town, from whose sentence he might appeal  
 “ to the magistrate of the province, from him successively to the magistrate of the  
 “ government, to the superior magistrate, and lastly to the senate.” Ibid. p. VIII.

† “ Instructions de Chatharine II. Pour la Commission chargée de dresser le  
 “ Projet d’un Nouveau Code de Loix.” St. Pet. 1769.

These instructions have been translated into most modern languages, and into  
 English by Tatishchev, a Russian gentleman; to which is prefixed, a description of  
 the manner of opening the commission, with the order and rules for electing the  
 commissioners appointed to frame a new code of laws. See The Grand Instruc-  
 tions, &c. printed by Jefferys.

been

been lately divided. Many of the abuses, as well those above enumerated as others of no less moment, have been removed by these new institutions; and many of them still existing will be abolished, if the empress has time to complete the system.

As an ample detail of these regulations falls not within the compass of the present work, nor within the capacity of the author, it is to be hoped that the curiosity of the public will be in some measure gratified by the enumeration of the most striking peculiarities in this extensive plan; which has changed and modified the whole system of government.

The empire, which had been divided by Peter the Great into nine extensive governments, is now distributed into a larger number\*, each upon an average containing only from 3 to 400,000 souls. One or more of these governments is superintended by a namestnik, or lord-licutenant, and each of them has a vice-governor, a council, civil and criminal courts of judicature, some of whose members are appointed by the sovereign, and the others

are chosen by the nobles. By this institution Catherine has, in some instances, set bounds to her absolute prerogative, by diminishing the power of those tribunals which were only dependent upon the crown, by transferring it to the nobles, and investing them with many additional privileges with respect to the administration of justice. As she has introduced likewise into each government superior tribunals, whose decision is final, she has prevented, by these means, frequent appeals to the imperial colleges at Petersburg and Moscow, which were attended with considerable expence and delay. By establishing or separating the different boards of finance, police, &c. from the courts of law, which before impeded each other by meeting in the same place, she has facilitated the dispatch of business, and rendered the administration of justice more speedy. She has increased the salaries of the judges, who before, from the narrowness of their income, were necessarily exposed to almost irresistible temptations from bribery: or, to use her own expressions to the judges, in her celebrated edict, "Formerly your necessities might

\* The first provinces erected into governments, according to the new institution, were Tver and Smolensko, in January 1776. Those which have been since established, either before or during my residence in Russia, were in the following order: Novogorod and Kaluga, in December 1776; Pleiskof, Yaroslaf, and Tula, in December 1777; Polotsk and Mohilef, in May 1778; Refan, Volodimir, Kostroma, and Orel, in December 1778.

By the latest accounts from Petersburg, the governments were ranged in the following manner:

1. Moscow. 2. Petersburg. 3. Wiburgh. 4. Tver. 5. Nivogorod. 6. Pleiskof. 7. Smolensko. 8. Mohilef. 9. Polotsk. 10. Orel. 11. Kurfk. 12. Karkof. 13. Voronez. 14. Tambof. 15. Refan. 16. Tula. 17. Kaluga. 18. Yaroslaf. 19. Vologda. 20. Vladimir. 21. Kostroma. 22. Nishnēi Novogorod. 23. Viatka. 24. Permia. 25. Tobolsk. 26. Kolyvan. 27. Irkutsk. 28. Ufa. 29. Simbirsk. 30. Casan. 31. Penza. 32. Saratof. 33. Astracan. 34. Azof. 35. New Russia. 36. Little-Russia. 37. Kiof. 38. Tchernigof. 39. Livonia, or Riga. 40. Esthonia, or Reval. 41. Novogorod-Severskoi. 42. Orenburgh.

" have



“ have induced you to be too attentive to your own interests: your country now pays your labours; and what before might admit of some excuse, from this moment becomes a crime.” She has considerably increased the expences of the crown in each government\*, without increasing the taxes; which she has been enabled to perform by introducing a more regular order into the finances.

To these regulations must be added the abolition of torture; the settling the proper boundaries between the several governments, which has prevented many dissensions and law-suits; the appointment of regular physicians and surgeons, stationed in various districts, at the crown’s expence; the foundation of schools for the education of the nobility, others for children of persons of inferior rank; the establishment or augmentation of new seminaries for those intended for holy orders; the erection of new bodies corporate, with additional immunities; the grant of freedom to numberless vassals of the crown; and facilitating the means of giving liberty to the peasants.”

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*Anecdote of the Duchefs of Queensberry; extracted from the Life of Mrs. Bellamy, written by herself.*

“ I Had likewise, about this period†, the happiness to acquire the approbation and patronage of two ladies of the first distinction: the late duchefs of Montague, then lady Cardigan, and her grace of Queens-

berry. Both these ladies favoured me with their support, so far as to grace the theatre whenever I performed. An attention which was the more flattering, as the latter had not honoured a play-house since the death of her favourite Gay.

“ As Mr. Rich could not afford, from the receipts of the theatre, to allow me a salary equal to the success I met with, and the capital parts I performed, he gave me a benefit free of all expences, upon one of his own nights, in order to prevent discord in the company. Though the public appeared to be much interested in my favour, yet as I had but few friends, except those who out of civility to Mr. Quin espoused my interest, I had very little reason to expect that it would prove lucrative.

“ Some days before that fixed for my benefit, I received a message whilst I was at the theatre, to be at Queensberry-house the next day by twelve o’clock. As I thought it likewise incumbent on me to wait on the countess of Cardigan, who had honoured me with equal marks of approbation, I dressed myself early, and taking a chair, went first to Privy-Garden. I had there every reason to be pleased with the reception her ladyship gave me, who joined politeness to every virtue.

“ But at Queensberry-house my reception was far otherwise. Her Grace was determined to mortify my vanity, before she promoted my interest. Quite elated with lady Cardigan’s flattering behaviour, I ordered the chairmen to proceed to Queensberry-house. Soon after the

\* The expences of the government of Tver amount to £.24,000 per annum; and the revenues to £.175,000.

† The period when Mrs. Bellamy first came upon the stage.

rat-tat had been given, and my name announced to the porter, the groom of the chambers appeared, I desired him to acquaint her Grace, that I was come to wait upon her. But how was I surprized, when he returned and informed me, that her Grace knew no such person! my astonishment at this message was greatly augmented, by the certainty I entertained of a ready admittance. I assured the domestic, that it was by the duchess's own directions I had taken the liberty to wait on her. To which he replied, that there must have been some mistake in the delivery of it. In this mortifying situation, I had nothing to do but to return home. Ludicrous and humiliating as the foregoing scene must be, I cannot avoid relating it, as it may serve as a lesson to many, who too readily give way to the impulses of vanity. Young minds are naturally prone to it; mine consequently was. And this well-timed rebuke, however grating, was the greatest piece of regard her Grace could have given me.

"I went home with no very pleasing sensations, as I expected to receive the taunts of a female relation upon the occasion, who had lately arrived from Ireland, and on whom my mother doated. As this person will be frequently mentioned in the course of my narrative, and was the cause of many of the inconveniencies I afterwards suffered, it may not be amiss to acquaint you, that her deformed body was a fit receptacle for her depraved mind.

"According to Hogarth's rules, indeed, her person may be said to abound in all the graces annexed to the idea of beauty, as she had not a straight line about her. And her mind was no less crooked than

her body. She had taken a dislike to me on her first coming over, but for what reason I cannot account; and her aversion seemed to increase with my success on the stage. To such a height was it now risen, that it was the cause of much unhappiness to me: so that I was at length obliged to complain to Mrs. Jackson, who requested my mother to provide for her elsewhere, but without effect.

"According to my expectations, I had no sooner returned from Queensberry-house, and informed my mother of the reception I met with there, than this relation persuaded her that the invitation was merely a chimera of my own brain, generated by my insupportable vanity. So virulent was her behaviour, that in order to avoid her sarcasms, I pretended business at the theatre, in the evening, and went there.

"Upon my entering the green-room I was accosted by Prince Lobkowitz, who was then here in a public character, requesting a box at my benefit, for the *corps diplomatique*. After thanking his highness for the honour intended me, I informed him they might be accommodated with a stage-box, and sending for the house-keeper, desired he would make an entry in his book to this purpose. But how great was my surprize, when he acquainted me I had not a box to dispose of; every one, except those of the countess of Cardigan, the duchess dowager of Leeds, and lady Shaftesbury, being retained for her grace the duchess of Queensberry! I could not help thinking but the man was joking, as he himself brought me the message from her grace the night before, and that I had found to be a deception. He however still persisted in what he said; and further added, that

that the duchess had likewise sent for two hundred and fifty tickets. This made me more at a loss to account for the cavalier treatment I had received in the morning.

"His highness prince Lobkowitz condescended to put up with a balcony for himself and friends; and I hastened home, at once to make known to my mother my good fortune, and to retaliate on my inimical relation. To add to my satisfaction, when I got home, I found a note from her grace, desiring I would wait upon her the next morning. This being such an evident proof of my veracity, which it had given me inexpressible uneasiness to have doubted, I experienced proportionable pleasure from it.

"I was, notwithstanding, so apprehensive of meeting with a second mortification, that I determined to walk to Queensberry-house, to prevent any person's being a witness to it, should it happen. I accordingly set out on foot, and was not totally free from perturbation when I knocked at the gate. I was, however, immediately ushered into her grace's apartment, where my reception was as singular as my treatment had been the day before; her grace thus accosting me: "Well, young woman!—What business had you in a chair yesterday?—It was a fine morning, and you might have walked. You look as you ought to do now." (observing my linen gown) "Nothing is so vulgar as wearing silk in a morning.—Simplicity best becomes youth. And you don't stand in need of ornaments.—Therefore dress always plain, except when you are upon the stage."

"Whilst her grace was talking in this manner to me, she was

cleaning a picture, which I officiously requesting her permission to do, she hastily replied, "Don't you think I have domestics enough, if I did not chuse to do it myself;—I apologized for my presumption, by informing her grace that I had been for some time at Jones's, where I had been flattered that I had acquired a tolerable proficiency in that art. The duchess on this exclaimed, "are you the girl I have heard Chesterfield speak of?" Upon my answering I had the honour of being known to his Lordship, she ordered a canvas bag to be taken out of her cabinet, saying, "Queenberry can give no person less than gold. There are a hundred and fifty guineas, and twenty for the duke's tickets and mine, but I must give you something for Tyrrelley's sake." She then took a bill from her pocket book, which having put into my hands, she told me her coach was ordered to carry me home, lest any accident should happen to me now I had such a charge about me.

"Though the conclusion of her grace's whim, as it might be justly termed, was more pleasing than the beginning of it, and her munificence much greater than that of the countess of Cardigan, yet I must acknowledge I was much better pleased with the reception I met with from her ladyship, who honoured me with her protection whilst I continued on the stage."

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*A Prayer directed by the Brahmins to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the Shanferit Language, and translated by C. W. Boughton Rouse, Esq; from a Persic Version of Dara Shekco,*

koo, a Son of Shah Jehan, Emperor of Hindostan. *From the Institutes of the Great Timour, improperly called Tamerlane, published by Jos. White, B. D. Sc. &c.*

**O** RUDER, I reverence thee in thy majesty and in thy displeasure. I reverence thy arrows, which convey destruction; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou bestowest joy, and dost away all sins.

O thou, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, dispel the pains of all mankind; make them joyful, and defend them from harm: and grant that I may remain secure under thy guardianship and protection. Thou art the great physician of physicians! heal thou my infirmities; disperse my vicious and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road of evil.

I reverence thee in the sun, which is thy image, whilst it scatters a hundred thousand vivifying rays over the universe; whilst in meridian brightness it diffuses gladness; nor less when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy anger. Turn away that anger from me. I reverence Him who is the source of joy to living creatures, whose nature is exempt from decay, and knows not the increase of age.—To Him and all that springs from Him I owe reverence and honour.

O Ruder, string thy bow to defend me from all my open or secret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to destroy them. When

thou hast destroyed my enemies and unstrung thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows and art rejoiced; then grant that I likewise may rejoice. But thy bow is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou needest not to string the bow, nor to sharpen the points of arrows. Thou needest not the sword like other swords, to accomplish thy purposes. O thou who canst fulfil desires, whose design no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me on every side, and drive my enemies far from me.

O Ruder, thy arm is like shining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies. All causes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cause of causes. Thou art space. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art lord of all the beasts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the guide. Every light that shines is thy light. Thou enterest into all: thou sustaineest all.

O punisher of those who go astray, O Lord of life, O purest of beings! terrify not thy creatures, strike them not, destroy them not: nor let even one of them suffer pain from thee. O thou, who givest strength to the feeble and medicines to the sick; grant me thy support, that I may enjoy health and live. O Ruder, turn my understanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power. I beseech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beast, in quiet and security. Preserve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with sickness: do thou, Ruder, give them health, and drive diseases far from them. We all come before thee in supplication. Grant unto us all those blessings, which our fathers asked



asked of thee for us, when they were desirous of bringing us into existence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in sacrifice and prayer unto thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou source of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wantest nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employest thy arms for my security, who hast thousands of thousands of weapons; scatter my enemies, and destroy them: for thou, Ruder, art supreme in every part of nature. Exert for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth: which shew themselves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various species of living creatures, in the waters, and in food provided for the support of life. Thou, who destroyest all which eat the food and drink the waters; who art amidst the guardians of the highways and in the places of worship; in all thou art the infinite Ruder: in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to disarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the east, ten times toward the south, ten times toward the west, and ten times toward the north, I bow myself before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid that I may enjoy health, and see the destruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the east, ten times toward the south, ten times toward the west, ten times toward the north, and ten times with my eyes on heaven above, I bow myself before thy

aerial and heavenly powers, whose arrows are the wind and rain: I invoke their aid, that I may enjoy health, and see the destruction of my enemies. Every one of these is Ruder, whose infinite power I reverence: Ruder, whose fulness is in all. All that has been, it is He. All that is, it is He. All that shall be, it is He.

*The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the Judger Bede: to which it may be curious to join a Description of Ruder, to whom it is addressed, as contained in another sacred Book, intituled the Atherbun Bede.*

THE angels having assembled themselves in heaven before Ruder, made obeisance and asked him, O Ruder, what art thou? Ruder replied, Were there any other I would describe myself by similitude. I always was, I always am, and always shall be. There is no other, so that I can say to you, I am like Him. In this Me is the inward essence, and the exterior substance of all things. I am the primitive cause of all. All things that exist in the east, or west, or north, or south, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are transcendent. I am truth. I am the spirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four Bedes\*. I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the first, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpose do I exist, that whosoever knows me, may know all the angels, and all books, and all their

\* The sacred writings of the Hindoos in the *Sanscrit* language.

ordinances. And whosoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will understand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to those who practise virtue, will I give fulness and tranquillity.

Ruder having pronounced these words to the angels, was absorbed in his own brightness.

## P O E T R Y.

ODE *for the* NEW YEAR, 1784.*By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq; Poet Laureat.*

**E**NOUGH of arms—to happier ends  
 Her forward view Britannia bends,  
 The generous hosts who grasp'd the sword  
 Obedient to her awful word,  
 Tho' martial glory cease;  
 Shall now with equal industry,  
 Like Rome's brave sons when Rome was free,  
 Resume the arts of peace.  
 O come! ye toil-worn wanderers! come!  
 To genial hearths, and social home,  
 The tender housewife's busy care,  
 The board with temperate plenty crown'd,  
 And smiling progeny around,  
 That listen to the tale of war!  
 Yet be not war the favorite theme,  
 For what has war with bliss to do?  
 Teach them more justly that to deem,  
 And own experience taught it you;  
 Teach them 'tis in the will of fate,  
 Their frugal industry alone  
 Can make their country truly great,  
 And in her bliss secure their own!  
 Be all the songs that soothe their toil,  
 And bid the brow of labour smile;  
 When through the loom the shuttle glides,  
 Or shining share the glebe divides;  
 Or, bending to the woodman's stroke,  
 To waft her commerce, falls the British oak!  
 Be all their songs that soften these,  
 Of calm content, and future well-earn'd ease!  
 Nor dread, lest inborn spirit die!  
 One glorious lesson early taught;  
 Will all the boasted pow'rs supply,  
 Of practis'd rules, and studied thought!

From the first dawn of reason's ray,  
 On the young bosom's yielding clay,  
 Strong be their country's love impress'd,  
 And let your own example fire their breast;  
 Tell them, 'tis their's to grasp the sword  
 If Britain gives the awful word;  
 To bleed, to die, in Britain's cause,  
     And guard, from faction nobly free,  
     Their birth-right blessing, liberty;  
 True liberty that loves the law.

ODE for his MAJESTY's Birth-Day, June 4, 1784.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq; Poet Laureat.

HAIL to the day whose beams, again  
 Returning, claim the choral strain,  
 And bid us breathe our annual vows  
 'To the first pow'r that Britain knows;  
 The power which, though itself restrain'd,  
 And subject to that just controul  
     Which many an arduous conflict gain'd,  
 Connects, unites, and animates the whole.

Yon radiant sun, whose central force  
 Winds back each planet's vagrant course,  
 And through the systems holds imperial sway,  
 Bound by the same inherent laws,  
 Even whilst it seems the active cause,  
 Promotes the gen'ral good, as much confin'd as they.

That wond'rous plan, through ages sought,  
 Which elder Egypt never taught,  
 Nor Greece with all her letter'd lore,  
 Nor struggling Rome could e'er explore,  
 Though many a form of rule she try'd:  
 That wond'rous plan has Britain found,  
 Which curbs licentiousness and pride,  
 Yet leaves true liberty without a wound.

The fierce Plantagenets beheld  
 It's growing strength, and deign'd to yield;  
 Th' imperious Tudorsrown'd, and felt aggriev'd;  
 Th' unhappy race whose faults we mourn,  
 Delay'd awhile it's wish'd return,  
 Till Brunwick perfected what Nassau had achiev'd:

From



From that bright æra of renown  
 Astrea walks the world again ;  
 Her fabled form the nations own,  
 With all th' attendant blessings in her train.

Hark ! with what gen'ral loud acclaim  
 They venerate the British name,  
 When forms of rule are in the balance weigh'd ;  
 And pour their torrents of applause  
 On the fair isle, whose equal laws  
 Controul the sceptre, and protect the spade.

The triple chain, which binds them fast,  
 Like Homer's golden one, descends from Jove :  
 Long may the sacred union last,  
 And the mix'd pow'rs in mutual concert move,  
 Each temp'ring each, and list'ning to the call  
 Of genuine public good, blest source and end of all !

O D E *for the* N E W Y E A R, 1785.

*By* WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, *Esq; Poet Laureat.*

**D**ELUSIVE is the poet's dream,  
 Or does prophetic truth inspire  
 The zeal which prompts the glowing theme,  
 And animates th' according lyre ?

Trust the Muse : her eye commands  
 Distant times and distant lands ;  
 Thro' bursting clouds in opening skies  
 Sees from discord union rise,  
 And friendship bind unwilling foes  
 In firmer ties than duty knows.

Torn rudely from its parent tree,  
 Yon scion rising in the west  
 Will soon its genuine glory see,  
 And court again the fostering breast,  
 Whose nurture gave its powers to spread,  
 And feel their force, and lift an alien head.  
 The parent tree, when storms impend,  
 Shall own affection's warmth again,  
 Again its soft'ring aid shall lend,  
 Nor hear the suppliant plead in vain ;

Shall stretch protecting branches round,  
Extend the shelter, and forget the wound.

Two Britains thro' th' admiring world  
Shall wing their way with sails unfurl'd,  
Each from the other kindred state  
Avert, by turns, the bolts of fate ;  
And acts of mutual amity endear  
The Tyre and Carthage of a wider sphere.

When Rome's divided eagles flew,  
And different thrones her empire knew,  
The varying language soon disjoin'd  
The boasted masters of mankind.  
But here no ills like those we fear,  
No varying language threatens here :  
Congenial worth, congenial flame,  
Their manners and their arts the same,  
To the same tongue shall glowing themes afford,  
And British heroes act, and British bards record.

Fly swift ye years, ye minutes haste,  
And in the future lose the past ;  
O'er many a thought-affecting tale,  
Oblivion, cast thy friendly veil ;  
Let not memory breathe a sigh,  
Or backward turn th' indignant eye ;  
Nor the insidious arts of foes  
Enlarge the breach, that longs to close ;  
But acts of amity alone inspire  
Firm faith and cordial love, and wake the willing lyre.

ODE for his MAJESTY's Birth-Day, June 4, 1785.

By the Rev. T. WARTON, Poet Laureat.

I.

TRUE glory scorns the pride of war,  
Nor fits in conquest's echoing car,  
Nor bids the sword her bays bequeath,  
Nor stains with blood her brightest wreath ;  
No plumed host her tranquil triumphs own ;  
Nor spoils of murder'd multitudes she brings  
To swell the state of her distinguish'd kings,  
And deck her chosen throne.

On

On that fair throne, to Britain dear,  
 With the flow'ring olive twin'd,  
 High she hangs the hero's spear ;  
 And there, with all the palms of peace combin'd,  
 Her unpolluted hands the milder trophy rear.  
 To Kings like these, her genuine theme,  
 The Muse a blameless homage pays ;  
 To GEORGE, of kings like these supreme,  
 She wishes honour'd length of days.  
 Nor prostitutes the tribute of her lays.

## II.

'Tis his to bid neglected genius glow,  
 And teach the regal bounty how to flow.  
 His tutelary sceptre's sway  
 The vindicated arts obey,  
 And hail their patron-king ;  
 'Tis his, to judgment's steady line  
 Their flights fantastic to confine,  
 And yet expand their wing :  
 The fleeting forms of fashion to restrain,  
 And bind capricious taste in truth's eternal chain.  
 Sculpture, licentious now no more,  
 From Greece her great example takes ;  
 With nature's warmth the marble wakes,  
 And spurns the toys of modern lore ;  
 In native beauty, simply plann'd,  
 Corinth, thy tufted shafts ascend ;  
 The graces guide the painter's hand,  
 His magic mimicry to blend.

## III.

While such the gifts his reign bestows,  
 Amid the proud display,  
 Those gems around the throne he throws  
 That shed a softer ray :  
 While from the summits of sublime renown  
 He wafts his favour's universal gale,  
 With those sweet flowers he binds a crown  
 That bloom in virtue's humble vale :  
 With rich munificence the nuptial tye  
 Unbroken he combines :—  
 Conspicuous in a nation's eye,  
 The sacred pattern shines !  
 Fair science to reform, reward, and raise ;  
 To spread the lustre of domestic praise ;  
 To foster emulation's holy flame ;  
 To build society's majestic frame ;

Mankind to polish and to teach,  
 Be this the monarch's aim ;  
 Above ambition's giant reach  
 The monarch's meed to claim.

*The EXORDIUM of Jaumi's Poem, entitled, "EUSOOF and ZOOLLEIKHA." From THE INSTITUTES OF TIMOUR, &c.*

*By Major DAVY.*

**I**N the name of him whose name is the refuge of the souls of the faithful ;  
 Whose praise is the ornament of eloquent tongues.  
 The most high, the only God, the eternal, the omniscient ;  
 He who bestoweth strength and power on the feeble and the helpless.  
 The heavens he illumines with multitudes of constellations ;  
 And with the human race he decorateth the earth, as with stars.  
 He who prepared the vaulted roof of the revolving sphere,  
 Who raised up the quadruple fold of the elements.  
 He who gives fragrance to the bosom of the rose-bud,  
 And ornamenteth the parent-shrub with wreaths of flowers.  
 He weaveth the garment for the brides of the spring,  
 And teacheth the graceful cypress to erect his head on the border of the lake.  
 He crowneth with success the virtuous intention,  
 And humbleth the pride of the self-conceited.  
 He accompanies the solitude of those who watch the midnight taper ;  
 He passeth the day with the children of affliction.  
 From the sea of his bounty issues the vernal cloud,  
 Which waters alike the thorn and the jessamine.  
 From the repository of his beneficence proceeds the autumnal gale,  
 Which bespangles with gold the carpet of the garden.  
 It is his presence that enflameth the orb of day,  
 From whence every atom derives its light.  
 Should he hide his countenance from the two great luminaries of the world,  
 Their mighty spheres would descend quick into the area of annihilation ;  
 From the vault of heaven to the centre of the earth,  
 Which ever way we direct our thought and imagination,  
 Whether we descend, or hasten upwards,  
 We shall not discover one atom uninfluenced by his power.  
 Wisdom is confounded in the contemplation of his essence ;  
 The investigation of his ways exceeds the powers of man.  
 The angels blush at their want of comprehension ;  
 And the heavens are astonished at their own motion.

*Translation*



*Translation of a Hymn to CAMDEO, the Hindoo God of Love.*

*By Sir WILLIAM JONES.*

WHAT potent God, from *Agra's* orient bow'rs,  
 Floa's thro' the lucid air, whilst living flow'rs  
 With sunny twine the vocal arbours wreath,  
 And gales enamour'd heavenly fragrance breathe?  
 Hail, pow'r unknown! for at thy beck  
 Vales and groves their bosoms deck,  
 And every laughing blossom dresses  
 With gems of dew his musky tresses.  
 I feel, I feel thy genial flame divine,  
 And hallow thee and kiss thy shrine.

"Know'st thou not me?" Celestial sounds I hear!  
 "Know'st thou not me?" Ah, spare a mortal ear!  
 "Behold!"—My swimming eyes entranc'd I raise,  
 But oh! they shrink before th' excessive blaze.  
 Yes, son of *Maya*, yes, I know  
 Thy bloomy shafts and cany bow,  
 Cheeks with youthful glory beaming,  
 Locks in braids ethereal streaming,  
 Thy scaly standard, thy mysterious arms,  
 And all thy pains and all thy charms.

God of each lovely sight, each lovely sound,  
 Soul-kindling, world-inflaming, star-ycrown'd,  
 Eternal *Cama*! Or doth *Smara* bright,  
 Or proud *Ananga*, give thee more delight?  
 Whate'er thy feat, whate'er thy name,  
 Seas, earth, and air, thy reign proclaim:  
 Wreathy smiles, and roseate pleasures,  
 Are thy richest, sweetest treasures.  
 All animals to thee their tribute bring,  
 And hail thee universal king.

Thy consort mild, *Affection* ever true,  
 Graces thy side, her vest of glowing hue,  
 And in her train twelve blooming girls advance,  
 Touch golden strings, and knit the mirthful dance.  
 Thy dreaded implements they bear,  
 And wave them in the scented air;  
 Each with pearls her neck adorning,  
 Brighter than the tears of morning.  
 Thy crimson ensign, which before them flies,  
 Decks with new stars the sapphire skies.

God

God of the flow'ry shafts and flow'ry bow,  
 Delight of all above and all below!  
 Thy lov'd companion, constant from his birth,  
 In heaven clep'd *Bessent*, and gay *Spring* on earth,  
     Weaves thy green robe and flaunting bow'rs,  
     And from thy clouds draws balmy show'rs;  
     He with fresh arrows fills thy quiver,  
     (Sweet the gift and sweet the giver!)  
 And bids the many-plumed warbling throng  
 Burst the pent blossoms with their song.

He bends the luscious cane, and twists the string  
 With bees how sweet! but ah, how keen their sting!  
 He with five flow'rets tips thy ruthless darts,  
 Which thro' five senses pierce enraptur'd hearts:  
     Strong *Chumpha*, rich in od'rous gold;  
     Warm *Amer*, nurs'd in heav'nly mould;  
     Dry *Nagkejer* in silver smiling,  
     Hot *Kiticum* our sense beguiling;  
 And last, to kindle fierce the scorching flame,  
*Loveshaft*, which Gods bright *Bela* name.

Can men resist thy pow'r, when *Krishen* yields,  
*Krishen*, who fill in *Matra's* holy fields  
 Tunes harps immortal, and to strains divine  
 Dances by moonlight with the *Gopia* nine?  
     But when thy daring arm untam'd  
     At *Mahadeo* a lovehaft aim'd,  
     Heav'n shook, and smit with stony wonder,  
     Told his deep dread in bursts of thunder;  
 Whilst on thy beauteous limbs an azure fire  
 Blaz'd forth, which never must expire.

O thou for ages born, yet ever young,  
 For ages may thy *Bramin's* lay be sung!  
 And when thy lory spreads his em'rald wings  
 To waft thee high above the tow'rs of kings,  
     Whilst o'er thy throne the moon's pale light  
     Pours her soft radiance thro' the night,  
     And to each floating cloud discovers  
     The haunts of blest or joyless lovers,  
 Thy mildest influence to thy bard impart,  
 To warm, but not consume, his heart.

MRS. SHERIDAN *on her Brother's Violin.*

“ SWEET instrument of him for whom I mourn,  
 “ Tuneful companion of my Lycid's hours,

“ How

“ How liest thou now neglected and forlorn,  
 “ What skilful hand shall now call forth thy pow’rs!

“ Ah! none like his can reach those liquid notes,  
 “ So soft, so sweet, so eloquently clear,  
 “ To live beyond the touch, and gently float  
 “ In dying modulations on the ear.”

Thus o’er my Lycid’s lyre as I complain’d,  
 And kiss’d the strings where he was wont to play;  
 While yet in pensive sadness I remain’d,  
 Methought it sigh’d, and sighing seem’d to say,

“ Ah! me, forlorn, forsaken, now no more  
 Shall fame and just applause around me wait;  
 No power my gentle Master can restore,  
 And I, alas! will share his hapless fate.

“ Fled is that spirit, chill’d that youthful fire  
 Which taught those strains with harmony replete,  
 And cold that hand which only can inspire  
 My senseless form to utter sounds so sweet.

“ Those sounds melodious ne’er again shall please,  
 No tuneful strain from me shall ever flow;  
 Save o’er my trembling strings a sighing breeze,  
 To call one sad, soft note of tender woe.

“ Else ah! for ever mute let me remain,  
 Unstrung, untun’d, forgotten let me be;  
 Guard me from curious eye, and touch profane,  
 And let me rest in mournful sympathy!

“ One fate with thee, dear Master, let me share;  
 Like thee in silent darkness let me lie;  
 My frame without thee is not worth my care!  
 With thee alone it liv’d, with thee shall die!”

*Her Brother’s Lyre to Mrs. SHERIDAN. By Mr. PRATT.*

**T**HIS said—a solemn silence breath’d around,  
 Cecilia wept upon her Lycid’s lyre,  
 The pensive breeze then gave a sighing sound,  
 And the strings seem’d to tremble and expire.

One hollow murmur, like the dying moan,  
 Was heard to vibrate then, with pauses slow,

From

From the sad instrument, when thus the tone  
Gave modulations of a softer woe :

“ Cease, beauteous Mourner ! partner of my grief ?  
Tuneful associate of my lost despair,  
Thou, only thou, canst bring this breast relief ;  
Thy sympathy alone can soothe my care.

“ What though—ah, stroke severe ! our Lycid’s dead,  
Nor more, alas ! can ravish mortal ear !  
What though the soul of melody is fled,  
His blest attendant, to th’ harmonious sphere,

“ Struck by *Cecilia*’s hand I yet may live ;  
Her magic touch again can tune my frame ;  
Her cherub voice my spirit yet revive,  
And sounds of heavenly sorrow grace my fame.

“ But should nor dulcet song, nor music’s art,  
Nor social sighs, which mourn the youth we love,  
Have power to heal the sifter’s wounded heart,  
Nor to these chords forlorn a solace prove ;

“ Ah ! still together let our sorrows join,  
And this sad form yet boast thy gentle aid ;  
Lycid’s companion sure should still be thine ;  
Still should’st thou kiss the strings where he has play’d.”

#### L’AMOUR TIMIDE.

TO ————

IF in that breast, so good, so pure,  
Compassion ever lov’d to dwell,  
Pity the sorrows I endure,  
The cause—I must not—dare not tell.

The grief that on my quiet preys—  
That rends my heart—that checks my tongue—  
I fear will last me all my days,  
But feel it will not last me long.

#### S O N G.

CEASE to blame my melancholy,  
Though with sighs and folded arms  
I muse with silence on her charms ;  
Censure not—I know ’tis folly.

Yet,



Yet, these mournful thoughts possessing,  
 Such delights I find in grief,  
 That, could Heaven afford relief,  
 My fond heart would scorn the blessing.

VERSES to the FEATHERED YOUNG LADIES.

*Said to be written by Earl NUGENT.*

DEAR, charming girls! in whom I trace  
 Your once-lov'd mothers thro' their race,  
 (And still enough of fond desire  
 Remains to light chaste Friendship's fire)  
 Attend! nor let the ear of youth  
 Despise the voice of Age and Truth.

Avoid the wild extremes of dress;  
 Virtue and Wisdom shun excess;  
 The bosom bare, the tucker flaunting,  
 Prove something to that bosom wanting;  
 And lofty heads, in proud attire,  
 Seldom to better heights aspire.

With warlike crest let heroes move!  
 Men are not bullied into love;  
 Nor Cupid perch'd upon a feather,  
 Trembling, can join two hearts together;  
 With surer aim his darts are sped  
 From modest Nugent's\* plumeless head.

S O N N E T. *To a Nightingale.*

*From CHARLOTTE SMITH's Elegiac Sonnets, and other Essays.*

POOR melancholy bird, that all night long  
 Tell'st to the moon thy tale of tender woe;  
 From what sad cause can such sweet sorrow flow,  
 And whence this mournful melody of song?

Thy poet's musing fancy would translate  
 What mean the sounds that swell thy little breast,  
 When still at dewy eve thou leav'st thy nest,  
 Thus to the listening night to sing thy fate.

Pale Sorrow's victims wert thou once among,  
 Tho' now releas'd in woodlands wild to rove,  
 Or hast thou felt from friends some cruel wrong,  
 Or diedst thou martyr of disastrous love?  
 Ah! songstresf sad! that such my lot might be,  
 To sigh and sing at liberty—like thee!

\* New Marchioness of Buckingham.

SONNET.

SONNET. *To the South Downs.**From the same work.*

AH, hills below'd ! where once, an happy child,  
 Your beechen shades, "your turf, your flowers among,"  
 I wove your blue-bells into garlands wild,  
 And woke your echoes with my artless song.  
 Ah, hills below'd ! your turf, your flowers remain ;  
 But can they peace to this sad breast restore,  
 For one poor moment soothe the sense of pain,  
 And teach a breaking heart to throb no more ?  
 And you, Aruna ! in the vale below,  
 As to the sea your limpid waves you bear,  
 Can you one kind Lethean cup bestow,  
 To drink a long oblivion to my care ?  
 Ah, no !—when all, e'en hope's last ray is gone,  
 There's no oblivion—but in death alone !

*Extract from THE NEWS PAPER, a Poem by the Rev. G. CRABBE,  
 Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of RUTLAND.*

"BUT Sunday past, what numbers\* flourish then,  
 What wond'rous labours of the press and pen !  
 Diurnal most, some thrice each week affords,  
 Some only once, oh avarice of words !  
 When thousand starving minds such manna seek,  
 To drop the precious food but once a week.

"Endless it were to sing the powers of all,  
 Their names, their numbers ; how they rise and fall ;  
 Like baneful herbs the gazer's eye they seize,  
 Rush to the head, and poison where they please ;  
 Like idle flies, a busy, buzzing train,  
 They drop their maggots in the weak man's brain ;  
 That genial soil receives the fruitful store,  
 And there they grow and breed a thousand more.

Now be their arts display'd, how first they choose  
 A cause and party, as the Bard his Muse ;  
 Inspir'd by these, with clamorous zeal they cry,  
 And thro' the town their dreams and omens fly.  
 So the Sybilline † leaves were blown about,  
 Disjointed scraps of fate involved in doubt :  
 So idle dreams, the journals of the night,  
 Are right and wrong by turns, and mingle wrong with right.

\* Viz. of News-papers.

† ——— In foliis descripsit carmina Virgo——

—— et teneres turbavit janua frondes.

VIRG. *Æneid.* Lib. iii.

Some

Some champions for the rights that prop the crown,  
 Some sturdy patriots, sworn to pull them down ;  
 Some neutral powers, with secret forces fraught,  
 Wishing for war, but willing to be bought ;  
 While some to every side and party go,  
 Shift every friends and join with every foe ;  
 Like sturdy rogues in privateers they strike  
 This side and that, the foes of both alike ;  
 A traitor crew, who thrive in troubled times,  
 Fear'd for their force, and courted for their crimes.

“ Chief to the prosperous side the numbers fail,  
 Fickle and false, they veer with every gale ;  
 Soon as the chiefs, whom once they choose, lie low,  
 Their praise too slackens, and their aid moves slow ;  
 Not so when leagu'd with rising powers, their rage  
 Then wounds th' unwary foe, and burns along the page.

“ As birds that migrate from a freezing shore,  
 In search of warmer climes, come skimming o'er,  
 Some bold adventurers first prepare to try  
 The doubtful sunshine of the distant sky ;  
 But soon the growing summer's certain sun  
 Wins more and more, nor leaves the winter one :  
 So, on the early prospect of disgrace,  
 Fly in successive troops this fluttering race ;  
 Instinctive tribes ! their tailing food they dread,  
 And buy, with timely change, their future bread.

“ Or are there those, who ne'er their friends forsook,  
 Lur'd by no promise, by no danger shook ?  
 'Then bolder bribes the venal aid procure,  
 And golden fetters make the faithless sure :  
 For those who deal in flattery or abuse,  
 Will sell them where they can the most produce.

“ Such are our guides ; how many a peaceful head,  
 Born to be still, have they to wrangling led !  
 How many an honest zealot stol'n from trade,  
 And factious tools of pious pastors made !  
 With clues like these they tread the maze of state,  
 These oracles explore to learn our fate ;  
 Pleas'd with the guides who can so well deceive,  
 Who cannot lye so fast as they believe.

“ Oft lend I loth to some sage friend an ear  
 (For we who will not speak are doom'd to hear)  
 While he, bewild'rd, tells his anxious thought,  
 Infectious fear from tainted scribblers caught,

Or idiot hope ; for each his mind assails,  
As LLOYD's court-light or STOCKDALE's gloom prevails.

“ Yet stand I patient while but one declaims,  
Or gives dull comments on the speech he maims ;  
But oh ! ye Muses, keep your votary's feet  
From tavern haunts where politicians meet ;  
Where Justice, Rector, and Attorney pause,  
First on each parish, then each public cause ;  
Indited roads, and rates that still increase ;  
The murmuring poor, who will not fast in peace ;  
Election zeal and friendship, since declin'd ;  
A tax commuted, or a tythe in kind ;  
The Dutch and Germans kindling into strife,  
Dull port and poachers vile ! the serious ills of life.

“ Here comes the neighbouring Squire, with gracious air,  
To stamp opinions, and to take the chair ;  
In private business his commands prevail,  
On public themes his reasoning turns the scale ;  
Assenting silence soothes his happy ear,  
And, in or out, his party triumphs here.

“ Nor here th' infectious rage for party stops,  
But flits along from palaces to shops ;  
Our weekly journals o'er the land abound,  
And spread their plagues and influenzas round ;  
The village too, the peaceful, pleasant plain,  
Breeds the whig-farmer and the tory-swain ;  
Brooks' and St. Alban's boasts not, but instead  
Stares the Red Ram, and swings the RODNEY's Head :—  
Hither, with all a patriot's care, comes he  
Who owes the little hut that makes him free ;  
Whose yearly forty shillings buy the smile  
Of mightier men, and never waste the while ;  
Who feels his freehold's worth, and looks elate,  
A little prop and pillar of the state.

“ Here he delights the weekly News to con,  
And mingle comments as he blunders on ;  
To swallow all their varying authors teach,  
To spell a title, and confound a speech :  
Till with a muddled mind he quits the News,  
And claims his nation's licence to abuse ;  
Then joins the cry, “ that all the courtly race  
“ Strive but for power, and parley but for place,”  
Yet hopes, good man ! “ that all may still be well,”  
And thanks the stars that he's a vote to sell.

“ While thus he reads or raves, around him wait  
A rustic band, and join in each debate ;



Partake his manly spirit, and delight  
 'To praise or blame, to judge of wrong or right ;  
 Measures to mend, and ministers to make,  
 Till all go madding for their country's sake."

*On the Author of the BALLAD called The CHILDREN in the WOOD.*

*From the New Edition of Poems in Two Vols. by MR. JERNINGHAM.*

LET others praise the martial song,  
 Which rushes as a flood,  
 And round the harp attentive throng  
 That honours deeds of blood :

Let me that humble Bard revere,  
 Tho' artless be his theme,  
 Who snatch'd the tale to Pity dear,  
 From dark Oblivion's stream.

Say, little MARY \*, prattling maid,  
 (Whose wit thine age excels)  
 Beneath what holy yew-tree's shade  
 Thy favourite author dwells ?

Ah ! not on WESTMINSTER's proud ground  
 The fond enquiry waste ;  
 Go where the meek of heart are found,  
 And th' unambitious rest.

Where WALTON's limpid streamlet flows,  
 On NORFOLK's rich domain,  
 A gently-rising hillock shews  
 The hamlet's straw-roof'd fane.

Hard by is seen a marble stone,  
 By many a winter worn ;  
 Forgetfulness around has thrown  
 The rude o'ermantling thorn :

Within this low obscure abode  
 Fame says the Bard is laid ;  
 Oft have I left the beaten road  
 To greet the Poet's shade :

Fame too reports, that when the bier  
 Receiv'd the Poet's frame,  
 The neighb'ring hamlets hasten'd here,  
 And all the childhood came :

\* The daughter of Sir Thomas Beauchamp, of Langley Park, in Norfolk.

Attir'd in white, an infant band  
 Advanc'd in long array;  
 With rosemary-leaves each little hand  
 O'erspread the mournful way:

Encircling now the Poet's tomb,  
 Thrice on his name they call,  
 And thrice into the hallow'd gloom  
 Sweet show'rs of violets fall.

Compassion's priest! oh! feeling Bard,  
 Who melts the heart away,  
 Enduring praise shall still reward  
 Thy short and simple lay.

Those shall thy praise be found among  
 Whom Nature's touch has grac'd,  
 The warm of heart applaud thy song,  
 And all the pure of taste:

The child shall leave his jocund dance,  
 Suppress his frolic mood,  
 And bend to hear, in silent trance,  
 The story of the wood.

#### ODE to MELPOMENE.

*From HORACE, Book iv. Ode 3. By ANNA SEWARD.*

NOT he, O Muse! whom thy auspicious eyes  
 Kind in his natal hour beheld,  
 Shall victor in the Isthmian contest rise;  
 Nor o'er the long-resounding field  
 The rapid horse his kindling wheels shall roll,  
 Gay in th' Olympic race, and foremost at the goal.

Nor in the Capitol, triumphant shown,  
 The victor-laurel on his brow,  
 For the proud threats of vaunting kings o'erthrown;  
 But Tiber's streams, that warbling flow,  
 And groves of fragrant gloom, resound his strains,  
 Whose sweet Æolian grace high celebration gains.

Now that his name, her noblest bards among,  
 Th' imperial city loudly hails,  
 The proud distinction guards his rising song,  
 When Envy's carping tongue assails;  
 In sullen silence now she hears his praise,  
 Nor sheds her livid spots upon his springing bays.

O Muse!

O Muse ! who rulest every dulcet lay  
 That floats along the gilded shell ;  
 That the mute tenant of the watery way  
 Canst teach, at pleasure, to excel  
 The softest notes harmonious sorrow brings,  
 When the expiring swan her own sad requiem sings.

Thine be the praise, that pointing Romans guide  
 The stranger's eye, with proud desire,  
 That well he note the man whom crowds decide  
 Should boldly string the Latian lyre.—  
 Ah! when I please, if still to please be mine,  
 Nymph of th' Æolian shell, be all the glory THINE.

*An Emblem of the Shortness of Human Pleasure.*

*To the GRASSHOPPER.*

*From CASIMIR, Book iv. Ode 23. By Mr. SAY.*

LITTLE insect, that on high,  
 On a spire of springing grass,  
 Tipfy with the morning dew,  
 Free from care thy life dost pass:

So may'st thou, companion sole,  
 Please the lonely mower's ear,  
 And no treach'rous winding snake  
 Glide beneath, to work thee fear.

As in chirping plaintive notes  
 Thou the hasty sun dost chide,  
 And with murm'ring music charm,  
 Summer charming to abide.

If a pleasant day arrive,  
 Soon a pleasant day is gone ;  
 While we reach to seize our joys,  
 Swift the winged bliss is flown.

Pain and Sorrow dwell with us,  
 Pleasure scarce a moment reigns :  
 Thou thyself find'st Summer short,  
 But the Winter long remains.

EPI TAPH, by VOLTAIRE.

*Inscribed on his Monument in his own Chamber at Ferney, his heart in a Box.*

MES manes font consolé,  
Puisque mon cœur est au milieu de vous.  
Son esprit est par-tout,  
Mais son cœur est ici !



## ACCOUNT of BOOKS.

*A Voyage to the Pacific Ocean, undertaken by the Command of His Majesty, for making Discoveries in the Northern Hemisphere; performed under the Direction of Captains Cook, Clerk, and Gore, in His Majesty's Ships the Resolution and Discovery, in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780; in 3 Vols. 4to. Vol. 1st and 2d written by Captain James Cook, F. R. S. Vol. 3d, by Captain James King, L. L. D. and F. R. S.*

IT is now three centuries since the nations of Europe began their plan of discoveries, with such zeal, and upon such principles, as promised to leave no accessible part of this globe unexplored; and we are happy in having the opportunity of congratulating the world upon the completion of this amazing undertaking, in the work now under our consideration, which abounds with as much novelty and curious observation, as if the subject had but lately drawn the attention of mankind.

The first and second volumes are written by captain Cook, and with regard to the third volume, we find its author's attention directed to the same objects so judiciously, as proves that he had entered into the schemes, and was capable of prosecuting the ideas of captain Cook with effect;

and therefore the death of captain King would have been regarded not as a common accident, but as a public misfortune, if our great navigator had not already exhausted the subject; for there is nothing now unknown of this globe, which can intitle any one to the character of a discoverer.

If the time employed in these geographical researches should appear to be long, when compared to the discoveries that have been made; those who think so, should furnish us with an apology for the little progress made in this work by the different nations of antiquity. It ought to be considered, that the fruits of human genius and industry must run the course of other fruits; the seed must be sown in a proper soil, and after being allowed time to take root, it has afterwards to struggle with the inclemency of the seasons, and many unforeseen accidents.

But the different lets and impediments which have tended to retard this great undertaking, give us a more instructive display of the human character, than could have been obtained by the most rapid and uninterrupted progress towards the end in view: for schemes brought to perfection with adequate instruments, neither raise the surprise, nor engage the attention of those who

may consider themselves only as spectators of what is going forward; but when instruments are wanting, or must be prepared as occasions call for them, the opportunity will often be lost to the greatest industry, perseverance, and abilities, for want of the means necessary to accomplish the end in view. And surely such disappointments in works undertaken for the general benefit of mankind, will rouse our sympathy, and force us to do justice to every separate exertion, which tends to the promotion of any great design.

And this was the situation of our first navigators, whose theories were so very confined and inaccurate, that every day's experience might correct them, and it was only by such an experience that they could be corrected. Thus a double task was imposed upon the navigator, that of making discoveries, and also of improving the art of navigation, the only means by which his discoveries were to be made. Nor were any navigators, before those employed in our late discoveries, ever furnished with the proper means for finding the longitude, that most necessary of all nautical problems.

Besides these unavoidable difficulties, it must be acknowledged that it has fared with those who have been engaged in discoveries, as it is feigned to have happened to Atalanta in her race with Hippomenes, they have been retarded by the golden apples that were thrown in their way; and it may be said with particular propriety of the Spanish nation:

— *Nitidique cupidine pomi  
Declinat cursus, aurumque volubile  
tollit.*

and that it is the disinterestedness

of the English nation which has enabled it to gain the prize.

But the great national expence incurred by our different expeditions, undertaken upon such liberal principles, and without any sordid view of gain and expence, and which from its nature must be satisfied out of the superfluities of a people, will, joined to our success in exploring unknown regions, give posterity a convincing proof that we have a more decided superiority over the other countries of Europe, than could be derived from the most extensive conquests, and will hold us forth to future ages as the most powerful people upon this globe. For, without detracting from the praise due to his majesty, and those immediately under him, who planned the expeditions, it is necessary to observe, that his and their good intentions would have ended in nothing but disappointment, had not the opulence and learning of the nation been answerable to the greatness of the undertaking.

Nor are we less distinguished by the abilities of our navigators, who stand unrivalled for the accuracy with which they have ascertained their discoveries; whilst the feeble attempts of other nations would lead one to suspect, that they had been driven by accident upon objects which they had neither the skill nor the courage to examine.

The discoveries made in this last voyage by captain Cook, are, both in themselves, and as forming, with his other discoveries, the hydrography of the globe (with a very few exceptions) of the most distinguished and important nature. After re-visiting and giving us the most minute and ample account of the islands already known, and discovering

vering others in the Southern Pacific, we find him to the north of the equinoctial line, unfolding to our view the new group of islands called after the present Earl of Sandwich, which, to use the words of captain King in the third volume, "from their situation and production bid fairer for becoming an object of consequence in the system of European navigation, than any discovery in the South Sea."

We next follow him to the western coast of America, which we find him exploring with the greatest exactness, from the latitude of  $43^{\circ}$  to  $70^{\circ}$  north, and upwards, an immense tract! hitherto unknown, the subject of vague conjecture, and uncertain hypothesis.

After making several discoveries along this coast, of which the most material are, *King George's* (called by the natives *Nootka*) *sound*; *Prince William's sound*, and *Cook's river*; he proceeds northwards, to the *western extremity of America*; "ascertains the proximity of the two great continents of *Asia* and *America*"; passes the straits between them, and surveys the coast on each side to such an height of northern latitude, as to demonstrate the impracticability of a passage in that hemisphere from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, either by an eastern or a western course."

From this indefatigable and laborious search after a passage, he was driven by the rigour of the season, in August 1778, and returned back again to the Sandwich islands, where a melancholy and long to be lamented period was put to his life and his labours: his own words upon retiring so strongly mark how unwillingly he quitted his objects, when even necessity obliged him,

and how eagerly his mind was engaged in the further prosecution of them, that we cannot help laying them before our readers.

"The season was now so far advanced, and the time when the frost is expected to set in so near at hand, that I did not think it consistent with prudence, to make any further attempts to find a passage into the Atlantic this year, in any direction; so little was the prospect of succeeding. My attention was now directed towards finding out some place where we might supply ourselves with wood and water; and the object uppermost in my thoughts was, how I should spend the winter, so as to make some improvements in geography and navigation, and, at the same time, be in a condition to return to the north, in farther search of a passage the ensuing summer."

The account of the death of captain Cook, given by captain King in the third volume, is as follows:

"Next morning, at day-light, I went on board the *Resolution* for the time-keeper, and, in my way, was hailed by the *Discovery*, and informed, that their cutter had been stolen, during the night, from the buoy where it was moored.

When I arrived on board, I found the marines arming, and captain Cook loading his double-barrelled gun. Whilst I was relating to him what had happened to us in the night, he interrupted me, with some eagerness, and acquainted me with the loss of the *Discovery's* cutter, and with the preparations he was making for its recovery. It had been his usual practice, whenever any thing of consequence was lost, at any of the islands in this ocean, to get the king, or some of the principal

cipal *Erees*, on board, and to keep them as hostages, till it was restored. This method, which had been always attended with success, he meant to pursue on the present occasion; and, at the same time, had given orders to stop all the canoes that should attempt to leave the bay, with an intention of seizing and destroying them, if he could not recover the cutter by peaceable means. Accordingly, the boats of both ships, well manned and armed, were stationed across the bay; and, before I left the ship, some great guns had been fired at two large canoes, that were attempting to make their escape.

It was between seven and eight o'clock when we quitted the ship together; captain Cook in the pinnace, having Mr. Phillips, and nine marines, with him; and myself in the small boat. The last orders I received from him were, to quiet the minds of the natives, on our side of the bay, by assuring them, they should not be hurt; to keep my people together; and to be on my guard. We then parted; the captain went toward Kowrowa, where the king resided; and I proceeded to the beach. My first care, on going ashore, was to give strict orders to the marines to remain within the tent, to load their pieces with ball, and not to quit their arms. Afterward I took a walk to the huts of old Kaoo, and the priests, and explained to them, as well as I could, the object of the hostile preparations, which had exceedingly alarmed them. I found, that they had already heard of the cutter's being stolen, and I assured them, that though captain Cook was resolved to recover it, and to punish the authors of the theft, yet that

they, and the people of the village on our side, need not be under the smallest apprehension of suffering any evil from us. I desired the priests to explain this to the people, and to tell them not to be alarmed, but to continue peaceable and quiet. Kaoo asked me, with great earnestness, if Terreeoboo was to be hurt? I assured him, he was not; and both he and the rest of his brethren seemed much satisfied with this assurance.

In the mean time, captain Cook, having called off the launch, which was stationed at the North point of the bay, and taken it along with him, proceeded to Kowrowa, and landed with the lieutenant and nine marines. He immediately marched into the village, where he was received with the usual marks of respect; the people prostrating themselves before him, and bringing their accustomed offerings of small hogs. Finding that there was no suspicion of his design, his next step was, to enquire for Terreeoboe, and the two boys, his sons, who had been his constant guests on board the *Resolution*. In a short time, the boys returned along with the natives, who had been sent in search of them, and immediately led captain Cook to the house where the king had slept. They found the old man just awoke from sleep; and, after a short conversation about the loss of the cutter, from which captain Cook was convinced that he was in no wise privy to it, he invited him to return in the boat, and spend the day on board the *Resolution*. To this proposal the king readily consented, and immediately got up to accompany him.

Things were in this prosperous train, the two boys being already



in the pinnacle, and the rest of the party having advanced near the water-side, when an elderly woman called Kanee-kabareca, the mother of the boys, and one of the king's favourite wives, came after him, and with many tears, and entreaties, besought him not to go on board.

At the same time, two chiefs, who came along with her, laid hold of him, and, insisting that he should go no farther, forced him to sit down. The natives, who were collecting in prodigious numbers along the shore, and had probably been alarmed by the firing of the great guns, and the appearances of hostility in the bay, began to throng round captain Cook and their king. In this situation, the lieutenant of marines, observing that his men were huddled close together in the crowd, and thus incapable of using their arms, if any occasion should require it, proposed to the captain, to draw them up along the rocks, close to the water's edge; and the crowd readily making way for them to pass, they were drawn up in a line, at the distance of about thirty yards from the place where the king was sitting.

All this time, the old king remained on the ground, with the strongest marks of terror and dejection in his countenance; captain Cook, not willing to abandon the object for which he had come on shore, continuing to urge him, in the most pressing manner, to proceed; whilst, on the other hand, whenever the king appeared inclined to follow him, the chiefs, who stood round him, interposed, at first with prayers and entreaties, but afterward having recourse to force and violence, and insisted on his staying where he was. Captain Cook therefore, finding that the alarm had

spread too generally, and that it was in vain to think any longer of getting him off without bloodshed, at last gave up the point; observing to Mr. Phillips, that it would be impossible to compel him to go on board, without the risk of killing a great number of the inhabitants.

Though the enterprize, which had carried captain Cook on shore, had now failed, and was abandoned, yet his person did not appear to have been in the least danger, till an accident happened, which gave a fatal turn to the affair. The boats which had been stationed across the bay, having fired at some canoes, that were attempting to get out, unfortunately had killed a chief of the first rank. The news of his death arrived at the village where captain Cook was, just as he had left the king, and was walking slowly toward the shore. The ferment it occasioned was very conspicuous; the women and children were immediately sent off; and the men put on their war-mats, and armed themselves with spears and stones. One of the natives, having in his hands a stone, and a long iron spike (which they call a *pabooa*) came up to the captain, flourishing his weapon, by way of defiance, and threatening to throw the stone. The captain desired him to desist; but the man persisting in his insolence, he was at length provoked to fire a load of small-shot. The man having his mat on, which the shot were not able to penetrate, this had no other effect than to irritate and encourage them. Several stones were thrown at the marines; and one of the *Erees* attempted to stab Mr. Phillips with his *pabooa*; but failed in the attempt, and received from him a blow with the butt end of his musket.

quiet. Captain Cook now fired his second barrel, loaded with ball, and killed one of the foremost of the natives. A general attack with stones immediately followed, which was answered by a discharge of musquetry from the marines, and the people in the boats. The islanders, contrary to the expectations of every one, stood the fire with great firmness; and before the marines had time to reload, they broke in upon them with dreadful shouts and yells. What followed was a scene of the utmost horror and confusion.

Four of the marines were cut off amongst the rocks in their retreat, and fell a sacrifice to the fury of the enemy: three more were dangerously wounded; and the lieutenant who had received a stab between the shoulders with a *pabooa*\*, having fortunately reserved his fire, shot the man who had wounded him just as he was going to repeat his blow. Our unfortunate commander, the last time he was seen distinctly, was standing at the water's edge, and calling out to the boats to cease firing, and to pull in. If it be true, as some of those who were present have imagined, that the marines and boat-men had fired without his orders, and that he was desirous of preventing any further bloodshed, it is not improbable, that his humanity, on this occasion, proved fatal to him. For it was remarked, that whilst he faced the natives, none of them had offered him any violence, but that having turned about, to give his orders to the boats, he was stabbed in the back, and fell with his face into the water. On seeing him fall, the islanders set up a great shout, and his body was immediately dragged

on shore, and surrounded by the enemy, who snatching the dagger out of each other's hands, shewed a savage eagerness to have a share in his destruction."

After having wintered at the Sandwich islands, of which captain King has given the most accurate description, as also of the manners, customs, habits, and the degree of improvement of the inhabitants, the two ships, under the command of captain Clerk, (captain Cook's successor) on the 15th of March, 1779, began their second expedition to the North.

On the 29th of April they arrived at the harbour of St. Peter and St. Paul, in Kamtschatka;—their transactions there, their journey to Bolcheretsk, (the residence of the governor, major Behm) and the generous and humane conduct of that officer towards them, are told in a manner the most chaste, simple, and affecting that can be conceived.

The attempt this year in search of a passage, proved as fruitless as that made by captain Cook, in the year preceding. The ships were stopped by impenetrable ice, which frequently floating in immense masses, not only damaged the ships, but so embayed them, as even to render their returning back a matter of great difficulty.

The author's† words upon this occasion, give us a lively idea of their situation.

"As it was now necessary to come to some determination with respect to the course we were next to steer, captain Clerk sent a boat, with the carpenters, on board the *Discovery*, to enquire into the particulars of the damage she had sustained. They returned, in the

\* A sort of dagger.

† Captain King's.  
evening,

evening, with the report of captain Gore, and of the carpenters of both ships, that the damages they had received were of a kind that would require three weeks to repair; and that it would be necessary, for that purpose, to go into some port.

Thus, finding a farther advance to the northward, as well as a nearer approach to either continent, obstructed by a sea blocked up with ice, we judged it both injurious to the service, by endangering the safety of the ships, as well as fruitless, with respect to the design of our voyage, to make any farther attempts toward a passage. This, therefore, added to the representations of captain Gore, determined captain Clerk not to lose more time in what he concluded to be an unattainable object, but to sail for Awatka Bay, to repair our damages there; and, before the winter should set in, and render all other efforts towards discovery impracticable, to explore the coast of Japan.

I will not endeavour to conceal the joy that brightened the countenance of every individual, as soon as captain Clerk's resolutions were made known. We were all heartily sick of a navigation full of danger, and in which the utmost perseverance had not been repaid with the smallest probability of success. We therefore turned our faces toward home, after an absence of three years, with a delight and satisfaction, which, notwithstanding the tedious voyage we had still to make, and the immense distance we had to run, were as freely entertained, and perhaps as fully enjoyed, as if we had been already in sight of the Land's-end."

If from the labours, the perils, and the natural bad effects arising

from the variation of climates, in a voyage of four years and upwards, chiefly in unexplored regions, and of the wonderful extent of the one in question. If from these necessary and unavoidable evils, we turn our eyes upon the ships with their respective crews returned home, and find the following to be their state and condition, with what a mixture of admiration and gratitude must we look upon the benevolent exertions of captain Cook, in preserving the health of his seamen; exertions which will transmit his name to posterity, amongst the friends and benefactors of mankind!

"On quitting the Discovery at Stromness, I had the satisfaction of leaving the whole crew in perfect health; and at the same time, the number of convalescents on board the Resolution did not exceed two or three, of whom only one was incapable of service. In the course of our voyage, the Resolution lost but five men by sickness, three of whom were in a precarious state of health at our departure from England; the Discovery did not lose a man. An unremitting attention to the regulations established by captain Cook, with which the world is already acquainted, may be justly considered as the principal cause, under the blessing of Divine Providence, of this singular success. But the baneful effects of salt provisions might perhaps, in the end, have been felt, notwithstanding these salutary precautions, if we had not assisted them, by availing ourselves of every substitute, our situation at various times afforded. These frequently consisting of articles, which our people had not been used to consider as food for men, and being sometimes exceedingly noxious, it  
required

required the joint aid of persuasion, authority, and example, to conquer their prejudices and disgusts.

The preventives we principally relied on were sour krout and portable soup. As to the antiscorbutic remedies, with which we were amply supplied, we had no opportunity of trying their effects, as there did not appear the slightest symptoms of the scurvy, in either ship, during the whole voyage. Our malt and hops had also been kept as a resource, in case of actual sickness, and on examination at the Cape of Good Hope, were found entirely spoiled. About the same time, were opened some casks of biscuit, flour, malt, pease, oatmeal, and groats, which, by way of experiment, had been put up in small casks, lined with tin-frail, and found all, except the pease, in a much better state than could have been expected in the usual manner of package.

I cannot neglect this opportunity of recommending to the consideration of government, the necessity of allowing a sufficient quantity of Peruvian bark, to such of his majesty's ships as may be exposed to the influence of unwholesome climates. It happened very fortunately in the *Discovery*, that only one of the men that had fevers in the straits of Sunda, stood in need of this medicine, as he alone consumed the whole quantity usually carried out by surgeons, in such vessels as ours. Had more been affected in the same manner, they would probably all have perished, from the want of the only remedy capable of affording them effectual relief.

Another circumstance attending this voyage; which, if we con-

sider its duration, and the nature of the service in which we were engaged, will appear scarcely less singular than the extraordinary healthiness of the crews, was, that the two ships never lost sight of each other for a day together, except twice; which was owing, the first time, to an accident that happened to the *Discovery* off the coast of Owhyhee; and the second to the fogs we met with at the entrance of Awatka bay. A stronger proof cannot be given of the skill and vigilance of our subaltern officers, to whom this share of merit almost entirely belongs."

Having given this general outline of the voyage, and having also, in other parts of this volume of the *Annual Register*, given various extracts relative to the characters, manners, and customs, of the inhabitants of the different countries explored by captain Cook, we shall conclude by selecting some parts from this work of a more philosophical nature and tendency. The first is respecting the currents which captain Cook met with in his passage from England to the Cape of Good Hope. After mentioning the longitude of the Cape of Good Hope, as given by the watch, he proceeds as follows:

"Hence we have reason to conclude, that she had gone well all the way from England, and that the longitude, thus given, may be nearer the truth than any other.

If this be admitted, it will, in a great measure, enable me to find the direction and strength of the currents we met with on this passage from England. For, by comparing the latitude and longitude by dead reckoning, with those by observation and the watch, we shall, from time



to time, have, very accurately, the error of the ship's reckoning, be the cause what it will. But as all imaginable care was taken in heaving and keeping the log, and every necessary allowance made for leeway, heave of the sea, and other such circumstances, I cannot attribute those errors that did happen, to any other cause but currents; but more particularly when the error was constantly the same way, for several days successively.

On the contrary, if we find the ship a-head of the reckoning on one day, and a-stern of it on another, we have reason to believe that such errors are owing to accidental causes, and not to currents. This seems to have been the case in our passage between England and Teneriffe. But, from the time of our leaving that island, till the 15th of August, being then in the latitude of  $12^{\circ}$  north, and longitude  $24^{\circ}$  west, the ship was carried  $1^{\circ} 20'$  of longitude to the westward of her reckoning. At this station, the currents took a contrary direction, and set to east south east, at the rate of twelve or fourteen miles a day, or twenty-four hours, till we arrived into the latitude of  $5^{\circ}$  north, and longitude of  $20^{\circ}$  west; which was our most easterly situation after leaving the Cape de Verde islands, till we got to the southward. For in this situation the wind came southerly, and we tacked and stretched to the westward; and, for two or three days, could not find that our reckoning was affected by any current. So that I judged we were between the current that generally, if not constantly, sets to the east upon the coast of Guinea,

and that which sets to the west toward the coast of Brasil.

This westerly current was not considerable till we got into  $2^{\circ}$  north, and  $25^{\circ}$  west. From this station, to  $3^{\circ}$  south and  $30^{\circ}$  west, the ship, in the space of four days, was carried one hundred and fifteen miles in the direction of south west by west, beyond her reckoning; an error by far too great to have any other cause but a strong current running in the same direction. Nor did its strength abate here; but its course was, afterward, more westerly, and to the north west; and off Cape Augustine, north, as I have already mentioned. But this northerly current did not exist at twenty or thirty leagues to the southward of that Cape; nor any other, that I could perceive, in the remaining part of the passage. The little difference we afterward found between the reckoning and observations, might very well happen without the assistance of currents; as will appear by the table of days works.

In the account of my last voyage\*, I remarked, that the currents one meets with in this passage generally balance each other. It happened so then; because we crossed the line about  $20^{\circ}$  more to the eastward than we did now; so that we were, of consequence, longer under the influence of the easterly current, which made up for the westerly one. And this, I apprehend, will generally be the case, if you cross the line  $10^{\circ}$  or  $15^{\circ}$  to the east of the meridian of St. Jago.

From these remarks I shall draw the following conclusion, That, after passing the Cape de Verde islands, if you do not make above

\* Captain Cook's Voyage, Vol. I. p. 14.

4° or 5° easting, and cross the line in, or to the westward of, the meridian of St. Jago, you may expect to find your ship 3° or 4° to the westward of her reckoning, by the time you get into the latitude of 10° south. If, on the other hand, you keep well to the east, and cross the line 15° or 20° to the east of St. Jago, you will be then as much to the east of your reckoning; and the more you keep to the eastward, the greater will be your error; as has been experienced by some India ships, whose people have found themselves close upon the coast of Angola, when they thought its distance was above two hundred leagues.

During the whole of our passage from England, no opportunity was omitted of observing, with all the attention and accuracy that circumstances would permit, the variation of the compass, which I have inserted in a table, with the latitude and longitude of the ship at the time of observation. As the longitude may be depended upon, to a quarter or half a degree at most, this table will be of use to those navigators who correct their reckoning by the variation. It will also enable Mr. Dun to correct his new Variation Chart, a thing very much wanted.

It seems strange to me, that the advocates for the variation should not agree amongst themselves. We find one \* of them telling us, as I have already observed, *that with 8° west variation, or any thing above that, you may venture to sail by the Cape de Verde islands, by night or day, being well assured, with that variation, that you are to the eastward of them.* Another, in his

chart †, lays down this variation ninety leagues to the westward of them. Such a disagreement as this, is a strong proof of the uncertainty of both. However, I have no doubt, the former found here, as well as in other places, the variation he mentions. But he should have considered, that at sea, nay even on land, the results of the most accurate observations will not always be the same. Different compasses will give different variations; and even the same compass will differ from itself two degrees, without our being able to discover, much less to remove, the cause.

Whoever imagines he can find the variation within a degree, will very often see himself much deceived. For, besides the imperfection which may be in the construction of the instrument, or in the power of the needle, it is certain that the motion of the ship, or attraction of the iron-work, or some other cause not yet discovered, will frequently occasion far greater errors than this. That the variation may be found, with a share of accuracy more than sufficient to determine the ship's course, is allowed; but that it can be found so exactly as to fix the longitude within a degree, or sixty miles, I absolutely deny."

These observations and remarks are delivered by captain Cook, with a precision which shews, that he considered them as of importance, and if they are not already confirmed, improved, or enlarged, it is a proof that this age is unworthy of them, considering the frequent opportunities that the East India trade furnishes for making such observations.

\* Nichelson.

† Mr. Dun.

We shall finish these extracts with captain King's opinion upon the prospect of a *north west* or *north east passage*.

"Had captain Cook lived to this period of our voyage, and experienced, in a second attempt, the impracticability of a North East or North West passage from the Pacific to the Atlantic Ocean, he would doubtless have laid before the public, in one connected view, an account of the obstacles which defeated this, the primary object of our expedition, together with his observations on a subject of such magnitude, and which had engaged the attention, and divided the opinions of philosophers and navigators for upwards of two hundred years. I am very sensible how unequal I am to the task of supplying this deficiency; but, that the expectations of the reader may not be wholly disappointed, I must beg his candid acceptance of the following observations, as well as of those I have already ventured to offer him, relative to the extent of the North East coast of Asia.

The evidence that has been so fully and judiciously stated in the introduction, amounts to the highest degree of probability, that a North West passage, from the Atlantic into the Pacific Ocean, cannot exist to the southward of  $65^{\circ}$  of latitude. If then there exists a passage, it must be either through Baffin's bay, or round by the north of Greenland, in the western hemisphere; or else through the Frozen Ocean, to the northward of Siberia, in the eastern; and on which ever side it lies, the navigator must necessarily pass through Beering's Strait. The impracticability of penetrating into the

Atlantic on either side, through this strait, is therefore all that remains to be submitted to the consideration of the public.

As far as our experience went, it appears, that the sea to the north of Beering's Strait, is clearer of ice in August than in July, and perhaps in a part of September it may be still more free. But, after the equinox, the days shorten so fast, that no farther thaw can be expected; and we cannot rationally allow so great an effect to the warm weather, in the first half of September, as to imagine it capable of dispersing the ice from the most northern parts of the American coast. But admitting this to be possible, it must at least be granted, that it would be madness to attempt to run from the Icy Cape to the known parts of Baffin's Bay (a distance of four hundred and twenty leagues), in so short a time as that passage can be supposed to continue open.

Upon the Asiatic side, there appears still less probability of success, both from what came to our own knowledge, with respect to the state of the sea to the southward of Cape North, and also from what we learn from the experience of the \* lieutenants under Beering's direction, and the journal of Shalauoff, in regard to that on the north of Siberia.

The voyage of Deshneff, if its truth be admitted, proves undoubtedly the possibility of passing round the north east point of Asia; but when the reader reflects, that near a century and a half has elapsed since the time of that navigator, during which, in an age of great curiosity and enterprize, no man has yet been able to follow him, he will not en-

\* See Gmelin, pages 369, 374.

ertain very sanguine expectations of the public advantages that can be derived from it. But let us even suppose, that in some singularly favourable season a ship has found a clear passage round the coast of Siberia, and is safely arrived at the mouth of the Lena, still there remains the cape of Taimura, stretching to the  $78^{\circ}$  of latitude, which the good fortune of no single voyager has hitherto doubled.

It is, however, contended, that there are strong reasons for believing, that the sea is more free from ice, the nearer we approach to the pole; and that all the ice we saw in the lower latitudes, was formed in the great rivers of Siberia and America, the breaking up of which had filled the intermediate sea. But even if that supposition be true, it is equally so, that there can be no access to those open seas, unless this great mass of ice is so far dissolved in the summer, as to admit of a ship's getting through it. If this be the fact, we have taken a wrong time of the year for attempting to find this passage, which should have been explored in April and May, before the rivers were broken up. But how many reasons may be given against such a supposition? Our experience at Saint Peter and Saint Paul enabled us to judge what might be expected farther north; and upon that ground, we had reason to doubt, whether the continents might not in winter be even joined by the ice; and this agreed with the stories we heard in Kamtschacka, that on the Siberian coast, they go out from the shore in winter, upon the ice, to greater distances than the breadth of the sea is, in some parts, from one continent to the other.

In the depositions referred to

above, the following remarkable circumstance is related. Speaking of the land seen from the *Ishukotskoi Nofs*, it is said, "that in summer time they sail in one day to the land in baidares, a sort of vessel constructed of whale-bone, and covered with seal-skins; and in winter time, going swift with rein-deer, the journey may likewise be made in a day." A sufficient proof, that the two countries were usually joined together by the ice.

The account given by Mr. Muller, of one of the expeditions undertaken to discover a supposed island in the Frozen Sea, is still more remarkable. "In the year 1714, a new expedition was prepared from Jakutzk, for the same place, under the command of Alexei Markoff, who was to sail from the mouth of the Jana; and if the *Schitiki* were not fit for sea voyages, he was to construct at a proper place vessels fit for prosecuting the discoveries without danger.

"On his arrival at Ust-janskoe Simovie, the port at which he was to embark, he sent an account, dated February 2, 1715, to the chancery of Jakutzk, mentioning that it was impossible to navigate the sea, as it was continually frozen, both in summer and winter; and that, consequently, the intended expedition was no otherwise to be carried on, but with sledges drawn by dogs. In this manner he accordingly set out, with nine persons, on the 10th of March the same year, and returned on the 3d of April, to Ust-janskoe Simovie. The account of his journey is as follows: that he went seven days, as fast as his dogs could draw him, which, in good ways and wea-

ther,



“ ther, is eighty or a hundred  
 “ werfts in a day) directly toward  
 “ the north, upon the ice, without  
 “ discovering any island: that it  
 “ had not been possible for him  
 “ to proceed any farther, the ice  
 “ rising there in the sea like moun-  
 “ tains: that he had climbed to the  
 “ top of some of them, whence he  
 “ was able to see to a great dis-  
 “ tance round about him, but could  
 “ discern no appearance of land:  
 “ and that, at last, wanting food  
 “ for his dogs, many of them died,  
 “ which obliged him to return.”

Besides these arguments, which proceed upon an admission of the hypothesis, that the ice in those seas comes from the rivers, there are others which give great room to suspect the truth of the hypothesis itself. Captain Cook, whose opinion respecting the formation of ice, had formerly coincided with that of the theorists we are now controverting, found abundant reason, in the present voyage, for changing his sentiments. We found the coast of each continent to be low, the soundings gradually decreasing toward them, and a striking resemblance between the two; which, together with the description Mr. Hearne gives of the copper-mine river, afford reason to conjecture, that whatever rivers may empty themselves into the Frozen Sea, from the American continent, are of the same nature with those on the Asiatic side; which are represented to be so shallow at the entrance, as to admit only small vessels; whereas the ice we have seen, rises above the level of the sea to a height equal to the depth of those rivers; so that its entire height must be at least ten times greater.

VOL. XXVII.

The curious reader will also, in this place, be led naturally to reflect on another circumstance, which appears very incompatible with the opinion of those who imagine land to be necessary for the formation of ice; I mean the different state of the sea about Spitzbergen, and to the north of Beering's Strait. It is incumbent on them to explain how it comes to pass, that in the former quarter, and in the vicinity of much known land, the navigator annually penetrates to near 80° north latitude; whereas, on the other side, his utmost efforts have not been able to carry him beyond 71°; where, moreover, the continents diverge nearly east and west, and where there is no land yet known to exist near the pole. For the farther satisfaction of the reader on this point, I shall beg leave to refer him to *Observations made during a voyage round the world*, by Dr. Forster, where he will find the question of the formation of ice, fully and satisfactorily discussed, and the probability of open polar seas disproved by a variety of powerful arguments.

I shall conclude these remarks with a short comparative view of the progress we made to the northward, at the two different seasons we were engaged in that pursuit, together with a few general observations relative to the sea, and the coast of the two continents, which lie to the north of Beering's Strait.

It may be observed, that in the year 1778, we did not meet with the ice, till we advanced to the latitude of 70°, on August 17th; and that then we found it in compact bodies, extending as far as the eye could reach, and of which a part or the

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whole

whole was moveable, since, by its drifting down upon us, we narrowly escaped being hemmed in between it and the land. After experiencing both how fruitless and dangerous it would be to attempt to penetrate farther north, between the ice and the land, we stood over toward the Asiatic side, between the latitude  $69^{\circ}$  and  $70^{\circ}$ , frequently encountering, in this tract, large and extensive fields of ice; and though, by reason of the fogs, and thickness of the weather, we were not able absolutely and entirely to trace a connected line of it across, yet we were sure to meet with it before we reached the latitude of  $70^{\circ}$ , whenever we attempted to stand to the northward. On the 26th of August, in latitude  $69\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , and longitude  $184^{\circ}$ , we were obstructed by it in such quantities, as made it impossible for us to pass either to the north or west, and obliged us to run along the edge of it to the south south west, till we saw land, which we afterwards found to be the coast of Asia. With the season thus far advanced, the weather setting in with snow and fleet, and other signs of approaching winter, we abandoned our enterprize for that time.

In this second attempt, we could do little more than confirm the observations we had made in the first; for we were never able to approach the continent of Asia higher than the latitude of  $67^{\circ}$ , nor that of America in any parts, excepting a few leagues between the latitude of  $68^{\circ}$  and  $68^{\circ} 20'$ , that were not seen the last year. We were now obstructed by ice  $3^{\circ}$  lower, and our endeavours to push farther to the northward, were principally confined to the wide space between the two coasts.

We penetrated near  $3^{\circ}$  farther on the American side than on the Asiatic, meeting with the ice both years sooner, and in greater quantities, on the latter coast. As we advanced north, we still found the ice more compact and solid; yet as, in our different traverses from side to side, we passed over spaces which had before been covered with it, we conjectured, that most of what we saw was moveable. Its height, on a medium, we took to be from eight to ten feet, and that of the highest to have been sixteen or eighteen. We again tried the currents twice, and found them unequal, but never to exceed one mile an hour. By comparing the reckoning with the observations, we also found the current to set different ways, yet more from the south west than any other quarter; but whatever their direction might be, their effect was so trifling, that no conclusions, respecting the existence of any passage to the northward, could be drawn from them. We found the month of July to be infinitely colder than that of August. The thermometer in July was once at  $23^{\circ}$ , and very commonly at  $30^{\circ}$ ; whereas the last year, in August, it was very rare to have it so low as the freezing point. In both seasons, we had some high winds, all of which came from the south west. We were subject to fogs, whenever the wind was moderate, from whatever quarter, but they attended southerly winds more constantly than contrary ones.

The straits, between the two continents, at their nearest approach, in latitude  $66^{\circ}$ , were ascertained to be thirteen leagues, beyond which they diverge to north east by east and west north west; and in latitude  $69^{\circ}$ , they become  $14^{\circ}$  of longitude,

or about one hundred leagues, asunder. A great similarity is observable in the appearance of the two countries, to the northward of the straits. Both are destitute of wood. The shores are low, with mountains rising to a great height farther up the country. The depth of water in the mid-way between them, was twenty-nine and thirty fathoms, decreasing gradually as we approached either continent, with the difference of being somewhat shoaler on the American than on the Asiatic coast, at the same distance from land. The bottom, in the middle, was a soft slimy mud; and on drawing near to either shore, a brown sand, intermixed with small fragments of bones, and a few shells. We observed but little tide or current; what there was, came from the westward."

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*Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, &c. &c. by William Coxe, A. M., F. R. S. Fellow of King's College, Cambridge; and Chaplain to his Grace the Duke of Marlborough. In two Volumes, 4to.*

**I**N this work Mr. Coxe has entered at large into the history, the policy, the laws, and the government of the different kingdoms through which he has travelled. His assiduity and his judgment in deriving his information from the best and most respectable authorities, render his book of considerable value. Less elegant than useful, he is sometimes entertaining, but almost always instructive.

He commences with Poland, and has interwoven into his account of that kingdom, a particular relation communicated to him by Mr. Wraxall, of the attempt made by the confederates to assassinate the present king, in 1771\*. He afterwards gives a tolerably circumstantial, and yet not too diffusive, an account of the government of Poland; the legislative part thereof consisting of the king, the senate, and the equestrian order, in a general diet assembled; the executive part, according to the new establishment made by the diet in 1775, being vested in the permanent council, constituted from the three different estates of the king, senate, and equestrian order. Of all these different estates separately, of the permanent council, its departments, and its duties, and of the general diet, he speaks fully and distinctly. His account of the country itself only proves to us how ill-adapted and insufficient is its government, to overbalance and restrain the oppressive, indolent, and wasting power of its nobles.

His character of the king of Poland, Stanislaus Augustus, is the one generally adopted in favour of that monarch; namely, that of an amiable man, a gentleman, and a scholar.

From Poland Mr. Coxe proceeds to Russia, and enters minutely into some particular periods of the history of that kingdom, concerning which historians have not at all agreed. The various accounts given by different authors of the Czar, who reigned under the name of Demetrius, are discussed with great judgment and penetration; and the different authorities concerning his

\* See the Miscellaneous Essays, page 97, where this account is inserted.

identity being brought, as it were, to a focus, the reader is better enabled to form his own determination on the subject. Mr. Coxe inclines to think him the real son of the emperor Ivan Vassiliovitch II. With equal minuteness Mr. Coxe enters into the history of the princess Sophia Alexiefna, sister to Peter the Great, and regent during his minority, and takes great pains to do away the different aspersions thrown upon her character by almost all the historians who have treated of that period.—That the princess Sophia Alexiefna excluded Peter from all share in the government as long as she was able, appears evidently to be the case; that she did so without having recourse to any peculiar acts, either of severity or oppression with respect to him, is as evident: “when the genius of Peter acquired the ascendancy,” it is as evident that he did not use his superiority over his rival with equal moderation and temperance. Ferocious and penetrating, the shortest way to his objects, with him, was always the best, and once clearly seeing his way, he pursued it by means so strong, decisive, and powerful, as made art and nice conduct unnecessary in their execution.

We cannot here help observing, that the regular discussion of controverted and detached parts of history, (though extremely useful in itself) is but ill submitted to by readers of travels, voyages, and such like. The mind, easily led on, and interested by the force of narration simply, is with difficulty led out of its road to the consideration of any specific or given subject of magnitude.

But whatever is naturally and intimately connected with the narrative, neither branching out from, nor returning to it too abruptly, keeps the attention alive and unbroken.

Petersburgh and its environs, the different residences of the present Empress of Russia, her court, her mode of life, her business, her pleasures, and amusements \*, are described and treated in an entertaining and easy manner. In the second volume of his work, Mr. Coxe commences with relating the particulars of the Revolution of 1762, which placed the present Empress on the throne of Russia, in exclusion of her husband, Peter III. As the weakness of his conduct enabled her, so his ill behaviour towards her, in some measure justified the steps she took on this occasion. If the intention of imprisoning her can be clearly and satisfactorily brought home to Peter, the conduct of the Empress then stands in a still fairer light, and self-defence may be urged as her leading motive.

Here follows the history of prince Ivan, great grandson of the Czar Ivan Alexievitch, elder brother of Peter the Great. This unfortunate prince succeeded his aunt the Empress Anne, when he was only three months old, and in little more than a year afterwards was deposed and imprisoned by Elizabeth, together with his parents, Anne of Mecklenburgh, and Anthony Ulrick, prince of Brunswick. A prisoner from his cradle, he was at last killed in his twenty-third year by the officers who guarded him in the fortress of Schlusselfburgh, and who,

\* See an extract from this part of Mr. Coxe's work, given under the head of Miscellaneous Essays, page 105.



in obedience to their orders, were driven to that extremity, from an attempt made by a subaltern officer to rescue him from his confinement, and which was upon the point of succeeding.

We shall here lay before our readers a short account of the celebrated Marshal Munich, which Mr. Coxe has given in the following words:

“ Count Burchard Christopher Munich, son of a Danish officer, was born at New-Huntorf, in the county of Oldenburgh, on the 9th of May, O. S. 1683. He received an excellent education; and, in the 17th year of his age, entered into the service of the Landgrave of Hesse-Darmstadt, who, on account of his knowledge in tactics, conferred upon him the rank of captain. He served his first campaign in 1701, when the emperor Joseph commanded against the French; and was present at the siege of Landau. In 1705, he was employed as a major by the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and learned the art of war under the duke of Marlborough and prince Eugene. He distinguished himself for his cool intrepidity in several engagements and sieges, and particularly at the battle of Malplaquet, when, in recompence for his bravery, he was made lieutenant-colonel. Being, in 1712, dangerously wounded at the battle of Denain, he was taken prisoner by the French; and soon after his release, in the ensuing year, raised to the command of a regiment.

“ In 1716, he quitted the Hessian, and entered the Polish service, under Augustus II. and was soon promoted to the rank of major-general; but, in 1721, being insulted by count Fleming, the king’s favourite,

he went into Russia, and was received in the most honourable manner by Peter I. Being charged by that great monarch with the execution of several important trusts, both civil and military, he successively filled the highest posts in the army and state. He was created marshal by the empress Anne, and placed at the head of the war department; he obtained the command of the army against the Turks, and proved his military talents by his successes in the campaigns of 1737 and 1738.

“ Soon after the death of the empress, he advised, planned, and executed the arrest of Biren; and was rewarded by the regent Anne with the office of prime-minister. But as he was discontented at not being appointed generalissimo, and as his power and ambition gave umbrage to the court, he requested permission to resign his employments, and was astonished at the readiness with which his request was granted. Instead of repairing to the Prussian court, to which he was strongly invited, he imprudently remained in Russia, flattering himself with the hopes of being reinstated in his former dignity; and was arrested on the 6th of December 1741, by order of Elizabeth. The ostensible reason of his disgrace was, that he had persuaded the empress Anne to nominate Ivan her successor; but the real cause, as I was informed by a person of veracity, who received it from count Munich himself, was that, by order of that empress, he had taken into custody one of Elizabeth’s favourites.

“ Munich was brought before a committee appointed to examine the state prisoners; being fatigued with repeated questions, and perceiving that

that his judges were determined to find him guilty, he said to them, 'Dissate the answers which you wish me to make, and I will sign them.' The judges immediately wrote down a confession of several charges, which being subscribed by Munich, his mock-trial was concluded. Being thus without further ceremony convicted of high treason, he was condemned to be quartered; but his sentence was changed by Elizabeth to perpetual imprisonment. During that empress's reign, namely, for the space of twenty years, he was confined at Pelim in Siberia, in an ostrog, or prison, surrounded with palisadoes, of which, according to Manstein, he had himself drawn the plan, and ordered to be constructed for the reception of Biren. The place of his imprisonment was an area enclosed with high palisadoes about 170 feet square; within which was a wooden house, inhabited by himself, his wife, and a few servants; and a small garden, which he cultivated with his own hands. He received a daily allowance of 12s. for the maintenance of himself, his wife, and domestics; which little pittance he increased by keeping cows, and selling part of their milk, and by occasionally instructing youth in geometry and engineering. He behaved, during his long confinement, with the utmost resignation, tranquillity, and even cheerfulness. He was accustomed every day at dinner to drink to his wife "a happy return to Petersburg." He had prayers twice a day, from eleven to twelve in the morning, and from six to seven in the evening: they were read in the German tongue by his chaplain Martens; and, after his death, which happened in 1749, the

count himself performed the service. Beside the culture of his garden, and the hours he passed in giving instruction, he found sufficient leisure for composing hymns, for translating several psalms and prayers into German verse, and for writing a treatise upon the art of war: the latter he proposed, if ever he should be released from his confinement, to present to the king of Prussia. In the last year of his imprisonment, a centinel informing against Munich's servants for supplying him with pens and paper, the count, in order to prevent any discovery, was obliged to destroy all his writings, the amusement and labours of so many years.

"He had always supported himself with the expectation of recovering his liberty at the accession of Peter III.; but he was no sooner informed of that event, than, with the agitation natural to a person in his state, he began to dread that his expectation was ill-founded. He suffered during several weeks the most alarming anxiety, perpetually fluctuating between hope and fear; and was often heard to declare, that these few weeks appeared to him much longer than all the former years of his confinement. At length, on the morning of the 11th of February 1762, the long-expected messenger arrived from Petersburg, with the order for his release: Munich, who happened to be engaged in his prayers, did not perceive him; and his wife made signs to the messenger not to disturb him. Upon being informed of his recall, he was so affected as to faint away; but soon recovering, he fell down upon his knees, and in the most fervent manner offered up his thanks for this change in his situation. On the

the 19th, he departed from Pelim, and arrived at Petersburg on the 24th of March, in the same sheep-skin dress which he had worn in his prison. On the 31st, he was admitted to an audience by the emperor: Peter, after hanging round his neck the order of St. Andrew, and restoring him to his antient rank, said to him, 'I hope that your advanced age will still permit you to serve me.'—'Since your majesty,' replied the count at the conclusion of a long speech, 'has raised me from darkness into light, and recalled me from Siberia to prostrate myself before your throne; I shall always be most willing to expose\* my life in your service. Neither a long banishment from the throne of majesty, nor the climate of Siberia, have been able to damp, in the smallest degree, that fire which formerly shone with such lustre for the interests of the Russian empire, and the glory of its sovereign.'

"Munich enjoyed the favour and protection of Peter III. and Catharine II.; and died on the 16th of October 1763, in the 85th year of his age."

After having given an account of the rebellion of the impostor Pugatchef, who assumed the name of Peter III. his defeat and subsequent execution, Mr. Coxe returns to the present state of Russia, and gives us an exact and particular detail of its penal laws\*, punishments, and the outlines of its present jurisprudence. In treating of these subjects, he pays that tribute of applause to her imperial majesty, which is so justly due to her conduct. The different classes of the inhabi-

tants of Russia, divided into four orders, viz. the nobles, the clergy, the merchants and burghers, and the peasants, come next into consideration; and afterwards the state of learning in Russia, including poetry and history, with a minute account of the two respective academies of arts and sciences (the first instituted by the empress Elizabeth, the latter by Peter the Great); the state of the revenues, of the army, of the navy, and of the commerce of the country, concludes what is said of Russia.—To enter particularly into the different above-mentioned subjects treated of by Mr. Coxe, is far from being within the limits of our work; but let it suffice to say, that they contain much minute, extensive, and authentic information.

From Russia, Mr. Coxe proceeds through Finland into Sweden: his description of Stockholm, and of its situation, we shall lay before our readers.

"During the course of my travels, I have seen no town with whose situation I was so much struck as with that of Stockholm, for its singular and romantick scenery. This capital, which is very long and irregular, occupies, beside two peninsulas, seven small rocky islands, scattered in the Mæler, in the streams which issue from that lake, and in a bay of the gulf of Bothnia. A variety of contrasted and enchanting views are formed by numberless rocks of granite rising boldly from the surface of the water, partly bare and craggy, partly dotted with houses, or feathered with wood. The harbour is an inlet of the Bal-

\* See extracts from this part of Mr. Coxe's Travels, page 119, in the Miscellaneous Essays.

ic: the water is clear as crystal, and of such depth that ships of the largest burthen can approach the quay, which is of considerable breadth, and lined with spacious buildings and warehouses. At the extremity of the harbour several streets rise one above another in the form of an amphitheatre; and the palace, a magnificent building, crowns the summit. Towards the sea, about two or three miles from the town, the harbour is contracted into a narrow strait, and, winding among high rocks, disappears from the sight; and the prospect is terminated by distant hills, overspread with forest. It is far beyond the power of words, or of the pencil, to delineate these singular views. The central island, from which the city derives its name, and the Rittersholm, are the handsomest parts of the town.

“ Excepting in the suburbs, where the houses are of wood painted red, the generality of the buildings are of stone, or brick stuccoed white. The royal palace, which stands in the center of Stockholm, and upon the highest spot of ground, was begun by Charles XI.: it is a large quadrangular stone edifice, and the style of architecture is both elegant and magnificent.”

The chapter relative to the present government of Sweden, as settled by the revolution in 1772, is well written; it gives due praise to, and in general coincides with, what Mr. Sheridan, formerly secretary to the British envoy at Stockholm, has written on that subject, but differs with him on the general conclusions which that gentleman has drawn, respecting the king of Sweden's unlimited authority. This point Mr. Coxe has discussed fairly

and accurately, and certainly has clearly shewn, that although the executive power is in effect lodged in the king alone, yet the legislative is not, but in him jointly with the states.

The states consist of the four houses: 1st. of nobles, 2d. of the clergy, 3d. of citizens, and 4th. of peasants: of each of these respectively, and the manner in which they are represented, Mr. Coxe has given a distinct and accurate account.

The prerogatives of the king of Sweden are certainly of so extensive and pervading a nature, as to leave the legislative authority but little room for action; and in proportion as the laws and regulations, as settled at the revolution in 1772, are adequate to the purposes of government, the legislative authority becomes of less account; but whenever it should be necessary to add, or amend the laws and regulations now in force, to alter old taxes, or propose new ones (and upon other occasions), the supreme legislative authority must certainly interpose; and perhaps no system of legislation can ever long remain without the necessary intervention of the legislature to abrogate or amend its own laws, and to supply new ones.

Mr. Coxe has given a very full and circumstantial account of the university of Upsala (formerly the metropolis of Sweden, and the royal residence) of its students, its curiosities, its regulations, and the characters of the different kings of Sweden who lie buried there. In addition to his account of the university, he has added biographical memoirs, and remarks on the writings, of some of its most celebrated professors.



professors, viz. of Linnæus, Wallerius, Cronstedt, and Bergman. The chapter which speaks of the three last of the above persons, is a communication of Dr. Pulteney's to the author.

An accurate description, accompanied with a chart, is given of the inland navigation of Sweden, in which is explained the projects formed for a regular junction of the different lakes and rivers with the German ocean; stating how far, and by what means, they have been carried into execution.

Our author concludes with Denmark; and although comparatively but a small portion of his work is allotted to this last object of his travels, yet it includes a variety of matter. In speaking of the palace of Cronborg, at Elsinoor, where the late queen Matilda was imprisoned, he takes occasion to relate an interesting and affecting anecdote of that unfortunate princess: "In this palace (says he) was imprisoned the late unfortunate queen Matilda. During her confinement she inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permission to walk upon the side-batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reason to apprehend, that the party which had occasioned her arrest meditated still more violent measures. When the English minister at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his spirited conduct, she was so surprized with the unexpected intelligence, that she instantly burst into a flood of tears, embraced him in a transport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a short conference, the minister proposed, that her majesty should im-

mediately embark on board of a ship that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom, in which she had experienced such a train of misfortunes. But, however anxious she was to depart, one circumstance checked the excess of her joy: a few months before her imprisonment, she had been delivered of a princess, whom she suckled herself. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and she had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the constant companion of her misery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the measles; and, having nursed it with unceasing solicitude, she was desirous of continuing her attention and care. All these circumstances had so endeared the child to her, rendered more susceptible of tenderness in a prison than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princess was intimated to her, she testified the strongest emotions of grief, and could not, for some time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after bestowing repeated caresses upon this darling object of her affection, she retired to the vessel in an agony of despair. She remained upon deck, her eyes immoveably directed towards the palace of Cronborg, which contained her child, that had been so long her only comfort, until darkness intercepted the view. The vessel having made but little way during night, at day break she observed with fond satisfaction that the palace was still visible; and could not be persuaded to enter the cabin as long as she could discover the faintest glimpse of the battlements.

It is well known that her majesty resided at Zeil, where she was carried

ried off, by a scarlet fever, in the sixteenth day of her illness.

“Queen Matilda was naturally of a lively disposition, until her misfortunes brought on a settled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company she endeavoured to dissemble her sorrows, and assume a cheerfulness to which her heart was a stranger. She became extremely fond of solitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the most bitter lamentations. She retained, to her last moments, the most unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent she made repeated enquiries after them, and was delighted with receiving the minutest accounts of their health, amusements, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, she placed them in her most retired apartment, often apostrophized them as if they were present\*, and addressed them in the tenderest manner.”

The revolution of 1660, which changed the constitution of Denmark, from an elective and limited, to an absolute and hereditary, monarchy, is detailed at large; and a succinct account given of its population, finances, army, navy, and clergy. Mr. Coxe has also taken a review of the state of Danish literature, under which head the Icelandic writers in former ages made a considerable figure. The peculiar bent and genius of the various Danish authors, which are now extant, and worthy of our admiration, seem chiefly to turn upon history, natural history, and antiquity.

The intended inland navigation, from the Baltic into the German ocean, across the dutchy of Holstein,

by the canal of Kiel, and the river Eyder, of which Mr. Coxe has given an engraving, and an accurate description, is a work of the greatest importance; to use his own words—“The utility of this important undertaking will be evident from a mere inspection of the map of Denmark. At present even the smallest vessels, trading from any part of the Danish dominions in the Baltic to the Northern Sea, must make a circuit round the extremity of Jutland, and are liable to be detained by opposite winds. This navigation is so tedious, that goods shipped at Copenhagen for Hamburgh are not unusually sent by sea only to Lubeck, and from thence by land to Hamburgh. But the completion of this canal will enable vessels of a certain burden to pass immediately from the Baltic into the German ocean; proceed without unloading to Hamburgh; or sail to Holland, which, in times of war, receives great supplies of sugar, and other West Indian commodities, from Denmark.”

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*Travels in the Two Sicilies, by Henry Swinburne, Esq. in the years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780. In two vols. 4to.*

THESE Travels have undoubtedly a considerable degree of merit, and prove the author to be a man of letters and of information. A subject which has so much, and for so long time, as Italy, attracted the attention and labours of the learned in all branches, and of all denominations, requires more than ordinary observation and talents to make new, desired, and valuable to the world.

\* I received this anecdote from a person at Zell, who had more than once overheard this affecting scene.

In the course of his account of the present state of the Two Sicilies, Mr. Swinburne frequently and happily enough inserts as well the ancient and classical, as the more modern history of the several places which fall under his observation. This mode of writing is peculiarly well adapted, and congenial to the country treated of, which continually recalls to our memory scenes embellished, adorned, and rendered memorable, in the works of the ancient poets and historians.

The author commences his Travels from Naples; of which city, and of the character and manners of its inhabitants, an account may be seen in an extract from this work, in the Annual Register for 1732, and which seems to be drawn from a more minute attention to the real dispositions of the people, than is generally to be met with in the writers of travel.

From Naples Mr. Swinburne proceeds to Taranto, the Tarentum of the ancients. The relation of this journey is interperfed with a variety of classical and historical remarks, at the same time that it contains a considerable degree of information relative to the present state of the country; a few extracts of this latter species, with respect to Taranto\*, its environs, and inhabitants, we shall lay before our readers. On his approach to Taranto, he says—

“ I next reached a delicious vale,

called Le Citrezze†, where a stream rises in a basin about three hundred yards from the sea. The waters occasion a perpetual verdure in the meadows, and groves of aged olive trees defend them from the scorching ray, and from all winds but the soft zephyrs that play upon the surface of the Mare Piccolo. I alighted to enjoy the charms of this sweet sequestered spot, and while my eyes ranged over the beautiful landscape, suffered my imagination to wander into a chain of melancholy reflections on the general vicissitudes in the fate of empires, and on the destiny of Taranto in particular. All was then still in that port, where the trading vessels of half the world rendezvoused. One single fishing-boat disturbed the bosom of those waters, where the mighty navy of Carthage once displayed its flag. Of all the temples, gymnasia, theatres, and other monuments of glory and opulence, not so much as a single column rises upon the hill where Tarentum once stood: the paucity of buildings of some mean convents, inhabited by the most insignificant of friars, mark its ancient situation; while the modern city, crowded into a narrow island, holds the place of the old citadel, and still resembles a fortress more than an emporium of trade. But in despite of this change in its fortunes, the appearance of Taranto is replete with wonderful beauties. At my feet, the Mare Piccolo rolled its gentle

\* An account of the Mare Piccolo in the Bay of Taranto, of its shell fish, of the Pinna Marina, and of the Tarantula, may be seen in the Ann. Reg. for 1732.

† The Tarentines call this the Galeus; D'Anville and Zannoni give that name to a river that discharges itself into the Mare Grande. The spring of the Citrezze is deep, and therefore answers Virgil's epithet of black. The very little extent of its course corresponds with the ancient opinion of its being the shortest of all rivers; but still I cannot understand how so trifling a rill could be deemed a river, and be called Eurotas by the Parthenii, from its resemblance to the river of Lacedemon; or how numerous flocks could wander on its banks, and be washed in its waters.

waves, stretching from east to west, in the shape of an oval lake, divided into two unequal bays by a narrow promontory; olive woods clothe the fore-ground on both sides, and the opposite hills appear rich in orchards and corn-fields. Over the city, the *Mare Grande*, or outer port, some ships at anchor, islands, capes; and behind all, the blue mountains of *Basilicata* complete the prospect. A long bridge of seven arches joins the city to the continent on the north side; through them the tide flows with great impetuosity, and nothing now but small boats can be admitted by this passage, which was formerly the entrance of the harbour. But even in the time of the Romans, I think it evident from what *Appian* says, that there were drawbridges, by which the garrison of the citadel preserved a command over the vessels in port. Had the mouth been quite free, the *Tarentine* fleet in the second *Punic* war could not have been so completely blocked up, as to render all attempts to break through utterly fruitless. At each arch is fixed a frame for hanging nets to intercept fish as they run up into the little sea with the flow, or fall back with the ebb; and upon this bridge is carried the aqueduct that supplies the town with water.

“*Tolita* king of the *Goths* is said to have been the first that erected an aqueduct on this north side; others attribute it to the Emperor *Nicephorus*. It was built in the present form and direction in 1543. The sources lie twelve miles distant from *Taranto*, in the mountains of *Martina*, where many grooves and cuts in the heart of the rock collect the straggling rills and filtrations, and bring them together at a spot

called *Valdenza*; from thence the waters run to *Triglio*, where they fall into immense reservoirs, and then pass under ground to the deep cisterns at *Tremiti*. At *La Follia* they rise to day, and keep an open course for seven miles, till they enter an arcade of two hundred and three arches, in very bad repair, overgrown with ivy, and oozing at every joint; the water is conveyed through hollow stones, each of which has a spout that fits into the next.

“The shape of *Taranto* has been likened to that of a ship; of which the castle at the east end represents the stern, the great church the mast, the tower of *Raymund Orsini* the bowsprit, and the bridge the cable. It stands upon the site of the ancient fortress, but I believe occupies rather more room: it was formerly joined to the continent by a narrow neck of sand, which occasioned *William of Puglia* to say, That *Tarentum* would be an island, but for a small rising ground.

*Insula mox fieret modicus ni collis adesset;*

“*Ferdinand the First* being apprehensive of an attack from the *Turks*, ordered the isthmus to be cut through, and the sea to be let in. *Philip the Second* caused the passage to be widened and deepened so as to admit vessels; but it was afterwards choked up with sand and filth, and, by the stagnation of its waters, became a great nuisance. The air of *Taranto* was grievously affected by it till 1755, when it was again cleared out by the king’s directions. The streets are remarkably dirty and narrow, especially the *Marina*, which runs along the *Mare Piccolo*, and is, without dispute, the most disgusting habitation of human beings in Europe, except, perhaps,

the



the Jewish Ghetto at Rome. The only tolerable street is a terrace above the steep rocks that hang over the Mare Grande, and prevent all access on that quarter. The cathedral, dedicated to Saint Cataldus, whom the legend calls a native of Raphoe in Ireland, has little merit: it is a melancholy consideration, that the chapel of the patron has been decorated at the expence of almost every monument of the ancient city. The granite columns, taken from its ruined fanes, are awkwardly crouded under the ill-proportioned roof of this church. The square near the bridge is the only opening of any extent, and the general resort of the citizens in summer, when they sit round the fountain to enjoy the soft evening breeze, and refresh themselves with the fanning of the balmy air. But modern Taranto cannot boast of that degree of salubrity at all seasons, which rendered the ancient city the delight of voluptuaries and valetudinarians. A failure of cultivation, and of attention towards keeping the passages for water free, causes some degree of malignity in its climate during the hot months; but there is great reason to hope these inconveniencies will be removed by the patriotic and judicious endeavours of the present archbishop Monsignor Joseph Capecehatro, who has abandoned the road that leads to the purple, and other objects of ecclesiastical ambition, in order to devote his life and talents to the welfare of his flock, and the improvement of his native country.

“ I was lodged at the Celestine convent, a neat house, built upon the ruins of a temple. The prior received me with great politeness, and at supper treated me with the

most varied service of shell-fish I ever sat down to. There were no less than fifteen sorts, all extremely fat and savoury; especially a small species of muscle, the shell of which is covered with a velvet shag, and both inside and outside is tinged with the richest violet-colour. I tasted of all, and ate plentifully of several sorts, without experiencing the least difficulty in the digestion.”

His character of the inhabitants is as follows:

“ The inhabitants neglect the culture of their fields, and turn all their attention to fishing; a profession hampered with fewer incumbrances, less continual labour, and affording greater certainty of success. Their lands are cultivated, their corn reaped, by Calabrians; their pastures covered with Abruzzese sheep and shepherds; while the modern Tarentines, as much at least as their poverty will allow them, seem to copy the gentle, indolent manners of their forefathers, citizens of *Molle Tarentum*. They are still passionately fond of amusements, and eager only in the pursuit of pleasure. Their address is affable, and pleasing to strangers; their pronunciation lisping, and softer than that of the natives of the neighbouring provinces. Here women bring forth children with little difficulty; and treat as a slight inconvenience those dangers and pains, which are so dreadful to their sex in most other countries. Here it is impossible to cite an instance of a person's dying in childbed.”

The next division of Mr. Swinburne's journey is from Taranto to Reggio, his route lying altogether along the coasts of the Gulf of Taranto, and of the Ionian Sea, and round the southern extremity of Calabria

labria Ultra. In this portion of his Travels he passes through the places where the famous Grecian colonies of the Sybarites, the Crotoniates, and the Locrians flourished, and enters at large into the former grandeur, riches, extent, and power of their respective states. As this coast, from the author's account, still seems to possess, in a great measure, the capability of re-assuming its former consequence and splendor, one cannot but lament that the internal bad government of the Two Calabrias should so completely thwart and render abortive every exertion of kind and luxuriant nature, and that by improvident and inefficient taxes, and imposts, the industrious husbandmen should be driven back from the fruitful shores into the mountains, and converted into a gang of robbers.

The following extract, relative to a most curious appearance, sometimes reflected from the surface of the sea in the Faro of Messina, we shall lay before our readers :

" I enjoyed several delightful walks along the beach. Wherever a hole is made in the sands, though within a foot of the sea, fresh-water bubbles up. The views on every side are enchanting, equal to the charming ones of the Neapolitan gulf, and superior to all others that I have ever seen. Messina rises out of the waves like a grand amphitheatre ; and the Faro, lined with villages and towns, seems a noble river, winding between two bold shores.

" Sometimes, but rarely, it exhibits a very curious phenomenon,

vulgarly called *La Fata Morgana* \*. The philosophical reader will find its causes and operations learnedly accounted for in Kircher, Minasi, and other authors. I shall only give a description of its appearance, from one that was an eye-witness. Father Angelucci is the first that mentions it with any degree of accuracy, in the following terms :

" On the fifteenth of August, 1643, as I stood at my window, I was surprised with a most wonderful, delectable vision. The sea that washes the Sicilian shore swelled up, and became, for ten miles in length, like a chain of dark mountains ; while the waters near our Calabrian coast grew quite smooth, and in an instant appeared as one clear polished mirror, reclining against the afore said ridge. On this glass was depicted, in *chiaro scuro*, a string of several thousands of pilasters, all equal in altitude, distance, and degree of light and shade. In a moment they lost half their height, and bent into arcades, like Roman aqueducts. A long cornice was next formed on the top, and above it rose castles innumerable, all perfectly alike. These soon split into towers, which were shortly after lost in colonnades, then windows, and at last ended in pines, cyresses, and other trees, even and similar. This is the *Fata Morgana*, which, for twenty-six years, I had thought a mere fable."

" To produce this pleasing deception, many circumstances must concur, which are not known to exist in

\* The name is probably derived from an opinion, that the whole spectacle is produced by a fairy or a magician. The populace are delighted whenever the vision appears, and run about the streets, shouting for joy,—calling every body out to partake of the glorious sight.

any other situation. The spectator must stand with his back to the east, in some elevated place behind the city, that he may command a view of the whole bay; beyond which the mountains of Messina rise like a wall, and darken the back-ground of the picture. The winds must be hushed; the surface quite smoothed; the tide at its height; and the waters pressed up by currents to a great elevation in the middle of the channel. All these events coinciding, as soon as the sun surmounts the eastern hills behind Reggio, and rises high enough to form an angle of forty-five degrees on the water before the city,—every object existing or moving at Reggio will be repeated a thousand fold upon this marine looking-glass; which, by its tremulous motion, is, as it were, cut into facets. Each image will pass rapidly off in succession, as the day advances, and the stream carries down the wave on which it appeared.

“Thus the parts of this moving picture will vanish in the twinkling of an eye. Sometimes the air is at that moment so impregnated with vapours, and undisturbed by winds, as to reflect objects in a kind of aerial screen, rising about thirty feet above the level of the sea. In cloudy, heavy weather, they are drawn on the surface of the water, bordered with fine prismatical colours.”

From Reggio Mr. Swinburne returns back to the Terra de Otranto, by a vessel bound to Gallipoli, in that province; and from thence to Naples by Brindisi (the ancient Brundisium) and Bari, and afterwards by a more inland route.

The second volume of this work commences with Mr. Swinburne's excursions in the neighbourhood of

Naples. His view and description of that city, taken from the castle of St. Elmo, we shall lay before our readers. From this eminence, he says, “the whole city and suburbs, with every object that hitherto had partially engaged my attention, were now brought under my inspection in one collective picture.

“As from an advanced post, I here reconnoitred all the quarters of Naples, and formed an exact idea of its general outline, as well as its particular situations. The sea before it is scalloped into two semi-circles divided by a promontory, and imitating the Arabic figure of three. The promontory runs out from the hill of Saint Elmo, sinking gradually towards the *Castel dell' Uovo* with a gentle curve. The eastern bay does not approach so near to the hills as that of *Chiaia*, but leaves a capacious vale for the city and suburbs, which extend very irregularly over the hills, and run up several narrow dales. On this account it is difficult to obtain the just dimensions of Naples. King Roger caused it to be measured, and found it to be two miles and six furlongs in circumference, but it was then only upon a footing with many other cities of his dominions, and not the metropolis. Another measurement was taken in 1500, which amounted to nine miles in circumference. Its walls are no longer of any real defence, and of course the safety of Naples depends upon the force of its armies. To repel hostile attempts by sea, which, from its situation, maritime powers might be tempted to make, it has to the west the *Castel dell' Uovo*, a confused pile of ancient buildings, and some modern batteries; the rock this fortress stands upon was originally

originally called Megara, then Lucullanum, and must have been considered early as a place of strength, for Romulus Augustulus, the last Roman emperor of the west, was shut up here in 475. His father, Orestes, had invested him with the imperial purple, but Odoacer, king of the Heruli, defeated his army, and put an end to the empire. Hither also the son of king Manfred was transferred from Puglia, and lingered out a tedious life of misery. Along the line of the shore towards the east are some batteries on the points of land, the bastions of the arsenal, and above it the lofty wall of the Castel Nuovo, erected by Charles the First. Its inner gate is decorated with a triumphal arch raised in honour of Alphonfus the Magnificent, a work of great effect, though not perfectly correct in taste and architecture. This fortress has usually been the refuge of the sovereigns and viceroys in all civil wars and tumults, and for that reason they have long fixed their residence near its walls. A block-house and batteries defend the mouth of the harbour, and at the eastern extremity of the town is the *Torrione del Carmine*, better known by the figure it made in the rebellion of 1647, than by its extent or military strength. The castle of Saint Elmo, where I stood to view the city, commands Naples in every direction, and is in reality calculated rather to annoy and awe the citizens, than to defend them from foreign invaders. King Robert first saw the propriety of fortifying this post, and the emperor Charles the Fifth reduced the old works to a regular pentagonal form.

“ The dock-yard and magazines for the galleys are spacious ; the

harbour where ships of war and merchantment lie rather too confined : it is entirely the work of art, being formed by the projection of a crooked mole first laid by Charles the Second, and after many additions, compleated by the present king of Spain. A lofty pharos points out the entrance of the harbour in the night ; but as the hill behind rises very high, these lights are easily confounded with those of the town.

“ Naples contains some fine squares and large streets ; of the former the *Largo Castello* and *Spirito Santo* are the most extensive. Toledo is the principal among the latter, inferior to few in Europe, for length and buildings. In the heart of the city the streets are narrow, and, on account of the great elevation of the houses, gloomy and close ; they are paved with square stones of dark-coloured lava, dug out of quarries, or rather stagnated torrents formerly vomited by *Vesuvius* or the *Solfatara*. It is said that this matter must be many centuries old ere it acquire a sufficient degree of hardness for the purpose of paving ; but I am inclined to believe it very soon becomes as compact as it ever will be : paving-stones are contracted for at two *carlini* a piece, and, in great thoroughfares, must be renewed in less than three years.

“ All parts of Naples are copiously supplied with water by an ancient aqueduct, which has more than once over-balanced its services, by affording a passage for besiegers to enter the city : through it *Belisarius* introduced soldiers that surprised the Gothic garrison ; *Alphonfus the First* repeated the stratagem with success. Many fountains



tains retail the supply, some few of which are decorated in a good style.

“ The Neapolitan architects are too lavish of ornament, and too frequently run into a false and barbarous taste: the edifices of Rome have in general more grandeur and chastity of style, except those which have been executed upon the plans of Borromini and his scholars: they indeed exceed in wanton violation of propriety all the flights of Gothic architecture. Most of the churches of Naples are crowned with cupolas; a few slender steeples break the line, and add variety to the picture, but there is a want of some venerable pile to tower above the rest; the cathedral is not sufficiently pre-eminent. I scarce know a church without some good paintings, but very few in which the architect has shewn a pure noble taste. Two columns of a temple dedicated to the Dioscuri and the city of Naples, are the only remarkable monuments of ancient architecture remaining. The portico to which they belonged was overturned by an earthquake in 1688; they stand before the door of a church, consecrated to St. Peter and Paul; this temple was erected by Tiberius Julius Tarsus, and Pelago the freedman of Augustus; the apostles who were united in their mission and martyrdom, have been substituted for the twin brothers Castor and Pollux. Santa Chiara, a rich monastery of noble dames, founded by king Robert, and the place of sepulture for the royal family, has a church repaired and painted by Conca, in so gay and airy a style, that it exhibits more of the elegance of a ball-room than of the awful solemnity of a temple.

VOL. XXVII.

The chancel of Saint Philip Neri is the best sample of ecclesiastical architecture in Naples; large columns of antique granite divide it from the isles in a most majestic manner, though some of the usual proportions are not critically observed. The Carthusian convent of Saint Martin, adjoining to the castle of Saint Elmo, is, I believe, the best situated monastery in Europe; every thing appertaining to it corresponds with the sublimity of the view; immense ranges of buildings, a stately church, superb halls, and a noble collection of pictures. To support this great establishment, and a large family of ascetic members, that neither beg nor earn their livelihood, the society enjoys a most princely income; the overplus of it is employed in the pernicious charity of feeding beggars, and the rational one of portioning out the female relations of the monks; it is reported, that government intends shortly to take upon itself the charge of appropriating this balance. The relics of Saint Januarius form the principal boast of the cathedral. The Carmine calls to mind the bloody catastrophe of those royal youths, Conradine and Frederick of Austria, butchered before its door; whenever I traversed that square, my heart yearned at the idea of their premature fate, and at the deep distress of Conradine's mother, who, landing on the beach with her son's ransom, found only a lifeless trunk to redeem from the fangs of his barbarous conqueror. In the cloyster of the Carmine, Massaniello was murdered by the companions of his revolt, a victim to his want of conduct.

“ The sacred edifices of Naples abound with sepulchral monuments

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of

of distinguished personages; the chapel of the San Severo family exhibits many very extraordinary statues; the art with which the sculptor has surmounted the difficulty of representing human bodies wrapped up in cloths or entangled in the meshes of a net, is truly wonderful; but the piece of statuary which appeared in my eyes to possess the most real merit, is a Christ in the shroud, by San Martino, a living Neapolitan artist; undoubtedly a fine performance.

“ The dwellings of the nobility are grand. In 1597, when Morison travelled, there was no glass in any windows of Naples, nor is it above forty years since the use of glass became common. While the Neapolitans languished under the oppressive and almost hostile government of a viceroy, they seem to have felt little for the honour of their country; the comforts of life were imperfectly known, and all emulation appeared dead among them; the revival of elegant arts, the introduction of numberless improvements in public and private life, the adorning of the city, and a more convenient mode of furnishing their dwellings, all date from the æra of the conquest of Naples by Don Carlos.—A sovereign of their own then came to reside among them, they felt once more that they were a nation, and had a glory and interests worth consulting.

“ The royal palace, begun in 1600 by the count of Lemos, after the design of Fontana, presents a very handsome front, a staircase in the noblest proportions, and apartments suitable to the rank of the inhabitants; these rooms have, however, lost some of their splendor, by the removal of the Farnesian

collection of pictures; those valuable paintings are now shewn at Capodimonte, a palace erected upon the hills to the north of the city, by the king of Spain, but left unfinished, from the difficulty of procuring water; the ground upon which it stands is undermined in various and numberless directions; these caverns were either left in the original formation of the hill, and chiselled into shape by the hand of man, or were quarries gradually extended as the materials were wanted for building; though we are not certain in what manner they were excavated, we know that they long served both heathens and christians as repositories of the dead; they surpass the catacombs of Rome in extent, but for many ages have seldom been used for funeral purposes; similar vaults under the churches in the town, being more at hand, are now the usual places of burial. It is a custom here, on All Souls day, to throw open the charnel-houses, lighted up with torches, and decked out with all the flowery pageantry of May-day; crowds follow crowds through these vaults to behold the coffins, nay the bodies of their friends and relations; the floors are divided into beds, like a garden, and under these heaps of earth the corpses are laid in regular succession; the place is perfectly dry, for the soil is rather a pounded stone than earth, and parches up the flesh completely in a twelvemonth; when that period is elapsed, the body is taken up, dressed in a religious habit, and fixed like a statue in a niche; many retain a horrid resemblance to what they were when animated, and some shew strong marks of agony in their distorted features. They are much better

better preserved than the mummies of Toulouse, which pass for such singular curiosities.

"The Albergo de Poveri, intended as a refuge for the poor from all parts of the kingdom, is an extensive hospital, but, like most works planned upon a scale that strains the sinews of the public revenue, remains unfinished.

"The theatre of San Carlo is one of the most capacious in the world, and when illuminated the most magnificent.

"The Studii is a showy edifice decorated with ancient statues brought from Cuma. There is a plan under consideration at court, for removing the contents of the museum hither from Portici, in order to place that inestimable collection at a greater distance from Vesuvius; the day may otherwise come, when another stream of fire shall bury these treasures again for ages. But is Naples itself a place of security? Its safety depends upon the wind that blows during an irruption; if that should happen to direct the ashes to the north-west, Naples would be exposed to the fate of Pompeii; besides, its foundations rest on hollow ground, and earthquakes may destroy the pillars that support them; were I admitted to counsel on the occasion, I should prefer a removal to Caserta, but think it still more advisable to leave the antiquities where they are. They would suffer so much damage and derangement in the package, and remain for so many years unopened and unclassified, that the present generation of learned and curious persons would probably never be gratified with a sight of them."

In the course of his excursion to Pæstum, Mr. Swinburne gives an

account of the celebrated ruins of Herculaneum and Pompeii.

From Naples Mr. Swinburne sails to Palermo, the capital of Sicily. Out of the numerous and respectable letters of recommendation given him at Naples, only two were here paid any attention to, viz. those which he brought to prince Lancelotti, of Torremuza, and to Monsignor Severino, of Naples, archbishop of the united sees of Palermo and Monreale. That any prejudice of this sort should reign in the Sicilian metropolis, nay, be confined to it alone, is very extraordinary: for from the kind attention of the archbishop of Palermo, Mr. Swinburne seems in every other part of the country to have met with the most perfect hospitality.

In this journey through Sicily, beginning with Palermo, and ending with Messina, Mr. Swinburne has for the most part kept the sea-coast, encircling in his route nearly the whole island, excepting the north side of it, towards the Mediterranean. Girgenti, with the ruins of the ancient Agrigentum, Syracuse, Mount Ætna, and Messina, are the chief objects in his account, and we could wish the limits of our work admitted of our entering more at large into his description of these places.

From Messina Mr. Swinburne passes over to Tropea, in South Calabria, and returns by land to Naples; having, to use his own words, completed a tour, by sea and land, of 914 computed miles.

The description of his route thro' the Two Calabrias, combines in it every species of beauty that a country can possess.—"Sed quantum mutatus ab illo,"—with what a

mixture of horror and regret do we turn from such a picture, to the representation of it after the earthquakes in 1783! a short description of which Mr. Swinburne has given in a note; but as Sir William Hamilton's account, which is more at length, is inserted in the Annual Register for the year above-mentioned, we shall refer our readers to that relation.

From Naples, Mr. Swinburne proceeds to Rome; but as he confines himself to the Two Sicilies, says nothing with regard to that city. His Travels conclude with a short excursion from Rome, a little way into the two most northern provinces of Naples, called the Abruzzos; his route lies through Alba, Avezzano, by the lake of Celano, of which he gives a full and minute description, and thro' Sora and Isola.

Near Sora, on the banks of the river Fibreno, stood the house of M. T. Cicero, which, Mr. Swinburne says, still retains some traces of the beauties ascribed to it by that orator; but no vestige or monument of the villa or its appendages remain.

We shall conclude, by giving Mr. Swinburne's account of the present state of the Two Abruzzos, and of the character of its inhabitants.

“As these provinces are the most northern, they are also the coldest in the kingdom, being exceedingly mountainous. The chain of the Apennines, without any interruption, but that of some narrow valleys formed by the waters of the numerous rivers that rush down from the heights, continues in a slight declivity to the edge of the Adriatic sea. But the rigour of the cli-

mate is not so great as to prevent the country from producing in abundance every thing requisite for the support of life. Vegetables, fruits, animals, and numberless other articles of sustenance, not only furnish ample provision for the use of the natives, but also allow of exportation. There is so large a quantity of wheat reaped, that many thousands of quarters are annually shipped off. Much Turkey wheat is sent out, and the province of Teramo sells a great deal of rice little inferior in goodness to that of Lombardy. Oil is a plentiful commodity, and wines are made for exportation on many parts of the coast; but wool has always been, and still is, their staple commodity: the flocks, after passing the whole summer in the fine pastures of the mountains, are driven for the winter into the warm plains of Puglia, and a few spots near their own coast, where the snow does not lie; there are no manufactures of woollens in the province, except two small ones of coarse cloth, and the greatest part of the wool is sent out unwrought. No silk is made here, though mulberry-trees would grow well in the low grounds.

“Formerly the territory of Aquila furnished Italy almost exclusively with saffron, but since the culture of that plant has been so much followed in Lombardy, it has fallen to nothing in Abruzzo. In the maritime tracts of country the cultivation of liquorice has been increased of late years, but foreigners export the roots in their natural state: in the province of Teramo there is a manufactory of pottery-ware, for which there is a great demand in Germany, by the way of Trieste, as it is remarkably hard  
and



and fine, but even this is going to decay, by being abandoned entirely to the ignorance of common workmen. It is not to be expected that any improvements will be made in arts and manufactures, where the encouragement and attention of superiors is wanting, and no pains taken to render the commodity more marketable, or to open better channels of sale for it. The only advantages these provinces enjoy, are the gift of benevolent nature; but she has still greater presents in store for them, and waits only for the helping hand of government to produce them. This whole coast, one hundred miles in length, is utterly destitute of sea-ports; and the only spots where the produce can be embarked are dangerous inconvenient roads, at the mouths of rivers, and along a lee-shore: the difficulty of procuring shipping, and of loading the goods, frequently causes great quantities of them to rot on hand, which damps industry, and prevents all improvements in agriculture. The husbandman is a poor dispirited wretch, and wretchedness produces emigration: the uneven surface of the country occasions it to be inhabited by retail, if I may use the expression, rather than in large masses, for there is not a city that contains ten thousand people, and the most of them would find it difficult to muster three thousand. Villages, castles, and feudatory estates, are to be met with in abundance, but the numbers of their inhabitants are to be reckoned by hundreds, not thousands; in a word, the political and social system of the province shews no signs of the vigour which nature so remarkably displays here in all her operations.

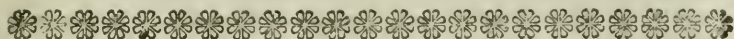
“ The antiquary and the natu-

ralist may travel here with exquisite pleasure and profit; the former will find treasures of inscriptions, and inedited monuments appertaining to the warlike nations, that once covered the face of the country: the natural philosopher will have a noble field for observation in the stupendous monuments that rise on all sides. Monte-corno and Majella are among the most interesting; the first is like an aged monument of nature, bald, and horribly broken on every aspect; from various appearances, it is evident that its bowels contain many valuable veins of metallic ore, but the great difficulty of access renders the search of them almost impracticable. Majella has other merits, and of a gayer kind:—nature has clothed its declivities and elevated fields with an infinite variety of her most precious plants; vulnerary herbs grow there in as great perfection as on the Alps of Switzerland, and are applied by the natives to wounds with equal success.

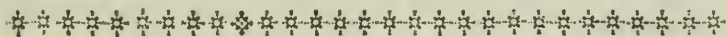
“ The character of the inhabitants varies a little among themselves, according to situation and climate, but essentially from the disposition of the natives of the more southern provinces. This proceeds from a difference of origin; for the Lombards, who were barbarians, but not cruel; poor, but hospitable; endowed with plain honest sense, though possessed of little acuteness or subtlety; remained peaceable proprietors of these mountainous regions, till the Normans, who were accustomed to a similar climate, came, and dispossessed them. The Greeks, who retained almost every other part of the kingdom under their dominion, never had any sway here. For this reason the

Abruzzesi still bear a great resemblance to their northern progenitors or masters: to this day, one may trace in them the same goodness of heart, but great indolence, and repugnance to lively exertions, a fault that proceeds rather from a want of active virtue, than a disposition to wickedness. Hence it comes that in these provinces, where the proxi-

mity of the frontier almost insures impunity, fewer atrocious and inhuman deeds are heard of, than in other parts of the realm. Remnants of ancient northern customs existed here so late as the beginning of this century, and, among the mountaineers, very evident traces of the Frank and Teutonic languages may be discovered."



# THE C O N T E N T S.



## HISTORY OF EUROPE.

### C H A P. I.

*Retrospective view of the general affairs of Europe from the year 1780. Emperor. Great schemes of reform and regulation. Some general observations on them. Decree for extending the liberty of the press. Decree in favour of the Jews. Ordinances striking at the authority of the court of Rome. Ostensible causes, and political motives, for the Emperor's journey to the Low Countries in the year 1781. Ill consequences of the war in which Holland was engaged, and of the new political system adopted by that Republic. Resumption of the Dutch Barrier among the principal objects of the Emperor's journey. Observations on that measure. Barrier resigned, and the fortresses dismantled. Alarm occasioned thereby in Holland. Great benefits derived by the Austrian Netherlands, from becoming the medium of British Commerce, in consequence of the war between the maritime powers. Sudden rise of Ostend to commercial importance through the same cause. Great favours conferred by the Emperor upon the city and people of Ostend. Declares the port free; orders a basin to be constructed; grants ground for building to foreign settlers; and places of public worship to the Protestants. Emperor examines the obstructions to the navigation of the Schelde, and visits Holland. Returns to Vienna. Various wise and humane regulations adopted in the course of the years 1781 and 1782. Enlargement of religious liberty to the Protestants—of civil liberty to the peasants of Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Austrian Poland, who are discharged from their ancient slavery to the lords. Free exercise of their religion, with other advantages, granted by the Elector of Saxony to the Roman Catholics in his dominions. Inquisition abolished by*

# C O N T E N T S.

*the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Universities reformed by the Emperor.— Allots schools for the Education of soldiers children. Measures for rendering the city of Trieste a great commercial Emporium. Emperor lends four millions of florins to the merchants of that city. Suppression of religious houses in the Austrian dominions. Ecclesiastics in the Austrian Netherlands discharged from all foreign jurisdiction. Imperial rescript, disclaiming all subordination, in secular affairs, to the Holy See. Suppression of religious houses in the Duchy of Milan. Alarm at Rome. Correspondence between the Pope and the Emperor. Journey of the Sovereign Pontiff, Pius the Sixth, from Rome to Vienna. Received with great honours by the Emperor and Court; but fails in the objects of his journey. Returns to Rome. Reform of the religious orders continued; and extended to the Hierarchy, and secular Clergy, as well as to the Regulars. Commission for administering the sequestered estates; the produce destined to public purposes. Observations and strictures of foreigners on some of these transactions* — — — — [1

## C H A P. II.

*Retrospective view continued. State of the great powers on the borders of Europe and Asia. Ottoman Empire. Numerous sources of discord with Russia. Successful endeavours of the captain bashaw, notwithstanding the unfavourable state of public affairs, to quell rebellion and restore order. He rescues the Morea from the Albanians; punishes the authors, and puts an end to the disorders on the coasts of Asia; prevents the intended extermination of the Greeks. The Porte, after much contest, submits to the receiving Russian consuls in the provinces of Moldavia, Walachia, and Bessarabia. Troubles in the Crimea. Tartar Khan accepts a commission in the Russian service. Dreadful Conflagrations in Constantinople. Forty thousand houses destroyed. Grand Vizir deposed, and succeeded by Feian Mehemet, a man of parts and ability. Russian Khan deposed by the discontented Tartars, and a new one elected, who is privately supported by the Porte. Great differences between the two empires on that account. Long truce between the Porte and the court of Vienna on the point of expiring, which involves the former in new difficulties on that side. Divan sit eight days debating on the question of a war with Russia. Pacific resolutions adopted, through the influence of the captain bashaw, grand vizir, and musti. Popularity of the grand signior, and the firmness of his ministers, prevent any dangerous effect from the violent ferment of the people, who are clamorous for war; and whose passions are not less agitated by the pacific conduct of the court, than by the contemplation of their ruined city. Emperor openly avows his determination of supporting the claims of Russia, as well as his own. Strong memorials presented, and harsh demands made, by the courts of Petersburg and Vienna, toward the close of the year 1782. Hospodar of Wallachia strangled. Excellent conduct of the grand signior, with respect to the persecution carried on by the Armenian patriarch. Vast preparations for war on all sides in the year 1783. Treaty between the Porte and Spain. New Khan of the Tartars expelled by the Russians.*



# C O N T E N T S.

*Russians. Former Khan abdicates his throne, and assigns his dominion and country to the empress of Russia; who issues a manifesto, assigning the causes for her annexing the Crimea, Cuban, and isle of Taman to her empire. Manifesto from the Porte in answer. Notwithstanding the immense preparations and immediate appearances of war, negotiations for a peace are carried on at Constantinople under the mediation of France. In the height of the troubles the navigation of the Danube is opened to the emperor, two of whose ships are received at Belgrade, and prosecute their voyage to the Black Sea. Ottoman difficulties and enemies multiplying on all sides. Appearances on the side of Venice. Troubles in Egypt. Persians attack Bassora. Prince Heraclius invades Natolia. Treaty of commerce between Russia and the Porte, is followed by a new treaty of accommodation between the two empires, which is concluded at Constantinople in the beginning of the year 1784. Accommodation with the emperor. Spanish expedition against Algiers. Earthquakes in Calabria and Sicily — [21*

## C H A P. III.

*Recapitulation of the proceedings in parliament relative to the affairs of the East India company. Two Indian committees appointed by the House of Commons in 1781. Objects of the select committee. Objects of the secret committee. The King's approbation of their proceedings. Reports of the secret committee brought to the house, April 1782. Account of Mr. Dundas's speech on that occasion. Lays three sets of resolutions on the table: First set, relative to the general misconduct of the company's affairs—postponed: Second set, relative to the conduct of the presidency of Madras—voted: Third set, containing criminal charges against Sir Thomas Rumbold—voted. Bill of pains and penalties. Proceeding therein. Bill lost. Consideration of the first set of resolutions resumed. Resolution against Mr. Hastings voted. Conduct of the court of proprietors on that occasion. Proceedings of the select committee. Resolutions voted. Vote against Sir Elijah Impey. King's speeches at the closing and opening of the sessions — [45*

## C H A P. IV.

*Meeting of parliament towards the close of the year 1783. King's speech. Addresses voted unanimously. Two India bills brought in by Mr. Fox. Substance of the bill for vesting the affairs of the company in commissioners. Substance of the bill for the better government of the territorial possessions. Debates on the bills. Objections and replies—1st. of charters—plea of necessity—magnitude of abuses—state of finances—company's government in India—independent powers—allies and dependents—territorial possessions—abuses curable—court of proprietors—court of directors—ministers of the crown. 2d. Objection. The dangerous powers and influence created by the bills. Answer to this objection. First India bill carried up to the house of Lords. Rumours of the King's dislike of the bill. Majority*

## C O N T E N T S.

*Majority against the ministers in the House of Lords. Motions in the House of Commons, relative to the reports of the King's disapprobation of the bills; and to the dissolution of parliament. Bill rejected by the Lords. Ministers removed* — — — — — [58

### C H A P. V.

*Measures adopted by the majority in the House of Commons to prevent the dissolution of parliament—defer the third reading of the land tax bill. Conversation relative to the resignation of Earl Temple. Resolution of the committee on the state of the nation to address the king. Favourable answer from the king. Resolutions of the committee respecting the acceptance of India bonds—and the Duchy of Lancaster. Short adjournment during the Christmas holidays. State of parties at the meeting of the House. Debate on resuming the committee on the state of the nation. Resolutions of the committee, respecting the issuing of public money not appropriated by acts of parliament—for deferring the second reading of the mutiny bill—for the appointment of ministers that enjoyed the confidence of the House—of censure on the appointment of the present ministers. Bill brought in by Mr. Pitt, for the better government of the India company. Debate on the comparative merits of Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Fox's India bills. Mr. Pitt's bill rejected. Notice, by Mr. Fox, of bringing in a new bill* — — — — — [72

### C H A P. VI.

*Resolution moved against the ministry by lord Charles Spencer. Union of parties called for. Difficulties stated by the leaders of each party. The minister called on to give information relative to the design of dissolving parliament—he refuses. Motion intended to be made thereon, but deferred. Minister again interrogated respecting the dissolution—his answer. Motion to obstruct the dissolution. Minister's reasons for continuing in office. Ridiculous accusation of the late ministry of bribery. Causes of the indecision of both parties. Meeting of members at the St. Alban's tavern to effect an union—their address to both parties, and the answers—their motions in the House of Commons for forming a new ministry, ordered to be laid before the king. Motion of the St. Alban's association against the exclusion of either party in forming a new ministry carried in the House of Commons. Disinterested conduct of lord North. New expedient for effecting an union—causes of its failure—mischievous consequences of those measures. His Majesty's refusal to dismiss his ministers—debate thereon. Proceedings in the House of Lords. Address to the King from the Commons, on the resolutions laid before him, and his Majesty's answer. Address to the King for the removal of his ministers, and his Majesty's answer thereto. Representation to the King on the state of public affairs. Prorogation and dissolution of parliament* — — — — — [82

### C H A P.

# C O N T E N T S.

## C H A P. VII.

*Claims of the Emperor upon Holland. Unfortunate situation of the affairs of the Republic through the violence of parties and internal dissension. Continual attempts by the republican faction to abridge the Stadtholder's power, and attacks upon the duke of Brunswick. That prince resigns his great offices, and quits the country. Interference of the King of Prussia in behalf of the Prince Stadtholder. France obtains an unbounded influence in the affairs of the Republic. Plenipotentiaries sent to Brussels to accommodate the differences with the Emperor. Austrian troops take possession of Old Lillo, and commit other violations of the territorial rights of the Republic. France accepts the office of mediation between Holland and the Emperor. Dispute occasioned by a Flemish boatman on the Schelde. Emperor's ultimatum presented at Brussels. Three new and extraordinary demands added to the former ultimatum. Appearances of an immediate rupture at the commencement of the autumn 1784. Declaration by the Emperor's minister, that the first shot fired upon the Schelde should be considered as a declaration of war. Some account of the nature of the claims, and of the reasons and arguments offered on both sides; with a particular regard to the dispute relative to the Schelde. State of the claim upon Maastricht. Imperial vessel fired at and stopped upon the Schelde. Imperial ambassador recalled from the Hague, and the conferences broken up at Brussels. Preparations for war on both sides. Exertions of public spirit by individuals in Holland. States apply to France for a general: Count de Maillebois deputed to that appointment. Endeavours to prevent or divert the storm. French monarch expostulates with the Emperor. Dyke broken by the Dutch near Lillo, and the country laid under water. Inflexibility of the Emperor with respect to the Schelde. Russia takes a decided part in favour of the Emperor's claims. Jealousy excited by the confederacy of these two great powers. Political causes which rendered it particularly incumbent on France and Prussia to protect Holland. Prince Henry of Prussia's visit to the court of Versailles. Porte attentive to the state of affairs in Europe, and in readiness to profit of any occasion of advantage which might be offered. Movements and preparations in France. General disposition of that nation with respect to the war. Disadvantages to which the Emperor would be exposed in the prosecution of a war in the Low Countries. Doubtful and critical state of public affairs in Europe at the close of the year 1784* — — — [100

## C H A P. VIII.

*Unexpected source of jealousy and discord opened in Germany. Scheme for the exchange of Bavaria for the Austrian Netherlands. Season ill chosen for such a measure. Empress of Russia writes to the Prince of Deux Ponts upon the subject; who peremptorily refuses a compliance, and acquaints the*

## C O N T E N T S.

*the court of Berlin with the proposal. King of Prussia remonstrates with the court of Petersburg on the subject: Empress's answer. Conduct of the courts of Vienna and Munich. States of Bavaria alarmed. Satisfaction given by the elector not deemed sufficiently explicit. Great dissatisfaction excited in Hungary by the late schemes of reform. Rebellion of the peasants in the mountainous borders of Transylvania and Walachia. Savage cruelties committed on the nobility. Peasants defeated, reduced, and Horiab, their mock king, publicly executed. Vigilance of the Prussian monarch, and efficacious measures pursued by him, for preventing any innovation in the Germanic constitution and system of policy. Treaty of union and confederation, for maintaining the indivisibility of the empire, and the rights of the Germanic body, in general and particular, signed at Berlin on the 23d of July 1785; the principal parties being the King of Prussia, the elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, and the elector of Saxony. Measures pursued by the court of Vienna to prevent or to counteract the new league prove ineffective. King of Prussia's exposition of the causes and motives which led to the new German confederation, generally approved by the neighbouring powers. The appearances of immediate war in Germany seem to be superseded by a more moderate disposition, and the questions upon the exchange of Bavaria are suffered to die away without farther explanation or discussion. The storm of war being diverted from the Low Countries, by the great importance of the political questions which unexpectedly arose and were agitated in Germany, the republic of Holland thereby gained time to provide the more effectually for the worst that might happen, as well as for endeavouring to ward off the evil entirely by an accommodation. Negotiations resumed at Paris, under the auspices of M. de Vergennes. Dutch deputies received at Vienna by the emperor. Speech and answer. Definitive treaty of peace between the emperor and the republic of Holland concluded under the mediation and guarantee of France. Principal stipulations of the treaty. Treaty of alliance and friendship between France and Holland, finally ratified on the 25th of December 1785. Account of the Spanish expedition against Algiers in the year 1784; and the causes which prevented its insertion in the business of that year — [124*

## C H A P. IX.

*View of the character of the late parliament. Enormous supplies voted in its first session. Fruitless expenditure of this subsidy occasions the resolutions which terminated the American war. Evidence of the parliament's independence. Enumeration of important matters in which it was engaged. Rescinds the famous resolution respecting the Middlesex election. Disappoints many, by not prosecuting certain enquiries, &c. During the short space of two years, saw no less than five ministers in succession. Different opinions on its interference in their appointment and removal. Well inclined to support the measures of the minister in power at the time of its election. The campaign of 1781 causes universal alarm, and occasions the commons to interfere to procure a change of councils. Minister acquiesces.*



## C O N T E N T S.

*acquiesces. Delay in appointing a new ministry occasions a threat of withholding the supplies. Complexion of the new administration. Honourably supported. Negotiates the peace; which is censured in parliament. The celebrated coalition formed. The minister, in consequence, retires. Power acquired by the house of commons, in consequence of the coalition. Different opinions entertained of that circumstance. The leaders of the coalition succeed to the ministry; but are dismissed, and a fifth ministry appointed. Addresses for its removal. Advantageous ground, possessed by the court, favourable to resist the practice of dismissing a minister at the requisition of the commons. King's answer to those addresses, calling for specific charges against the ministers, a measure well calculated to throw difficulties in the way of such parliamentary proceedings. Instances in illustration thereof. Firmness of the commons. Their dissolution. Advantages possessed by the ministry upon that event. Causes of the support the ministry received from the people. More than 160 members lost their seats. Meeting of the new parliament. Former speaker re-chosen. Substance of his majesty's speech. Addresses. Mr. Burke's speech on the measure of dissolving the late parliament. His proposed remonstrance to the throne. Commutation act—debate thereon. Bills for settling the East India dividend, for respite of duties, and for the better government of the affairs of that company; analysis of the latter, and sketch of the debates thereon. The budget—its contents. Bill for the restoration of estates forfeited in the rebellion of 1745. The Lord Chancellor's argument against it; it however passes. Conclusion of the session. Substance of the king's speech* — — [142

## C H A P. X.

*The second session of the parliament opened. The king's speech recommends the final adjustment of the commercial intercourse with Ireland, the further suppression of smuggling, the consideration of the reports of the commissioners of accounts, and the making regulations in different offices. Earl of Surrey's exceptions to the speech. The minister's answer. Lord North's animadversions on the mention which had been made of a parliamentary reform. Mr. Burke objects to the speech, on account of its taking no notice of India affairs, and proposes an amendment in the address. Minister replies to Lord North.—History of the celebrated Westminster election, which continued for upwards of six weeks, and was concluded only on the day previous to the return of the writ. High bailiff grants a scrutiny, which is protested against by Mr. Fox. Brought before parliament and often discussed. Arguments for and against the scrutiny. Mr. Fox's animated appeal, sarcastically attacking the minister. Mr. Pitt's reply, charging Mr. Fox with detestable conduct in politics. Various questions and divisions on the subject. The scrutiny at last quashed, and Lord Hood and Mr. Fox in consequence returned.—Provisions by Mr. Fox's India bill, for adjusting the Nabob of Arcot's debts; also by Mr. Pitt's. Court of directors pursue measures, in consequence of directions in the latter, which are superseded by the board of controul. Earl of Carlisle's motion thereon—warmly debated,*  
but

# C O N T E N T S.

*but negatived without a division. The same transaction agitated in the house of commons by Mr. Fox, and defended by Mr. Dundas. Mr. Smith, chairman of the company's, sentiments. Sir Thomas Rumbold's. Mr. Burke's full investigation of the subject. The motion negatived, 164 to 69. —Mr. Pitt's motion to amend the representation in parliament; particulars of his proposal. Not generally approved. Mr. Fox's objections. Arguments for and against the measure. Negatived.—General review of the national finances by the minister. Objections by the opposition. Contents of the budget.—Bill for appointing commissioners to enquire into abuses, and report observations for better conducting business, in the public offices, brought in by the minister. Objections thereto. Arguments in its favour. Passes in the commons by a large majority. In the lords receives very material amendments.—Mention of the steps taken to settle the commercial intercourse with Ireland. Close of the session — [170*

## C H R O N I C L E, 1784. [177—[209

<i>Births for the year 1784</i>	—	—	—	—	[209
<i>Marriages</i>	—	—	—	—	[210
<i>Principal Promotions</i>	—	—	—	—	[212
<i>Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty in council for 1784</i>	—	—	—	—	[217
<i>Deaths</i>	—	—	—	—	[219

## C H R O N I C L E, 1785. [222—[248

<i>Births for the year 1785</i>	—	—	—	—	[248
<i>Marriages</i>	—	—	—	—	[250
<i>Principal Promotions</i>	—	—	—	—	[251
<i>Sheriffs appointed by his Majesty in council for 1785</i>	—	—	—	—	[252
<i>Deaths</i>	—	—	—	—	[253

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE, 1784.

<i>Extract of a dispatch from Major General Stuart, commander in chief of his Majesty's and the East India company's forces on the coast of Coromandel, dated June 27, 1783, received January 9, 1784</i>	—	[255
<i>Letter to the select committee at Madras, containing the particulars of the repulse of the French, on 25th June, 1783</i>	—	[258
<i>Extract of a letter from Vice Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, commander in chief of his Majesty's ships and vessels in the East Indies, dated July 25, 1783, received January 12, 1784</i>	—	[259
		<i>Account</i>

# C O N T E N T S.

<i>Account of the proceedings of the members of the house of commons, who met at the St. Alban's tavern, from time to time, for the purpose of promoting an union of parties, in January and February 1784</i>	—	[265]
<i>Remarkable addresses from particular persons to their respective electors, on declaring themselves candidates at the late general election</i>	—	[272]
<i>Addresses of the Right Hon. C. J. Fox, to the electors of Westminster</i>	[272]	[273]
<i>— of the Right Hon. W. Windham, to the city of Norwich</i>	—	[274]
<i>— of John Wilkes, Esq; to the county of Middlesex</i>	—	[275]
<i>— of W. Baker, Esq; to the borough of Hertford, after he had lost his election</i>	—	[276]
<i>— of T. W. Coke, Esq; to the county of Norfolk</i>	—	[277]
<i>Copy of the return made by the high bailiff of Westminster to the sheriff of Middlesex, and by the sheriff to the clerk of the crown</i>	—	[279]
<i>Protests against granting a scrutiny, delivered to the high bailiff at St. Anne's vestry room, June 11, 1784</i>	—	[279]
<i>Proceedings at the trial of the Rev. W. D. Shipley, dean of St. Asaph, for a libel, at the assizes at Shrewsbury, before the Hon. Mr. Justice Buller, August 6, 1784</i>	—	[280]
<i>Letters between the Right Hon. W. Pitt and Lord George Gordon</i>	—	[288]
<i>Sentence of the court martial appointed to try Col. Debbieg, for writing disrespectful letters to the Duke of Richmond</i>	—	[289]
<i>The judgment passed on Christopher Atkinson, Esq; in the court of King's Bench</i>	—	[291]
<i>A general list of the diseases and casualties, christenings and burials, for the year 1784</i>	—	[293]
<i>An account of the quantities of all corn and grain exported from and imported into England and Scotland, for one year, ended 31st January, 1785</i>	—	[294]
<i>Prices of stocks for the year 1784</i>	—	[296]
<i>Supplies granted by parliament for the year 1784</i>	—	[297]
<i>Ways and means for raising the supplies</i>	—	[302]
<i>Taxes for the year 1784</i>	—	[304]

## S T A T E P A P E R S, 1784.

<i>His Majesty's speech on opening the sessions, November 11, 1783</i>	—	[305]
<i>The humble address of the lords spiritual and temporal to the king; with his Majesty's answer</i>	—	[306]
<i>— of the house of commons; with his Majesty's answer</i>	—	[307]
<i>Address of the house of lords to his majesty; with his Majesty's answer</i>	—	[309]
<i>— of commons to the King, 20th February 1784; with his Majesty's answer</i>	—	[310]
<i>Second address of the house of commons to the King, March 4th, 1784; with his Majesty's answer</i>	—	[310]
<i>Resolutions voted by the house of commons, to be laid before his Majesty</i>	[312]	Hi:

# C O N T E N T S.

<i>His Majesty's speech from the throne, on proroguing the late parliament, previous to his dissolving it</i>	[315]
<i>————— to both houses, on the meeting of the new parliament, May 17, 1784</i>	[315]
<i>Address of the lords, May 19, 1784; with his Majesty's answer</i>	[316]
<i>Lords protest on the East India regulation bill, 9th August, 1784</i>	[317]
<i>His Majesty's speech at the close of the first session of this parliament, 20th August, 1784</i>	[317]
<i>Ratification of peace by the American Congress, and their recommendation of the loyalists, agreeable to the fifth article</i>	[318]
<i>Letter of the king of Prussia to the States General, in favour of the prince of Orange</i>	[319]

## APPENDIX to the CHRONICLE, 1785.

<i>Account of Mr. Blanchard's flight across the English channel, with Dr. Jeffries; and two letters from them after their arrival at Calais</i>	[323]
<i>Resolutions and addresses to the people of Ireland, by the Irish delegates</i>	[326]
<i>Particulars of the death of M. Pilatre de Rosiere, and M. Romain</i>	[328]
<i>Extracts from Dr. Burney's Account of the Commemoration of Handel, in May 1784</i>	[331]
<i>West India meeting on the Irish resolutions, March 9. 1785</i>	[335]
<i>Regulations and restrictions proposed to Mr. Pitt, by the West India body; with Mr. Pitt's answers, March 13</i>	[336]
<i>Address to the trading towns in Ireland, from the council of the chamber of commerce of the city of Dublin, June 9</i>	[337]
<i>A general list of diseases and casualties, christenings and burials, for the year 1785</i>	[338]
<i>An account of the quantities of all corn and grain exported from and imported into England and Scotland, for one year, ended 5th January 1786</i>	[339]
<i>Prices of stocks for the year 1785</i>	[341]
<i>Supplies granted by parliament for the year 1785</i>	[342]
<i>Ways and means for raising the supplies</i>	[345]
<i>Taxes for the year 1785</i>	[346]

## S T A T E P A P E R S, 1785.

<i>His Majesty's speech to both houses of parliament, on their meeting, January 26, 1785</i>	[348]
<i>Humble address of the lords to the above speech; with his Majesty's answer</i>	[349]
<i>————— of the commons; with his Majesty's answer</i>	[350]
<i>Speech of the Duke of Rutland, lord lieutenant of Ireland, in the Irish house of lords, on opening the session, 20th January 1785</i>	[351]
<i>Letter</i>	[351]



## C O N T E N T S.

<i>Letter from the empress of Russia to the king of Prussia</i>	[352
<i>Copy of official paper transmitted from his Most Christian Majesty to the emperor, relative to the navigation of the Scheldt</i>	[353
<i>Preliminary articles of peace between the States General and the emperor of Germany</i>	[354
<i>Prohibitory act of the legislature of Massachusetts in North America</i>	[356
<i>The Irish resolutions, with amendments</i>	[359
<i>The Manchester petition, signed by 120,000 persons, presented to the house of lords, 17 June 1785</i>	[362
<i>Letter from the king of Prussia to the States General, relative to the prince of Orange</i>	[364
<i>Heads of the principal acts of parliament passed in the year 1784</i>	[365
<i>The same, in the year 1785</i>	[366

## C H A R A C T E R S.

<i>Account and character of the natives of the Friendly Islands; from Captain Cook's last voyage to the Pacific Ocean, vol. i.</i>	1
<i>— of the natives of Otaheite; from vol. ii. of the same</i>	6
<i>Character of Captain Cook, from vol. iii. of the same</i>	9
<i>General account and character of the natives of the Sandwich Islands; from the same vol.</i>	13
<i>Character of Catharine the First, wife of Peter the Great, after his death empress of Russia; from Coxe's Travels into Poland, &amp;c.</i>	14
<i>Character of Dr. Johnson; from Boswell's Tour to the Hebrides</i>	16
<i>Particulars of the person, habits, and manners of Ayder Ali Khan; from the History of Ayder Ali Khan, by M. Le Maitre de la Tour</i>	18

## N A T U R A L H I S T O R Y.

<i>On a new method of preparing a test liquor to shew the presence of Acids and Alkalies in chemical mixtures; by Mr. James Watt, engineer</i>	27
<i>An extraordinary case of a dropsy of the ovarium, with some remarks; by Mr. Philip Meadows Martineau</i>	29
<i>An account of the sensitive quality of the tree averrhca carambola, in a Letter from R. Bruce, M. D. to Sir J. J. Banks, bart.</i>	32
<i>Account of the celebrated salt mines of Wieluska in Poland; from Coxe's Travels into Poland, &amp;c.</i>	35
<i>Account of the Plica Polonica; from the same work</i>	37
<i>Description of, and observations upon, the cock-chaffer, both in its grub and beetle state; from Letters and Papers on Agriculture, &amp;c.</i>	38
<i>List of the animals found in Kamtschatka, communicated by Mr. Pennant; from vol. iii. of Captain Cook's last voyage</i>	39
<i>Particular account of Peter the wild boy; extracted from the parish register of North Church, in the county of Hertford</i>	43

# C O N T E N T S.

## USEFUL PROJECTS.

<i>An account of an artificial spring of water ; by Erasmus Darwin, M. D.</i>	
<i>F. R. S.</i>	46
<i>On dibbling wheat</i>	49
<i>On the culture, produce, and application of the Howard or clustered potatoe, and the comparison of them with other sorts ; by Arthur Young, Esq;</i>	50
<i>A contrivance for increasing the effect of engines for extinguishing fires</i>	55
<i>Account of a dissolvent of the human calculi ; by B. Colburne, of Bath</i>	55
<i>On the natures of different kinds of soil, and the grain, pulse, or grasses proper to each</i>	56
<i>Superior advantages of the drill to the broadcast husbandry pointed out</i>	59
<i>Observations of the best method of restoring worn-out soils without manure</i>	60
<i>To preserve turnips from frost</i>	62

## ANTIQUITIES.

<i>Extracts from observations on the practice of archery in England ; by the Hon. Daines Barrington</i>	64
<i>Some account of the burial-places of the ancient Tartars ; by the Reverend W. Tooke, F. R. S.</i>	75
<i>Observations on the language of the gypsies ; by Mr. Marsden, F. S. A.</i>	81
<i>Collections on the Zingara, or gypsy-language ; by Jacob Bryant, Esq;</i>	83
<i>Extract from an account of the caves on the Elephanta Island, near Bombay ; by Lieutenant Colonel Barry</i>	89

## MISCELLANEOUS ESSAYS.

<i>Account of a curious mode of travelling in Kamtschatka, by means of sledges drawn by dogs ; from Captain Cook's last voyage, vol. iii.</i>	92
<i>Account of the manner of bear-hunting practised by the Kamtschadales ; from the same</i>	94
<i>Circumstantial narrative of the attempt made by the confederates to assassinate the king of Poland, on the night of the 3d of September 1771 ; from vol. i. of Coxe's Travels into Poland, &amp;c.</i>	97
<i>Account of the different orders instituted in Russia ; of a favourite building of the present empress's, called The Hermitage ; and of the manner in which she passes her time</i>	104
<i>Curious account of the pretender, prince Charles Edward, after the battle of Culloden ; by James Boswell, Esq;</i>	107
<i>Curious remarks concerning the savages of North America ; by Dr. B. Franklin</i>	115
<i>Short account of the penal laws of Russia—Description of the punishment of the knout—The empress's answer to Mr. Coxe's queries on the state of</i>	the

## C O N T E N T S.

<i>the Russian prisons—Outlines of the new code of laws established by her at her accession; from Coxe's Travels into Poland, &amp;c. vo. ii.</i>	118
<i>Anecdote of the Dutcheys of Queensberry; from the Life of Mrs Bellamy</i>	125
<i>Prayer directed by the Bramins to be offered up to the Supreme Being; from The Institutes of the Great Timour, improperly called Tamerlane</i>	128
<i>A description of Ruder, as contained in another sacred book, called The Atherbun Bede</i>	129

## P O E T R Y.

<i>Ode for the new year 1784, by W. Whitehead, Esq;</i>	131
<i>Ode for his Majesty's birth-day, June 4, 1784, by the same</i>	132
<i>Ode for the new year 1785, by the same</i>	133
<i>Ode for his Majesty's birth-day, June 4, 1785, by the Rev. T. Warton</i>	134
<i>The exordium of Jaumi's poem, intituled, "Euseof and Zoelleikha;" from The Institutes of Timour, &amp;c. by Major Davy</i>	136
<i>Translation of a hymn to Camdeo, the Hindoo god of love, by Sir W. Jones</i>	137
<i>Mrs. Sheridan on her brother's violin</i>	138
<i>Her brother's lyre to Mrs. Sheridan, by Mr. Pratt</i>	139
<i>L'Amour Timide</i>	140
<i>Song</i>	140
<i>Verses to the feathered ladies, said to be written by Earl Nugent</i>	141
<i>Sonnet to a nightingale, by Charlotte Smith</i>	141
<i>—— to the South Downs, by the same</i>	142
<i>Extract from The News-paper, a poem, by the Rev. G. Crabbe</i>	142
<i>On the author of the ballad, called The Children in the Wood, by Mr. Jer-ningham</i>	145
<i>Ode to Melpomene, by Anna Seward</i>	146
<i>An emblem of the shortness of human pleasure, to the grasshopper, by Mr. Say</i>	147
<i>Epitaph, by Voltaire, inscribed on his monument in his own chamber at Ferney, his heart in a box</i>	148

## A C C O U N T of B O O K S.

<i>A voyage to the Pacific Ocean, performed under the directions of Captains Cook, Clerk, and Gore, in his Majesty's ships the Resolution and Discovery, in the years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780</i>	149
<i>Travels into Poland, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark, &amp;c. &amp;c. by W. Coxe, A. M. F. R. S.</i>	163
<i>Travels in the Two Sicilies, by Henry Swinburne, Esq; in the years 1777, 1778, 1779, and 1780.</i>	170

T H E E N D.











